STATE LIBRARY OF PENNSYLVANIA
main,stks 205Ev13
Lutheran quarterly.
v.36 1906 Lutheran quarterly
0 0001 00658538 2

REFERENCE

COLLECTIONS

04-79-842-7

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
This project is made possible by a grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services as administered by the Pennsylvania Department of Education through the Office of Commonwealth Libraries

https://archive.org/details/vol36lutheranqua00luth

THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

CONDUCTED BY

PHILIP M. BIKLE, Ph.D. JAS. W. RICHARD, D.D., LL.D.

THOMAS C. BILLHEIMER, D.D. J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

WITH THE SPECIAL CO-OPERATION OF

PRES. S. A. ORT, D.D., LL.D. PROF. F. D. ALTMAN, D.D.

PROF. ALFRED HILLER, D.D.

NEW SERIES—VOL. XXXVI.

GETTYSBURG:
WILLIAM B. HAMMOND, PRINTER
1906

PENNSYLVANIA STATE LIBRARY

THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JANUARY, 1906.

ARTICLE I.

THE CONGREGATION.*

By George U. Wenner, D.D.

Theory and practice do not always agree. When Luther in 1523 published his treatise on the right of the congregation to decide questions of doctrine and to appoint its own ministers, he stated a principle which our Church cordially accepted. In theory we recognize the congregation as the subject, the primary agent in Church work. But in practice it is not so. The congregation is not the subject but the object, not the force but the field.

Sometimes the Church is an autocracy. The minister is "it." People speak of Pastor So-and-so's Church. When the minister is sick, is on his vacation, or has gone to synod, there is "no church." Again the Church is an aristocracy. Its affairs are managed by the council or the Board of Trustees, and to all intents and purposes they are the Church. Synods, originally supposed to represent Churches, have to a great extent become merely associations of ministers and ex-ministers, with a sprinkling of laymen, who too often are present only in a perfunctory capacity. The delegate is introduced not as the delegate of such and such a Church, but as Pastor So-and-so's delegate. Seldom do congregations take the initiative in ecclesiastical procedure, and seldom is synodical action referred to the congregation for ratification.

* A discourse delivered before the Synod of New York and New Jersey, Albany, N. Y., September 26th, 1905.

199799

When these delegates serve in the Common Council, or are sent to the Legislature, they have much to say, because they represent an actual constituency and tangible interests. But when they come to Synod they have nothing special to say, because the Churches that sent them have no well defined interest in the meeting. The delegates represent themselves only and their participation is only such as is called forth by their personal interest in the proceedings.

Hence the Synod is seldom troubled with questions outside of the usual routine. The contributions might just as well be sent directly to the treasurers of the Boards, and there are no details of Home or Foreign Missions, Church Extension or other causes that could not just as well be settled by correspondence with the secretaries. Anyone who has attended several meetings of the synod could write the minutes in advance and all the expense of an actual meeting might be saved or devoted to other objects. It is of course a pleasure to meet the brethren and to exchange fraternal greetings, but the real business of Synod could be transacted just as effectively and more economically in other ways. There is not even an opportunity to discuss questions of doctrine or Church economy, for the dismal routine of business crowds it out, and the few attempts that have been made in this direction have failed of their object.

Why is it that synods are not in reality representative gatherings? It is because the churches have not cultivated a congregational life and have no interests that require representation. The congregation is in too many cases simply an audience which statedly assembles to hear Dr. Blank preach. It is a question of how many people are in the pews. It is not a question of what the congregation is doing, but it is a question of what the minister is doing, how many hundred families he visits, how many sermons he preaches and how many people come to hear him preach. If Dr. Blank is an attractive preacher, the church is filled. If not, not. It is not a question whether the congregation is attractive, whether the people have converted many sinners or brought back lapsed sheep into

the fold, whether the people are magnetic with Christian power and hold men in the Church regardless of who happens to be in the pulpit. It is all a question of the minister. If the work prospers, the minister gets the credit. If it does not prosper, it is the minister's fault. And when finally Dr. Blank dies, or is called to another pulpit, the country is scoured to find some competent preacher who for a consideration, graded according to his pew filling capacity, will undertake to do the work of an incompetent congregation. In other words, the congregation has no other function than to attend church, pay its pew rents, listen to a Sunday sermon and raise the apportionment. No wonder churches do not grow, for however well they may be fed, they are seldom called upon to use their strength.

But along with the subsidence of the congregation as the primary factor in the work of the Church, and perhaps because of it, our age has witnessed a multiplication of other agencies to do the work of the congregation. There is the Women's Society and occasionally the Men's Club, the Luther League, the Christian Endeavor Society, the W. H. and F. M. Society, the W. C. T. U., the Junior League, the King's Daughters and the Junior Endeavorers, until for the multitude of trees it is hard to get a view of the woods. Thus in the congregation itself the substitutes, the parasites, absorb the life of the tree, and the parent plant necessarily decays. Consequently the community no longer looks to the congregation for its inspiration and life. The Young Men's Christian Association, the Carnegie Library, the Social Settlement and the Salvation Army are the forces to which Society looks for the elevation, strength and saving power which the Church is commissioned to give. And even in the distinctively religious work of the Church the impotence of the congregation is conceded in the increasing prominence given to special meetings and to the services of an itinerant evangelist.

It is a legitimate question whether in the emphasis we place on the ministry, societies, theological seminaries, Christian literature and all the various agencies for the promotion of Christianity, we are not overlooking the primary agent in the Divine

economy, the congregation. Has it a position which should be recognized? Has it functions which cannot be delegated? With all our alleged Protestantism, are we not in danger of atrophying the most important force, the Church itself. In our efforts to regenerate society and to realize the Kingdom, may it not be well to remember the true nature and functions of the congregation?

I wish to make

A PLEA FOR A FULLER RECOGNITION OF THE CONGREGATION.

1. In view of what it is, and
2. In view of its functions.

1. In view of what it is, that is, in view of its original place in the institution of Christ and in the practice of the Apostolical Church.

Our subject lies in the domain of Practical Theology. It is an effort to understand the problem of the Church, and hence has an important relation to our synodical life. I know of no question which at the present time more urgently invites our attention. We have no pressing doctrinal problems. The question of predestination which agitates our Western synods does not perceptibly disturb our churches in the East. The conflict over the Common Service and the Ministerial Acts is a thing of the past. We are not greatly vexed even over such matters as vestments and paraments. But the question of the Church has a perennial interest. We assemble to report the labors of the year, lamenting how little has been accomplished. We listen to the story of each other's trials and difficulties, and we pray for Divine light and strength for the work of another year. The burden of our hopes and prayers is, What can be done to improve the condition of our congregations and to make them more effective in advancing the Kingdom of God.

The Kingdom of God is found through the Church. There is in this world no other gate into the Kingdom than through the Church. In a broad sense the doctrine *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* is true. Christian life grows only in the life of the Church. There is, it is true, a personal life which belongs to the realm

of ethics, but there cannot be a distinctively Christian life which is not expressed in the life of the Church. It is in the life of the Church that Christianity manifests itself among men. This life includes all the forces and methods through which the Christian religion is acquired, grows, is taught and spread abroad. And in this development of the Christian religion, the primary factor is not the individual Christian, not the minister nor the theological seminary, not the religious press nor the evangelist, not the numerous associations for Christian work, but it is the Christian congregation.

In 1. Peter 2 the congregation of believers is called a "holy priesthood." Jesus spoke of the congregation when he said he would build his Church "upon this rock." In the 18th of Matthew He gives to His Church, that is to the congregation of believers, the power of binding and loosing. In the second of Acts the believers are described as continuing "steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers." In the 14th of First Corinthians are enumerated the spiritual gifts which belong to the congregation. The Church is the body of the Lord. In her the Lord is truly present with his gifts and his Spirit. The Word and the sacraments are effective, not *ex opere operato* but *ex opere operantis* through the power of the Divine Master working in and through the Church. The New Testament conception of the Church is that of a society of regenerated individuals, building itself up upon the truth, and appointed to spiritual service. It seems clear that in the normal and typical life of the Church as illustrated in the apostolic period, the congregation is the primary factor in Christian effort and in the extension of the Kingdom of God.

But this ideal conception did not last. The Cyprianic theory came in and a legalistic Church put the clergy in a place by themselves superior to the laity. According to this theory the Church is an institution rather than a communion, and its direction and control come from without rather than from within. This theory is not without justification in the nature of things and in the teaching of Scripture. Over against the Montanistic

and Donatistic views which threatened the Church, there was reason for it. But the exclusive manner in which it controlled the Church for thirteen centuries suppressed the other and more vital principle of the early Church and called for a reformation.

The Lutheran Reformation stated a new principle, or rather stated anew the old principle which was formulated by the Apostle Peter in the words " Ye are a royal priesthood." This principle repudiates not only episcopal claims but every clerical assumption of authority independent of the congregation. In a movement which Thomasius describes as a central epoch in the world's history, the Reformation negated a theory of the Church which had practically eliminated the congregation. Neither hierarchy nor hierurgy finds a place in the doctrinal system of Lutheranism.

But theory and practice do not always agree. While the German Reformation clearly maintained the position that the Church was, in the main, the communion of saints, for some reason the succeeding century failed to reap the practical benefits of this doctrine. A State Church had been established in which princes were installed in the places formerly held by the Catholic bishops. Perhaps this was one reason. Also there were intense doctrinal controversies which gave dominance to the teaching office. This may have been another reason.

This much is certain, a new hierachy was established in place of the old one, and it seemed as if Christ had again surrendered His Church into the hands of the priests and rulers.

The Pietistic movement made an effective protest against the new sacerdotalism and restored the priesthood to the congregation where it originally belonged. A phase of this movement developed later in England under Wesley. Both Methodism and Puritanism are in the main on the side of congregational life.

Passing by the period of Rationalism, during which Herder, who was preacher as well as poet, made an important contribution to the subject, we note that Schleiermacher gave the definitions which have placed the problem of the Church in the foremost position in the thought of modern times. I can only

refer to this crisis and indicate its importance, without dwelling upon the scope or the details of the movement.

There are two deductions from this doctrine of the Church as a communion. First, the importance of the individual. Each member has gifts which it is his privilege and his duty to use for the benefit of the society. In the First Epistle to the Corinthians seven of the spiritual gifts which belonged to that congregation are named. They may have had more. Our congregations may have these gifts and other gifts, and more gifts. Certain it is that every Church has charisms which it is our duty to discover and employ. To begin with, we must dispel from our minds the Romish idea that only the acts connected with the sanctuary or the Sabbath are religious acts. When we remember that everything that a Christian does, eating or drinking and whatsoever he does, should be done to the glory of God, what a wide and pervasive ministry our churches should have. The lawyer and the laborer, the physician and the washerwoman in their daily round of duties acting in the name of the Master perform a ministry no less sacred than that of the minister in the pulpit.

The presence of one Christian family in an apartment house, or one Christian workman in the factory, or one Christian member in a club or lodge, will have a transforming influence, if the Savior's statement concerning salt and light has any meaning. From an ethical point of view it is perilous to have a good impulse unless it can be translated into a good deed. So in religion, unless people apply the truth they have learned, it will do them little good. Doubtless we have many men in our Churches who can do something. But because they cannot take part in the prayer meeting or testify in words, they feel that they are shut out from religious work. They have gifts, but the Church does not appreciate them, and so they go to the lodge or to the club where their talents are appreciated and employed. The minister frequently complains that he has so much work to do. Why not pile some of this work on other shoulders. A dozen pair of shoulders can easily carry a burden which would be too heavy for one. Undreamed of

capacities and powers are hidden among the members of our Churches which might all be used for the edification of the Church. Not only would they themselves be benefited, but it would conduce largely to the wealth and power of the society if the personality of the individual members were thus turned into the common work. The possession of these gifts involves the obligation to use them and points out an important mission of the Church. Baxter two hundred years ago, in his classic work on the Reformed Pastor, showed that the ideal congregation was where every member had something to do. In my own church, I make it a rule never to do anything myself that somebody else can do.

The compilers of statistics are continually counting people. If their object is to ascertain the strength of the churches, they should weigh the members rather than count them. When we return to the Lutheran conception of the congregation, our people will not simply be numbered but they will be valued according to their personal contribution to the society. Not what they give, but the extent to which they give themselves will be the measure of their value in the Church.

The second deduction from this doctrine of the Church as a communion, is the obligation of the society to care for all its members. The word must be brought effectively to all its members. On this point Romanists, early Lutherans and Pietists had each their own theories and methods. The actual condition of our Churches compels us to ask to what extent our congregations are meeting this obligation. A limited number of people come to church. But think of the vast numbers who have lapsed. Amid the cares and sorrows of life, under the weight of misfortune and of sin, what a multitude there is about us as sheep without a shepherd. And yet not all of these people are heathen. In some way or other they are related to the Church, and I hope that during the coming year our pastors will include many of them in the third of the new statistical columns which the late General Synod has provided for us, entitled Baptized Members.

The modern solution of this problem is to work through

societies. I may seem to have spoken in a disparaging way of societies. But such was not my intention. The Church itself is a society and hence cannot be hostile to her children. The idea of the congregation involves such an organization as that all may be reached. The organization of societies combining certain forces for reaching certain conditions is legitimate.

There are societies outside of the Church. One of the greatest movements of modern times, the "Inner Mission," of Germany, is a network of societies which began outside of the Church. Indeed it came into existence because the Church had neglected to provide for the conditions which were met by the "Inner Mission." But it worked in the spirit of the Church and in its development associated itself more and more with the Church, so that it may now be looked upon as identified with the Church. But societies cannot take the place of the Church and are an obstruction when they assume to do so. The Church has the Word and the Sacraments. The Church has fellowship and prayers. The Church has the power of the keys. The Church comes with the divine mandate and the divine promise. The Church is a plenipotentiary with authority to declare war or to make peace.

When we remember how in our own field the Church has neglected her opportunity and how inadequate are her resources for the work that should be done, it seems ungracious for a moment to question the value of the Social Settlement, with the splendid heroism of the men and the women who are giving their lives to that work. But no matter how many amenities it may carry to the slums, being silent on the subject of religion, it is unable to carry the heaviest burdens and to wash away the deepest stains.

The Church is the Social Settlement which the Master ordained. His ideals of social improvement must be the norm for us. It is sometimes claimed that there is a tendency among Protestant denominations to form congregations along the line of social distinctions. Among Roman Catholics this is impossible, and Protestants are half ashamed to admit that it is the case with them. But in point of fact, from many churches the

poor are debarred. Either it is the rented pew, or the fine clothes or an indefinable something in the very atmosphere which says to the man with the gold ring, wearing gay clothing and goodly apparel, "Sit thou here in a good place," and to the poor man in vile raiment "Stand thou there or sit here under my footstool."

There are some social advantages that may be gained from such assemblies for hebdomadal edification or titillation. But these could easily be secured elsewhere. On the other hand a Church loses inestimable privileges by not adhering to its original mission. It is only when a congregation enters into the daily life of the community, sharing its needs, helping to solve its problems, and by its own divine inspiration quickening the life of the world, that it reaches its ideal, that it conforms to the Master's requirement: "Ye are the salt of the earth, ye are the light of the world."

There are societies inside of the Church. A Church can only gain if with careful discrimination it organizes its membership in such a way as to attain the objects of a congregational life. This is a theme which requires separate treatment and I have time only to remark that such societies should be "of the Church, by the Church and for the Church." Hence they should simply be branches of the congregation, reporting to the congregation, responsible to the congregation and engaged in carrying out the details of such work as the congregation in its entirety is unable to perform.

2. I plead for a fuller recognition of the congregation in view of its functions.

The functions of a congregation are manifold. But for our present purpose we may confine ourselves to the general classification: preaching, catechisation, church extension, worship, discipline and government. Some of these seem to belong to a special office, but in point of fact they are all functions of the congregation.

Preaching. A man must be a Christian before he can be a preacher. And when he preaches he is not only delivering a message *to* the congregation as the messenger of God, but in

another relation he is also the representative *of* the congregation, speaking out of the Christian consciousness of the congregation, and out of the fulness of the truth committed to the Church. His work is sacrificial as well as sacramental.

A fuller congregational life would enlarge the field for the exercise of the preaching function of the Church. The schoolhouse at the cross roads, and the hired hall in the slums would be places where the intelligent and devoted young men of our Church could go in the afternoon and evening and repeat to Zaccheus and to Magdalen the message which the minister gave to his people in the morning. Perhaps you will regard this as radical doctrine and are disposed to quote "*nisi rite vocatus.*" Brother, if the Augsburg Confession had been written in our day, I feel sure it would have declared that such an opening constituted a legitimate call, and that the Church was exercising its proper functions in sending forth Christian men to respond to it.

Closely connected with the preaching office is that of the lay reader. The early Church made much of this office. In Europe almost every Lutheran congregation has one in the person of the schoolmaster. In this country, in this clergy-ridden Church of ours such a thing is seldom heard of. But why should we not revive an office which has the endorsement of ancient ecclesiastical usage? Why should we close our churches when we go to synod, or are sick abed, or are unexpectedly called away? Why should not some member of the Church, specially trained for this work, read the Common Service, give out the hymns, and read an edifying discourse to the congregation? Episcopalians have their lay readers, Methodists their local preachers; Lutherans, with clearer and broader views on the subject of the universal priesthood, ought to take the lead in finding work of this kind for their intelligent and devoted laymen.

A fuller congregational life would find a large field for this subordinate office of the preaching function.

Catechisation. This is a work not necessarily connected with the preaching office, although the minister is properly charged

with the duty of seeing to it that it is done. Indeed the very first and best catechisation is that which is given in the home by the Christian father and mother.

No more important problem presents itself to us at this time than that of the religious instruction of children, no more important duty devolves upon the Church, in a country where secular education is, to say the least, non religious, than the catechisation of the young. And this is a function of the congregation. But when the congregation does not exercise this function, for the reason that it has only a theoretical existence, the duty seems to devolve upon the minister. And when the minister has so many other thing to do, because, besides all the visits he has to make, he absorbs into his own sacred person so many of the functions of the congregation, he declare that he cannot find time for the work, and passes it on to the Sunday School.

A fuller congregational life would recognize the importance of this function and would find a method of exercising it in a manner at least approximately adequate. I would only refer to the possibility of securing lay helpers in the work of aiding the pastor in week-day instruction, and also of so organizing the Sunday School that in place of being in a relation independent of the Church it would contribute more definitely and more effectively to the life of the Church itself.

Church Extension. The Church must actualize herself in the world, extend her borders and seek to gain others into her communion. In Home Missions and in Foreign Missions she fulfils what is not only a duty and a privilege, but a very condition of her existence. But in these fields also the hierarchical conception has crowded out the congregational view, and we are generally content with vicarious service, with sending out our agents working under a special commission.

A feeling of congregational responsibility will provide us with a larger force of workers, and that is what we need. Twenty years ago, in 1884, our synod * numbered 9,072 communi-

* The Synod of New York and New Jersey.

cants; five years later, 10,302; in 1894, 9,329; in 1899, 9,393; in 1904, 11,688. Figures are sometimes unreliable, especially Lutheran figures. But whatever errors may have crept into these statistics, surely twenty years is time enough to correct them, and to eliminate them from the general average. We may therefore assume that they are approximately correct. They show an apparent increase in twenty years of 2,616. But this is more than accounted for by the congregations that have been added to our number. In reality the churches of twenty years ago have declined rather than gone forward. But even if the apparent increase were an actual one, what would it show? It would show that our churches have added 29 per cent. to their membership during twenty years, a rate of 1½ per cent. per annum.

The average growth of population is 2½ per cent. per annum, or 50 per cent. in twenty years, and hence we have relatively gone backward instead of forward. But the following presentation will better illustrate the point I am trying to make. These figures show that it takes 66 members a whole year to bring one new member into the Church. It would not be a record to be proud of if we ministers were charged with this duty and credited with its performance, but when we remember that that is a congregational duty, the presentation becomes impressive. The normal growth of the Church by baptism and confirmation ought to account for this solitary addition, and the question naturally arises, what have these 66 members been doing in every one of the last twenty years for the extension of the Church? Let us put this question to ourselves until we realize our personal responsibility in the matter of extending and promoting the growth of the Church.

It is all right for us to endeavor to increase the ranks of the ministry, and we may well deplore the lack of candidates. *But there is a greater need than of ministers*, we need congregations. We need to remember that in the normal life of the Church, the congregation is the primary factor in the work of church extension. Every substitution of other agents only leads to

atrophy and the displacement of the original and legitimate force.

On this point a writer in the "Outlook" recently said:

"The Christian Church is more than a spiritual fellowship, than a worshiping community, than a school of disciples. It is organized to disseminate throughout the world the principles and the spirit of Jesus Christ. Club it may be—social, spiritual, worshiping, educational—but it is also a club organized for a definite propaganda; as much so as the Cobden Club, the Republican Club, the City Club. If it forgets this object of its organization, allows it to fall into abeyance or even into the background, it presently ceases to be a school of Christ, and the teaching of its ministry becomes theological, or ethical, or literary; it ceases to be a worshiping community, and aestheticism takes the place of penitence and prayer and praise; it ceases to be a spiritual fellowship and becomes a class church."

A fuller congregational life would make our churches at least as active in securing converts as are political parties or clubs in advancing their ideas.

Worship. This is peculiarly a congregational function. The very title of the book we use, the Common Service, that is the service of the people, indicates its congregational character.

With historic tact our Church collected and transmitted the liturgical treasures of the Christian centuries. In her doctrine she carefully discriminated between the sacrificial and sacramental elements of worship. With freedom and truth as the keynotes of our system, we were enabled to retain a historical structure, without becoming subject to a mechanical ritualism.

In our day the Service which our Fathers rescued from the past has been restored to the churches, and it has been made possible for the smallest country congregation to unite with the universal Lutheran Church in a Common Service.

This historical service is a treasure of great value and beauty. It will be worth while to use it and not to be content with simply having it in our books or making an occasional and fragmentary use of its parts.

To those who seek a better knowledge of the meaning of the

PENNSYLVANIA STATE LIBRARY

parts, and their relation to the whole, there will be abundant compensation. Its symbolism, its relations, and finally its bearing upon the Christian life are subjects worthy of study. But its chief value is that it is a Common Service, a service of the people.

A fuller congregational life will remove the liturgy from the position of an *opus operatum*, from the sphere of an unmeaning ritual, will eliminate quartet choirs and hireling singers, and will restore the Service to its proper place as a legitimate function of the congregation, an expression of its religious life, and a symbol of its Christianity.

An intelligent and persistent effort to instruct and train our people, especially our young people, in the meaning and use of the liturgy would bring immediate and valuable results, would lead them to say with the Psalmist:

"One thing have I asked of Jehovah, that will I seek after: That I may dwell in the house of Jehovah all the days of my life, To behold the beauty of Jehovah." Or as Luther translated it:

"Zu schauen die schoenen Gottesdienste des Herrn."

Discipline. Alas what has become of it! It is an extinct function, for the reason that the only body authorized to enforce it has, except in theory, ceased to exist.

For, any discipline exercised by a minister or a Church Council on their own account is illegitimate, being an assumption of authority not committed to them by the Head of the Church. As matters now stand, there is not a lodge nor a military company, nor a political club where they do not have better discipline than we have in the Church. And yet it is a function that is essential to the well being of the Church's life. A fuller congregational life would restore discipline to its proper place.

And finally government. How can there be a strong and safe government of any form, when the very foundations of all good government, the consent of the governed, have not been laid? A few weeks ago, when the mighty autocracy of Russia seemed to be tottering to destruction, it was suggested that the only way to restore a safe government would be

through a recognition of the almost embryonic town meeting, which had from time immemorial existed throughout a great part of the empire.

I do not know of any denomination where there is less government, strong and safe government, and more of the spirit of "do as you please," than in our Lutheran churches. (Always excepting the Missourians, among whom the congregational system has been consistently and well developed.) If we have a strong minister, he does as he pleases with his congregation. If we have a strong congregation they do as they please with their minister. If there is a controversy, one or the other has to suffer. If they seem to be equally strong there is a tug of war, until it can be proved which is the stronger. But in any case the decision is not reached until much harm has been done to the Church and to the interests of the Kingdom of God. The history of our own synod is punctuated with the wrecked careers of ministers and of churches because of our inadequate government. Then some one says we ought to have a bishop. Another would have the president of synod invested with greater authority. Still another is willing to wait till synod meets, expecting that its decision will solve the problem. But, brethren, in our system no government, episcopal, synodical, or pastoral, can have any prospect of success until it is based upon the resuscitation and regeneration of the congregation.

The functions of the congregation are manifold and yet they are but one. As Nitzsch says in his monumental work on Pastoral Theology, in all their different modes they presuppose faith active in love, they have the same general object, edification in Christ. They are summed up in the words of St. Peter: "That ye may show forth the excellencies of Him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light."

In treating this great subject within the compass of a brief discourse, I realize that I have presented only the vague outline of that which my theme demands. I must leave it to you to fill out the picture as your time and thoughts will permit. Nor have I felt at liberty to enter into details and to suggest

plans and methods. My object was to discuss principles rather than methods. I recall the caution given by St. Basil, "We need less technology, and more theology." Nor has it been in a spirit of cynical criticism that I have considered this question. I am included among those who have slipped away from the evangelical standards, and I earnestly desire to find my way back again. Furthermore, in the office to which you have called me, I have had opportunity for observing the standpoint which is taken by both pastor and people. It may be summed up in this one sentence: "The congregation is the field and not the force."

With these conditions in view, I have endeavored to elucidate the fundamental principles involved in the question and to emphasize their importance.

I know how easy it is to adopt the ministerial conception of the office, if I may so term the hierarchical standpoint. All history shows that the churches are forever slipping back to it. The ministers consent because thereby their office is exalted. The people have no objections because thereby they are relieved of a great deal of responsibility.

I know also how difficult is the work of reform. You have often urged some of these considerations upon your people, but you cannot get them to respond. They leave everything to the preacher, and he in his delusion shoulders their duties and thinks he is doing God service. I plead for a reformation. I do not ask for a simple change in some of our methods, but I hold that an entirely new attitude is required. This is what I have tried to emphasize and repeat in every key: the congregation and not the minister is the primary factor in the care of souls. If I read history aright, the call for evangelical reform has always been closely related to this question, and whenever the congregation has lapsed from the position assigned to it by the Master and by the usage of the New Testament a new reformation is necessary.

A reformation of our congregational life is needed, if we would attain the high ideals which are held before us in the doctrine and practice of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

ARTICLE II.

THE RESPONSIBILITY AND DUTY OF A THEOLOGICAL PROFESSOR. *

By Rev. S. E Greenawalt, A.M.

It has seemed wise to the Board of Directors of Wittenberg College, for the better equipment of the Theological Seminary, to establish an additional professorship in the institution. This has been made possible by a generous bequest to increase the efficiency of this especial department. The title of the new chair thus established, designating its particular department of Theological study, is *The Chair of New Testament Philology and Criticism.*

You, my brother, have been honored by a unanimous election to this position in this school of the prophets. It is my personal privelege and official duty on behalf of the Board of Directors, whose representative I am, to address you briefly at this time. You are about to be formally inducted into a position of exceeding importance and great responsibility. I need not remind you of the high honor of having your name associated in your life work with those of men, living and dead, who have largely impressed their personality and their teaching upon this institution. The life of the sainted Doctor Keller whose dust lies in beautiful Fern Cliff hard by, and whose spirit was released to early reward, should be an inspiration to every successor in the privilege of teaching the coming ministry. The saintly life and the valued teachings of the sweet spirited Doctor Sprecher, who by the side of the placid Pacific, in the gloaming of a golden day awaits his coronation, should inspire to a diligent study of the Book, and the ensouling of its teaching into a holy life. The names of other noble men need not be mentioned who wrought well in their way and

* A charge delivered by the Rev. S. E. Greenawalt, as President of the Board of Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, at the Installation of Rev. V. G. A. Tressler, Ph.D., D.D., in the Chair of New Testament Philology and Criticism in Wittenberg Theological Seminary, Nov. 8th, 1905.

time and whose memory and influence linger as a benediction. In your co-laborers and fellow teachers the Church has manifested her fullest confidence in calling each of them in turn, to the highest official position within her gift. I congratulate you upon being the recipient of such confidence and high honor. You have come to a place of vantage and opportunity, which to the conscientious soul means likewise solemn responsibility.

In the constitution of Wittenberg College it is announced that "a chief aim of the institution shall be the education of young men for the ministry of the Evangelical Lutheran Church." This is *the* mission of the Theological Seminary.

To train ministers of the Word for our Church and time, and send them forth with a clear and unequivocal message, able to present the same in a manner that will command the attention and confidence of men, and move to active acceptance of the same, is the high purpose of the divinity school. The minister must ever be an *evangel* to the lost, a herald to the wayward and indifferent, and a proclaimer of the truth to a world lying in error. Emphasis must above all rest upon the especial work of fitting *men to preach the gospel of Christ.* This ideal must needs be constantly held before the student in the theological seminary as a necessary goal in his life work, that he attain the ability to preach, interpret, illustrate and present truth in such a way that it will be grasped by the common mind and coveted as a personal possession. If he fail in this he has failed in an essential in his high calling.

A note of warning has been sounded in a recent article, relative to much of the Theological teaching of to-day, by one who is himself an honored teacher in one of the conservative schools in another denomination. Professor Theo. W. Hunt, D.D., of Princeton Seminary, writes: "Teaching becomes more and more a science, a vocation in itself, with its own methods and ideals, a profession in the specific sense, and inclining as such to technical processes and results.

"The member of the seminary faculty finds himself by force of his invironment approaching all problems that come to him from the abstract and theoretical side. The relation of Biblical to philosophical studies is so pronounced and vital

in modern thinking that the method of theological investigation has become metaphysical and psychologic, until at length the didactic process prevails and theology is presented as nothing more or less than one of the philosophies. The 'Gospels' and 'Epistles' are now examined too much as Kant's 'Critique,' and the 'Dialogues' of Plato would be, so that much direct, practical purpose is lost to the dominence of the merely educational and speculative." He adds: "Most of the strength of these centers of sacred learning is expended in the line of theological discussion and controversy; in the application of the speculative method of the university class-room to the interpretation of Scripture; indeed to a theological training as a professional pursuit, especially attractive as such to the divinity professor, as well as to that increasing class of students who are most intense upon the investigation of a subject for its own sake as a mental discipline rather than for any ultimate purpose as related to the practical work of the ministry." May this criticism never be true of our cherished institution, but rather may the prayer of the first president of this school written down the day following that upon which the College grounds were surveyed continue to find answer: "That this academic grove may be a place to which hundreds will resort to drink of the pure fountains of knowledge, and then go forth into the world to do good, to bless mankind." Or that there be realized still the hope expressed by the second honored head of the institution in his inaugaral, that "This institution be not only a seat of learning, but also the abode of deep and lively piety." We are pleased to believe that this word of warning from even so high a source is not needed in all institutions and that *this* seminary has continued to the older and truer ideal.

You, my brother, are a teacher. Your studies are not merely or primarily for scholastic attainments, intellectual pleasure, or to fit for the discussion of obscure and difficult philological or critical questions, but that you may better teach young men to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ to a lost and perishing world.

Exactness in scholarship is desirable, but not to the neglect of ability to impart the truth and cause men to feel and be moved

by its power. The Church is calling for efficient preachers of the Word.

Men teach by what they are and by what they do as well as by what they say. Therefore the ideals that are held before the student for his attainment will be most effectually presented not by words alone but by life and example. Luther has said that "A theologian is not made by much thinking, or reading or reflecting, but by holy living and deep experience." It goes without saying that the world and the Church, God and men, demand of men in this position a high degree of that Christian excellence that they are called upon to teach. There is expected purity of motive, integrity of purpose, application to duty, a knowledge of the Book, a godly walk and conversation, a *passion for souls* and absolute faith in the Gospel as the power of God unto salvation, so that the young men who come in contact with them as teachers will know them as exemplifications of the truth.

You are a teacher of theology. The time is happily past in our seminary when a single professor, as in the early day, is expected to teach all the branches of theological science and be equally proficient in all. With a foundation deep and broad, by this happy division, you are given time to specialize and more truly to become a master in your chosen field. But the seminary in all the departments must ever be one in spirit and aim, namely, to furnish the most efficient training that ministers of the Word may be "workmen that need not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth" and that they be thoroughly furnished unto all good works." The practical work of the ministry must be emphasized.

The young men from the seminary need to know the theological thought of the past, and its result in the life and character of men; but they need to know also the thought of the present and the trend of to-day, and be truly anchored to the verities of the eternal Word, that they be not swept away by a flood tide of current speculation, or dragged down by the undertow of pretended scholastic attainment.

Be not anxious over much to discard the old because it is old, content to realize that some things are fixed and by un-

failing tests have proved their right to remain. Ours is a conservative Church. Nor yet be fearful of the new when presented with full credentials that it is the true, for only truth shall at last survive. The Church of the Reformation has ever encouraged true scholarship and thorough investigation.

Yours is a call and a commission to a denominational institution. The historic name Wittenberg designates it as thoroughly evangelical and conservatively Lutheran. It was because the fathers believed that the great Reformer's conception of truth was the right conception, and was important to the world, that they in great faith and sacrifice planted yet another institution of learning in the fertile soil of the middle West with its primary object, to train men for the ministry of the Word in the Lutheran faith. This faith needs no apologist in any intelligent community. It has proven its worth; its fruit remains. It should be clearly taught, vigorously preached, loyally lived.

As the sainted Doctor Wolf has written: "The doctrines which the Lutheran teaches have stood the test of every conceivable form of opposition. They are substantially the same as when they changed the face of Europe in the sixteenth century. While recognizing that the expressions and adaptations of the Gospel vary with the progress of culture and civilization, the Lutherans have no idea that the truth itself ever changes and they cast no such imputation upon the inspired teachings as are implied in the claim that only after eighteen centuries is the human mind able to reach its correct interpretation."

They know what they believe and whatever remains for them to do in order to attain the highest efficiency in church work, they have not first to settle the principles or limits of their creed. Neither have they any place in this country for the "new theology." A loyalty to this faith that has girdled the globe, that has proven its adaptability to all classes and nationalities, that has ministered to Emperors, Kings, scholars and statesmen as well as the humblest toiler and lowliest servant, a faith that fosters learning and nurtures piety, a faith

that seeks fruit in character, a hearty loyalty to this faith is expected of you by the Charch you are called to serve.

You are called to be a teacher of religious teachers. The subject matter of your especial department involves the very foundations of the Christian faith. The fundamental facts of Christianity focalize in a person. The truth concerning the life, teachings and purpose of this person is revealed to us in a book. This book, the New Testament, its authenticity, authorship, integrity and content is the especial theme of your investigation and teaching. With these records and revelations the subject of inquiry and attack, from open enemies and even good men in high councils posing as friends, your position is of vast importance and great responsibility. The need of the Church is an educated, devout and fearless ministry. History has proven that a heroic ministry has never arisen save from those of undoubted faith in the integrity and inspiration of the Book. The mere professional, ethical, or humanitarian teacher ever lacks in the realization of the divine authority and urgency that prompts to self-denial and utter abandon in the service of Jesus Christ. It is yours to so direct the student in the quest for truth that he may not be enamored and satisfied with an unproved theory, however new and attractive, but that his faith be buttressed by evidence cumulative through nineteen centuries; so that confident of a "thus saith the Lord" as his message, his faith will rise to assurance, his halting doubts give place to courageous endeavor, and the energies of his life be fully surrendered to his holy calling.

But I will not trespass upon your time. It is but fitting that we should expectantly await the deliverance of the message by the one called to an important part in the training of the Church's future preachers. I tarry but to assure you of the entire confidence, as we believe, of the members of the Board and the Church represented by them of your fitness both in head and heart for the duties before you. The sincere desire is that you may have large success and great personal joy in your work and the fervent prayer is offered that the Holy Spirit may guide you into all the truth and be your daily helper in imparting the same.

ARTICLE III.

NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM IN A LUTHERAN DIVINITY SCHOOL. *

By Professor V. G. A. Tressler, Ph.D., D.D.

Fathers, Brethren, and Fellow-Students:

I count it no mean thing to stand this evening in your presence and in the presence of God on this introductory occasion With you I here unite in the initial functions of a newly assumed relationship, not lightly compacted, not easily disannulled.

Necessarily formal as these legally authorized proceedings must be, there is upon my part, I assure you, likewise a personal sense of the profoundest sort. Who would not be moved in entering upon a field of so large demand and so high import? A field so altogether horizonless.

As a man, I am to meet my fellows in careful converse; as a student, I am companion in things high and hallowed with my fellow-students; as a teacher, I am to cull, collate, and bring to you things pertinent to today from the realm of truth.

I am then man, student and teacher in this newly adjusted compact.

And by the process of exclusion I find myself set apart to a special line of teaching called theological, having to do, as I understood it, with a certain clear and definite realm of thought —namely, the sphere of the soul and its media of life.

Furthermore, as clearly as the objective bounds of my province are marked out, equally sharp is my conception of the subjective relation which I obligate myself to assume towards this field of truth.

I am a Lutheran. I teach in a Lutheran School of Divinity. I apprehend theologic truth, therefore, from a definite historic viewpoint, which I am supposed to have considered with prayer and care, to have validified to my own conscience and to de-

* Inaugural Address.

sire to propagate as my sincere, unequivocal, hearty and joyous personal faith. This supposition I herewith assume. And in this Reformation time with its clustering incident aromatic of our faith, I renew with a sense of exhilarating joy my whole and hearty adoption of the faith of the fathers as my faith—and the living principles of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as the basis of my belief and consequently of my instruction.

Neither is it a matter of little moment to me that I am to teach in Wittenberg, in Hamma Divinity Hall,institution and building alike redolent with the hope and faith of great men and godly—gone before, and of good men and true, still by the grace of God, with us to cheer, encourage and support.

Surveying now more carefully the characteristic of my own chair—the New Testament in its philologic and critical aspects, we need to recognize what view the Lutheran Church holds historically, and whether or not modern developments are of such character as to cause the Church to shift her base or to necessitate a re-adjustment of her relation so far as the Word of God is concerned.

Tremendous masses of theological literature are now being hurtled from the presses of both hemispheres. In the Eastern world as in the Western the lists of publications are in no small measure catalogued philosophico-theological. The book shops of Leipzig and Berlin exhibit a constantly increased number of printed discussions of fine acumen and characteristic scholarship on topics of New Testament import.

Fairly conversant for now a half dozen years with the book markets of the old world, I have been led to constantly marvel at their prolific and profound discussion. The *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung* and *Literatur-Blatt*, and *Jahres Bericht* will all astound their reader by the masses of matter there shown to be emanating from the press. And less than three months since Prof. Seeberg, of Berlin, in a personal conversation expressed to me his renewed hope for the Church amongst the upper classes of Germany because of the very fact that these publications evinced and confirmed a deep and growing interest upon the part of the reading classes in the religious things pertaining to the New Testament. And the burning point of discussion

is latterly largely upon this New Testament ground. The New Testament centers the field of this culture conflict. We may not escape it if we would.

Nor can the Professor in a Lutheran Theological School in the province of New Testament research stand apart from, or consider himself extraneous to whatever may be in the focus of scholarly vision in his department of thought. It would ill become the Lutheran ideal of exact though devout scholarship to elude or to ignore the passing storm of critical thought. Apart from the ethical inadmissibility of this position of indifferent negation, mental honesty and eccclesiastical equipoise would demand an effort at solutions.

Furthermore, the non-discussion of the questions of advanced criticism under a reliable guide opens to the unaided student large possibilities of error, and thus an unfortunate passing fancy may lightly become a permanent conviction.

Christianity is not independent of critical results. It cannot, therefore, ignore criticism without emasculating the Christian concept by denuding it of all positive content. Critical historical investigation has its right, the right of search for the truth.

But we maintain the right to put the question, Is there competency on the part of the human intellect to produce such certitude of result in the complicate human-divine problems as will define and demonstrate ?

Some truth is yet inaccessible to the race, and I opine that the problems ofttimes undertaken by the pure critical spirit are entirely disproportionate to its capacity, infinitely incommensurate with the processes of investigation at the command of mortality, minify or magnify it as you may.

Criticism then in itself is not an evil but an aid and attendant of vitality and intensity. John requires that we 'prove' the spirits whether or no they be of God, and the Thessalonian Church is exhorted to 'test' all things, and Paul 'chief of the apostles' as he was, ascribed nobility to the Bereans because they 'searched Scripture'—indicating that the requisite searching of Christian faith is objective as well as subjective. Our Lord himself is constantly and sharply penetrative. The life and

teaching from Moses to the Maccabees passes under his analytic spirit. Wide is it from his aim to lower the border lines between fidelity and credulity that the former may be graded down to the latter. Hence a criticism reverent and discriminating is in a condition of life an essential. That which the Founder of Christianity and his apostles were obliged to utilize, must, doubtless, in the propagation of his teaching also have its place. Recognizing then from the very nature of the case this necessity, there remains to have regard to the canons of legitimate criticism and the bounds in which they may be applied.

Not in the bald sense in which it is sometimes asserted, is Scripture to be handled as any other text. "A glory gilds the sacred page, Majestic like the sun; It gives a light to every age, It gives, but borrows none." *Sui generis* is the Word in all Lutheran faith and theology. Its truth has its own self-evidencing authority. Over the low walls erected by philology, history and the mental categories, there rises with perennial power and pervasive presence the spiritual reality.

Masterful exegetical strength must be had. Linguistic paraphrase and parallel are to be drawn. Documentary collation and investigation need to be a feature of our daily thought. Lexical and classical minuteness dare not be lightly cast aside. The most monumental mentality may find here open place and insistant space. Yet the uniqueness of the Word requires tests higher than these. Paul defines it in his Corinthian Epistle. Such an one is, he says, "spiritual."

Life defies bars and boundaries physical and mental alike. And the Christian Doctors, Ante-Nicene and Post-Nicene and Reformation, were strong not alone nor indeed chiefly by classicism, but by profound understanding of the deep things of God, having been led into unlocked scriptures by the spirit of God.

Passing to the critic's task there is to be demanded of our work the *rationale* of sense. A microscopic disintegration of word and syllables, a minute vessicular reckoning of syllable and accent is not the first element of literary criticism either in or out of sacred writings. Rather do we require that the re-

lationship of part to whole, the discrimination of major and minor phrases and the grasping of the writer's purpose and plan, be presented to us. We insist that a heedless admixture of Biblical texts irrespective of age or authorship shall no longer insistently be urged upon us as coördinate and coequal witnesses. Insisting likewise that the Bible is the Word of God, the Lutheran Church by historical association naturally comes in close touch with the critical spirit. And to the critical study of the Word, the Lutheran Church must ever directly and consistently lend herself. Her genesis in the rehabilitation of the Word as her underlying principle over against the extravaganza of medieval glosses naturally places her. And unless she has shifted her Formal Principle, which God forbid, her position today ought to admit of no question. Always has the Lutheran Church held highest its reverence for the Word. Within the past week reading the autobiography of one of the strong men of the American Lutheran Church, I was filled with admiration at his constant appeal in the things personal and things public of a long, varied and versatile life to the Word of God. And I have often been struck in Lutheran Literature with this same persistent infusion of the Scripture text. Indeed I call you to witness that scarcely any other literature has maintained through long centuries this utter Scripture simplicity. From Franke at Halle to Frank of Erlangen, we find the same Scripture emphasis. In Tholuck's talks with his students, in Muhlenberg's diary, in the devotional literature since Luther, is this true. And as a theologic basis it belongs to the glories of our Church, this recognition of the Word as *His* Word. A very recent inquiry into collegiate Bible study in American higher institutions shows the Lutheran Church first in the percentage of matriculated students having a biblical curriculum.

Lutheran emphasis upon indoctrination of youth embodied in its schools and special pastoral functions in connection with youthful training call to mind more forcibly than words that our Church heartily encourages all healthy Bible study, accepts sincerely and without reservation the Scriptures as the Word of God, as the credible source of Divine revelation and as the

standard and measure of all churchly doctrine. And here we come in touch with another theory.

The hypothesis of historical development, seemingly omniverous under the skillful Graf-and-Wellhausen propaganda is being metamorphosed, let us hope, into a more harmless ruminant.

Says Prof. Burns: "It fails signally when applied to the history of any nation of which we have any historical data. For progress, though a marked feature of the history of many people is never the product of an evolutionary process, but is largely the result of a creative energy of one or more personalities, such as King Alfred and Washington in government, Chaucer in literature, Bacon in science, and Luther and Wesley in religion."

There necessarily is advance in the conception of truth as it impinges upon the human soul in reiterated aphelion and perihelion; but this progression must lie within the eternally-statutory bounds of Evangelical deposit.

And the principal of merely natural development in religion vitiates the essential idea of inherent revelation.

Furthermore, the conclusions of Higher Criticism are at best indicative only of a higher or lower probability. And this conjectectural criticism, largely of that type, excludes itself from the domain of science by its own processes.

Its theoretical affirmative or denial cannot possibly have the weight of clarified codification. The speculative discussion though mentally of profound value, however cautiously developed, subsumes otherwise unproven premises and must therefore result in contingencies or predictions, which latter are often synonymous with predilection.

The gospel is authoritative not only because many of its truths and concepts appeal to our self and soul, but rather in that—appealing or not—they remain the utterance and hence the oracle of God.

President Northrup wisely says: "The divergence is wide —between saying this thing is true because God said it, and God said this because it is true. The former carries with it

the certainty of thus saith the Lord. The latter is of no validity because many things may be true which God never said."

Coming to another phase of our relation to the New Testament, attention falls upon the text itself—that which literally to the eye is the Word. It, too, has its problems solved and solving.

Text Criticism there must be. Its validity inheres in its essential character. The necessity arises out of the limitations of transmission, either subjectively or objectively and its course, though at times marked by the fluctuating tendencies of passing vagaries and conditioned by the eddies of a temporary and occasionally temporizing impact, has nevertheless led towards safer, saner and more substantial ground.

Text Criticism is no science, but an art upon a scientific foundation. It is and must be therefore dissevered from any and all apologetic interest.

The Text Criticism of the New Testament has ground in the fact that the witnesses for the text in the early manuscript forms (Blass) show individuality and idiosyncrasy requiring for their explication and synthesis careful processes of correct thinking. To this end men have elaborated rules by and under which the numberless trifling and yet to be handled individual cases are brought under one view point and determined according to a definite actuality. The results of Text Criticisms have led to a great series of definite settlements in New Testament readings throughout.

The Lower or Textual Criticism deals with questions of text, while the Higher Criticism sets for its task the questions of authorship, sources, composition and general literary character. These groupings are not in their nomenclature entirely fortunate and have each lent themselves to abuse. No self-complacency need to attach to him who deals with authorship, no derogation is involved in the labors of the specialist of the text.

Both alike have their province equally legitimate, if not equally in honor.

To ascertain the true text of a document as originally written by the author is a most natural and necessary work.

To find the *ipsissima verba* of the truths given men through

apostolic hands is the desideratum of him who toils over mildewed and musty manuscripts and versions. His function is to recover the true form of the author's text, however varied and divergent may be the copies from which he makes his initiatory advances. Complex indeed are the matters involved. Autographs, and genealogies, corrupt texts and historic tendencies, ecclesiastical lineage and dogmatic predilection are a few of the elements whose criteria enter into and give character and weight to the finally formed conclusions.

Now, the Textual Criticism of the New Testament is, if possible, even more complicated than is customarily the case, even as it is more important. "It is," says Kenyon of the British Museum, " the most important branch of the science, because it has to do with a book the import of which is quite incommensurable with that of any other book in the world—and it is the most complicated, because the extant materials are incomparably more plentiful in number and more varied in kind than in any other instance."

Sophocles is preserved to us in perhaps one hundred copies. Aeschylus in not more than fifty manuscripts. The poems of Catullus are left us in but three extant copies, all from a single manuscript not earlier than the Fourteenth Century. The number of New Testament manuscripts in the Greek original now known, are more than three thousand and constantly increasing as Asiatic unearthings or European Library collations proceed with their work.

The translated copies of New Testament are also multiform and varied. More than one thousand copies of Syriac, Gothic, Ethiopic and Armenian, Coptic, and Syriac versions are in hand, and possibly nine thousand copies of the Latin Vulgate. Consider this enormous cloud of witnesses and note the heavy task of the scholar in his efforts in presenting the purest possible text to the Church and the world.

True in one point New Testament Manuscripts have a clear and marvelous advantage over those of the classics—in no other case is the interval of time between the composition of the book and the date of earliest extant manuscript so short as in that of the New Testament. Written in the first century,

our earliest manuscript is from the fourth, with an interval of, therefore, but two centuries or thereabouts. While our manuscripts of Terrence are at least seven hundred years later than his writing, of Horace nine hundred years, and the interval separating Plato from his work is thirteen hundred years, while Aeschylus, Sophocles and Aristophanes are one thousand—four hundred years earlier than the manuscripts we use of theirs in our colleges today.

So far as textual criticism is concerned, then, its task is to extract the actual words of apostolic dictation from the great mass of divergent manuscripts which preserve for us this work. It is a great and necessary task which neither Tischendorf nor Tregelles, Erasmus nor Burgon, Stephen nor Bengel, Westcott nor Hort, Blass nor Nestle have yet completed.

Here Philology has its place. It explains its problems. Since for the Christian there is no holy language, as for the Jews the Hebrew, for the Mohammedans the old Arabian, or for the Hindus the Sanscrit. The written Word is vessicular, condoital. It is a means.

We come now to Scripture content. Realities inhering in the text. Yet rising above and beyond it.

The deeper connotation of the Word may be summarized by Browning's lines in reference to the Gospel of John :

> "I never thought to call down fire on such
> But patient stated much of the Lord's life
> Forgotten or misbelieved, and let it work ;
> Since much that at the first, in deed and word,
> Lay simply and sufficiently exposed had grown
> Of new significance and fresh result
> What first were gussed as points, I now knew stars
> And named them in the gospel I have writ."

Christ holds the Old Testament as an infallible authority, having Himself come not to destroy the law or the prophets but according to his Word, to fulfil.

His apostles in like manner commend the teaching of Christ by repeated appeal to that Scripture which hath concluded all under sin.

To his own Word Jesus attributes a durability unknown to heaven and earth, and expressly also endorses in similar wise

the apostolic Word in, He that receiveth you receiveth me and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.

Similarly we find that the apostle's appeal to Christ's words as of binding authority.

For this we say unto you, says Paul to the Thessalonian Church, "by the Word of the Lord." And I command, says the same apostle to the Corinthians, "Yet not I but the Lord." And in the dramatic apostolic episode at Ephesus the great proto-missionary and martyr looking into the face of his Christian official brotherhood asserts—Wherefore I take you to record this day that I am pure from the blood of all men. For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel, not of pre-nor post-Aristotelian philosophers neither decretal nor edicta conciliorum, but all the council of God. I have showed you all things how that you ought to remember the words of the Lord Jesus how he said." But the apostles also claim even for their own words like authority. For to this end did I write, says Paul, that I might know the proof of you whether you be obedient in all things. And again to the Thessalonians, Therefore, brethren, stand fast and hold the traditions which you have been taught by word or our epistle.

Reiterated and emphatic are the New Testament citations to the (graphai).

The Apostolic Fathers likewise, Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, Hermas, Polycarp, Barnabas and the Didache regard the primacy of the things handed down. Gegraptai, it is written, is the introductory formula which with establishes the truth of a proposition.

The very words of Christ are the appellate court decisive in all controversy. Compare Ignatius' "of some who say—Unless I find it in the original of the gospel I do not believe, and when I said to them, it is written, they answered me, that settles it."

The Gospel, affirms Ignatius' again, is the flesh of Christ, the Apostles are the Presbytery of the Church.

Hence like authority is claimed for apostolic Word by the Fathers as for that of the Lord himself. "For what saith the Scripture?" inquires Paul of the Romans.

The patristic writings abound in references to all the New Testament. Justin, Irenaeus and Clement and Seeberg's edition of the *Homily of Aristides* confirm the facts that all alike of the New Testament books were read in the early assemblies for worship. And at the close of the second century the Anti-Gnostic Fathers assert their recognition of the authority of the New Testament as having been always prevalent in the Church.

Thus up and down the early centuries in Christian circles men hold to a perpetual supersensuous worth in the words of our Lord and his apostles. Their message is divine. The word written is of the same stuff as the word spoken. Thesis and anti-thesis alike validified the record of Revelation.

Yet the Church has always predicated its right of judgment both upon what are the Scriptures and their interpretation. For several centuries there existed differences concerning the contents of the New Testament and this even by those who were one in the recognition of the importance of the apostolic writings. The Canon of scripture had a varied value and content according to its geographical position. The Book of visions, the so-called Shepherd, appeals to Ireneus as a sacred writing from which he deduced homily and upon which he founded dogma precisely as though it had the Prophetic authority. In the Codex Sinaiticus, that glorious find of Tischendorf, in St. Petersburg, one may today see the Epistle of Barnabas attached to Sacred Writings. Multiplied instance of the sort evidences the very gradual harmonization of the New Testament Canon, with the excision and rejection of dubious addenda.

Through the influence of Augustine, Athanasius and Hyeronymus, through the inter-relation and conference of the several churches themselves and through synodal decree, the Christian world of the sixth century possessed our present New Testament. Thus six centuries were required until the self-evidencing *testimonium Spiritus Sancti* confirmed itself wholly to the Church.

The Church was seeking as it is today through the Word, Christ and his Christianity.

And when the Reformation with its abounding faith and

super-abounding life appeared upon the scene, the canon did not fail to receive its share of attention. Luther's position is well known. On the one hand he appeals to the apostolic authorship, that is, *historical* criticism, on the other with his unerring spiritual intuition he also demands proof of a writing's evangelical tendency, that is, inner criticism. At the Leipzig disputation, when confronted by Eck with James' words, "faith without works is dead," Luther answered in the resolutions—first, the style of this epistle is very inferior to the apostolic majesty and cannot be compared with that of Paul, and again he protested—and his Hermeneutics here are good—against the overemphasizing of a single verse of the Bible in contradistinction to the entire teaching of Scripture.

The Roman Church finally at the Council of Trent formulated its decretals on the Scripture Canon, giving equal authority to Scripture and Tradition, enumerating the books of the Canon and including the apocrapha and finally pronouncing an anathema upon all who would not accept this book and all these parts as contained in the Latin Vulgate. Now over against the Roman Church we, says Zahn, heed the voice of God as it speaks to us in the sacred Scriptures, ever ready to learn to be corrected and therefore to advance.

Our Church has not ceased in the sixteenth century, nor even in the nineteenth, the diligent study of the gospels born of the faith in the same. "For this reason every final judgment was omitted from its confession concerning the single writings, texts, and letters which contain their normative 'Word of God.'"

Nevertheless omitting from its confession all human speculations concerning the ways and means of God's presence in his Word, our Church has confessed gladly and unitedly its allegiance to the revelation of God in Holy Scripture.

Not closing the door to earnest investigation of the Scripture, their content and character, our Confessions are yet most explicit.

"We believe, teach and confess that the only rule and standard according to which at once all dogmas and teachers should be esteemed and judged are nothing else than the prophetic

and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testament. Other writings of ancient and modern teachers whatever reputation they may have should not be regarded as of equal authority with the Holy Scripture, but should altogether be subordinated to them and should not be received other or farther than as witnesses in what manner and at what places, since the time of the apostles the doctrine of the prophets and apostles was preserved." So far the Confession. Thus the Lutheran Church then by its exhibit of faith conserves inspiration, while by its genesis and history it remains free from both Roman and Reformed embarrassments.

Zahn and Jacobs alike coincide in the impossibility of mere naturalistic criticism discerning the deep things of God through His Word. And Tischendorf, that prince of New Testament students, has well said 'Erudition has never had the key to the kingdom of God.' Or may we add with Dr. Jacobs, one may know Hebrew like the Rabbis of old, or Greek like the philosophers who heard Paul on the Areopagus without being a competent judge concerning the Old or New Testament.

Knowledge of two languages alone will not make a competent translator—there must be added a sense of the situation or comprehension of the life in which he works.

No one is competent, remarks Phillip, to judge of the divine origin, truth, clearness and sufficiency of the Word unless he hath experienced the enlightening and quickening power.

The Bible both is the Word of God and contains the Word of God—and the elucidation of these truths belongs to the spiritually impelled scholarship of every age that the Gospel may freshly tell its message and apply its proffered healing.

It belongs to Scripture and the Lutheran Confession then, that properly founded criticism should exercise itself. Nay, the Church must guard the right with a vigilance and a non-faltering determination.

The individualistic modern Negative Criticism may not have run its course, though we do read of the Bankruptcy of Higher Criticism, it may not even have reached its high water mark, though one following closely of late the current of thought,

marking the transfer of Professor Harnack from his Berlin University Academic chair to a librarian's position, noting the weariedness and lack of virility of recent Negative writings, cannot but note many eddies and shallows which in the impetuous sweep of several years ago were not to be seen. But our position is not to be influenced by the daily meteorological report whatever may be the readings of barometer, thermometer or hygrometer.

I account it more scientific to follow the current leadings of nineteen hundred years of history rather than the aberration of the last fifty.

Very recently one critic states of another: "He heaps conjecture upon conjecture and they remain mere conjectures notwithstanding his constant assurance that this is clear and that is without doubt. Surely Dr. W. J. Beecher is correct in insisting that in matters of permanent knowledge an expert does not expect to be believed permanently on the ground of being an expert. He is under obligation to put it into the power of men who are not experts to test his conclusions."

This Negative Criticism has not done. And yet for all its subjectivity—it handles no less roughly. It touches the fundamentals of our faith in sapping the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus the Christ. And emptying the office of the Holy Spirit. Guidance into all truth becomes a shadowy figment, or at best a leading by the human hand of a very unsteady-stepping, hazy-minded pedestrian.

The Rev. Hugh Black, of Edinburgh, says Higher Criticism is no longer a question with us. It has been left behind. The "*Victory consisted* in the Church permitting room for textual criticism upon knowledge that the truth of God's Word does not depend on mere verbalities."

The Tübingen school of Bauer and his suceessors, asserts that the "task of the historical method is to investigate whatever happens under the relation of cause and effect." This basis of criticism is a *petitio principii* in that it wholly eliminates the consideration of the Biblical moral system. It is a speculation with diverse and many colored coats, a futile attempt to forget the intellectual limitations of the mind. By making

reason the absolute and final test of religious knowledge, it throws out the moral convictions as of no value in solving its own problems. Thus distinctly the Negative Higher Criticism is unscientific because it eliminates the facts of Christian experience produced by the New Testament in the hearts of men while science must take into account all facts.

Historically also it is unscientific owing to its obscure and uncertain grounds of its data, as well as to the philosophical interpretation of these facts. Traditionalism is discounted by Pantheism or Naturalism. Celsus and Porphyry, Hobbes and Spinoza, Strauss and Renan, with their conscious and unconscious disciples, ally themselves to the principle of the reduction of Christianity to the basis of a natural religion. From this as New Testament students we dissent.

"Criticism is," we agree with Professor Mead, "nothing but search after truth and of this there cannot be too much," but objection is properly taken to highly prejudiced use of it in the devisive criticism which takes all books into the dissecting room of suppositious authors, or the *destructive* criticism which postulates the merely probable and then coolly proceeds to undermine the foundation.

The faulty fallibility of the Negationists is caustically characterized by Comparatti :

"This restless business of analysis which has lasted so long impatient, of its own fruitlessness, yet unconvinced of it, builds up and pulls down and builds up again, while its shifting foundations, its insufficient and falsely applied criteria, condemn it to remain fruitless, tedious and repellant. The observer marks with amazement the degree of intellectual short-sightedness produced by excessive and exclusive analysis. The investigator becomes a kind of microscope man who can see atoms, but not bodies, motes—and those magnified—but not beams."

Indeed in precisely a similar manner in a personal conversation last summer in Berlin Professor Seeberg expressed himself to me—characterizing such men, as those who could not see the forest for the trees.

So far then as Negation is concerned Bishop Lightfoot correctly surmises that the historical sense of the seventeenth or

eighteenth century is larger and truer than the critical insight of a section of men in our late half century.

We treat the New Testament as literature, but as literature written at the command of God and under the guidance of God and preserved by the Providential care of God.

To the Old Documentary Hypothesis of Eichhorn and Astruc, to the Fragmentary Hypothesis of Geddes, Hartman and Vette, to the Supplementary Hypothesis of DeWette, Bleek and Ewald, to the New Documentary Hypothesis of Graf, Kuenen and Wellhausen, to the Evolutionary Hypothesis of Hegel and Spencer, systems in principles alike for both Old and New Tesment, we cannot subscribe.

To the principles which, inverting the pyramid, base the first eighteen centuries and their mental and moral culture upon the last twenty-five years, to the criteria reconstructing by redaction the theologic groundwork of travailing generations, to the plausibilities offered us in return for the dislocation of fixed fact and the dissipation of a final faith, to the utter evasion of confessional statement and the blithe ignoring of the Christian leadership of the ages, to the false idealism which undermining the sober judgment of truth and fact, substitutes therefor the so called 'value judgment' originating in one's own desires, to uncertainties based on psychology as the obverse of certainties founded on faith, we cannot subscribe.

Believing with Canon Liddon that "The Book of Truth cannot belie either the law of truth or the spirit and source of truth," our teaching will affirm and posit, rather than negate by "conjectural emandation." And in thus doing we shall have honored fellowship with such men as Cremer, of Griefswald, Zahn, of Erlangen, Walther, of Rostock, Ramsey, of England, Gregory, of New York, and Warfield, of Princeton, of our own sainted Doctor Gotwald, Doctor Wolf, of Gettysburg, Piefer, of St. Louis, Weidner, of Chicago, Schodde, of Columbus, Jacobs and Schmauck, of Philadelphia, and the sympathetic coöperation, I take it, of our honored colleges. No mean cloud of witnesses these.

Truth must be self-consistent while expressions of the same truth dare not be contradictory. The identity of truth may

have varying statements and we need to beware in our study of Scripture lest we fail to discriminate here. Is the lack of self-consistency rather perhaps resident not in the Book but in the mind studying it. If this be the case, then we dare hold fast the integrity of the Bible. If the error is in the Word, its value is destroyed and our faith falls, but if—as two thousand years fairly testify—the difficulty lies in the personality of the student, his lack of knowledge, and want of grasp and failure in applying the Spirit of truth for instruction and guidance, then indeed the substratum of our hope is Rock foundation and our primitive age is not azoic.

Witnesses are multiplying for the positive position in New Testament ground. At home and abroad History is being re-established by archeological research. One cannot visit the British Museum with its wealth of Oriental brick libraries now deciphering, nor the new archeological galleries of Berlin and Rome without a deeper realization of the mighty work of restoration now in process.

The Stone of Ammon, the Rosetta Stone, the recent discovery of the Amarna letters in Lower Egypt, the Harrammabbi Table of laws, these all from six thousand years ago to yesterday are searchlights of Biblical progress.

Discoveries like these have rehabilitated Homer, vindicated Herodotus and the great Bible and Babel discussion of the last two years puts into our hands scores of new weapons.

True, we need deep and long study that we may know how to use these new weapons lest we be as David encased in Saul's armor. Doubtless much more digging and burrowing remain to be done. Much land remains to be surveyed. The axe must be laid to the root of the tree. Toil and oil are called for. Archeology will offer its treasures. History will furnish its persistent and unanswerable witness. Prejudice will be disarmed and Weinl, Bousset and Tröltsch may yet stack arms in the same camp with Seeberg, Franke and Cremer. But in the meantime we hew to the line.

It may be that a Q. E. D. cannot ever be placed at the close of every paragraph, sentence, word and doctrine of New Testament text or faith. What of it? It is impregnable for what

it stands—Jesus Christ made manifest. The Christian consciousness will constantly be called upon for interpretations and solutions, fitting new niches of historic framework as the architecture of History builds. And this consciousness divinely fed and under the sure training of the historic consensus of the faith will be satisfied.

The Constructive Criticism, then, for which in the glorious freedom of the twentieth century we stand, is based solely on a faith which is true without consideration of other ground save that God hath said it.

This is the resultant of our cumulative argument sustaining our conservative Lutheran position.

And hence we may feel in building character and hope thereon that though the Heaven and earth pass away yet "the Word of the Lord shall endure forever."

To this end then—our teaching. In this conviction—our faith. A conviction strong for the Herculean task confronting American Lutheranism.

It is told of Heinrich Heine that one day as he stood pensive in the midst of one of Europe's great Cathedrals and looking upward at the beauty and harmony of the whole mighty pile, he said to his companion: "You see here the differance between opinions and convictions. Opinions could never build such a structure as this. Convictions can."

So based upon the Word of God as a literature unique, *Verbum Dei manet in aeternum*, buttressed by the Confession of the Church, those conserving testimonies to its historic heart beat, and confidently appealing from the human natural to the Divine natural, the chair of the New Testament Philology and Criticism of Wittenberg Theological Seminary will, I take it, maintain the utter and absolute integrity of the Word of God, the faith once delivered to the saints.

And our Academic counsel shall be that of Luther in his wholesome comment upon a Word of our Lord—See that ye study the Scripture so as to seek and find me in them. Whosoever does not find me there, he has not studied nor understood them aright. Even though he were to read them a thousand times and were continually to turn their pages, all would be to no purpose. But he who reads them so as to find me, is the true master of Scripture. The dust is away from his eyes and he will certainly find in them eternal life.

ARTICLE IV.

AN INTERROGATION OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.

By Rev. A. B. Bunn Van Ormer, A.M.

In the absence of a committee whose duty it might be to suggest to the appointee the line of thought desired, in the view of lines of thought previously presented; in the absense of any record of themes previously presented, the whole realm of educational thought, for the Church may well make the whole realm a matter of concern to herself, lies before one asked to give this annual address. There are many things that interest and that would be well worth while, that one might wish to bring for consideration. But, compelled to make a choice from the several lines that for one reason or another make a personal appeal, we have chosen to make *An Interrogation of Christian Education.*

We wish to ask of Christian Education, as it is organized and operative in practice, if it has so examined its organization and its methods of procedure as to have fully satisfied itself that it is not self-antagonistic; that is, not contributing to a growth of certain character traits which Christian Education in later life must antagonize, must try to neutralize—character traits whose presence in the individual or in society effectually block the fuller coming of the kingdom, for which the Master taught us daily to pray; for which the world is really, if unconsciously, yearning.

No fondness for paradox gives form to this interrogation. Its form is necessitated by the conditions that exist.

There is to be seen in the educational world a tendency to magnify things of the letter, things that are external, incidental, that have to do almost exclusively with means and methods. So strong is this tendency that many seem at times to lose sight of the fact there are things of the spirit, internal, fundamental and which look to the end to be attained, that attach them-

selves to matters of education. There are educational things of the letter. Between them there arise antagonisms, whereby the literal, "practical" (so called), often counteracts, or makes inoperative, the spiritual, the valuable, the eternal.

The species bears the stamp of the genus. The same tendency is seen in matters of Christian Education. There is danger of magnifying the importance of organization, of equipment, of curriculum, etc., till the deeper things are overlooked. There is danger of so emphasizing the letter as to overlook, or ignore, the spirit.

Thus there have come to be two conceptions of education, two conceptions of religious education: the one being satisfied with the surface, the tangible, the ponderable things; the other, not neglecting but duly subordinating these things, concerns itself with the things that lie below the surface, that are intangible, imponderable, the things worth while.

Christian Education of the latter kind looks beyond, back of, over the external marks of Christian Education of the former kind, until it finds the heart-motive. To this it presents its appeal, not so much—and not at all exclusively—by means of direct appeal, exhortation and preaching (save in the church phase of Christian Education). It rather so safeguards and subordinates its organization and all its methods of procedure as to afford occasion thereby for the development of such motives as are consistent with the product and the sure marks of love for Jesus Christ—a love that shall manifest itself in obedience to the two tables of the second commandment. "Love thyself; thy neighbor as thyself." Whatever else may be done or attempted in the name of Christian Education, an effort to develop altruism as the dominant life-motive must not be neglected. Though everything else be done, failure here marks the failure of education that claims to be distinctively Christian. But to fail to develop altruism is to develop egoism, against which the Church of Christ is commissioned to wage a warfare of annihilation.

The interrogation asks if Christian education may not at times be self-antagonistic.

The pertinence of this interrogation appears, in part, when we reflect upon the comparative absence of altruism from the motives that predominate in society. We see it in the commercial and industrial worlds: the rights of millions are tramped upon while egoism battles with egoism, both combatants alike indifferent to the absolute needs of the millions; recent publications make plain the processes whereby most of the vast accumulations of wealth have been made—processes that have back of them a disregard for the rights of man, the laws of man, and the laws of God; processes which have entailed suffering, hardship and wreckage, financial, moral, spiritual, for many. We see it in the political world, where the idea of a call to public service has been prostituted and we have instead a seeking for office by methods that undermine both public and private morality and that deprive us of representation, save in its semblance. Egoism in politics is rapidly making a farce of our boasted, but we fear too little valued, republico-democratic principles of self-government in the interests of the common weal. "Is it not true," asks Colonel Parker, the lamented educational leader, in vigorous but fully justified rhetorical interrogation, "Is it not true that if we as citizens could go to the polls and vote for public servants with a complete or reasonable conviction that our candidates love their country more than they love themselves, we should be profoundly happy?"

In connection with this lamentable absence of altruism, the pertinence of our interrogation still further appears in the fact that, for a long period of years, Christian Education, as found in home, and school, and Church, and in Christian lives with their potency, has been operative, privileged the while to counteract all this; even commissioned to do so. Men who are captains of sociologically iniquitous industries, men who are serving self and not the common good, who are debauching manhood, and who know no moral restrictions to the reaching of their ambitions, these men, many if not all of them, have at some time been in touch with Christian Education and have come away with egoism abnormally developed. Many of them are professing Christians.

Has Christian Education ever been so organized as to have contributed to this result? Is it in any respect and at any place so organized as to be a profitable contributor to this result to day? Must not the answer be an affirmative one? If so, the pertinency of the interrogation is apparent.

This affirmative answer has reference to Christian Education in its several phases, as it is found in some homes, in some schools, in some Bible schools. In some schools we find prizes, honors, class standings, commencement distinctions, etc., extensively employed as incentives to effort or to good behavior. Catalogs announce them, teachers refer to them, pupils talk of them, wish for them and some work for them—honestly or otherwise (often otherwise). In the homes we hear these things spoken of, comparisons of children made, winners lauded —an atmosphere in fact that leaves no room to doubt the things expected of the children in the homes. Nor is the Bible school willing to be out-done. With its rewards and prizes and tickets, with its class rivalries for attendance or contribution banners, with its devices whereby the child may be induced to part with his money and thus swell the school or church board treasury, the Bible school is a close second, if not the victor, in the mad race away from the real and vital interests of the child.

The system of extraneous rewards and inducements in educational work is of English university origin, and did not originate with the Sunday School as has been claimed by some. From the same source, comes the most famous argument in the system's favor. An outline of this argument is presented as the basis of an examination of the system's reason for being:

Proposition I. Intellectual improvement depends on what one does for himself.

Proposition II. This doing for one's self is for a long time painful. The great problem of education is to *induce* a pupil to endure this pain until he reaches a pleasurable stage.

Proposition III. A stimulus is necessary for a season to counteract the pain of exertion, "to induce the pupil to endure, etc."

Proposition IV. Emulation and love of honor constitute the appropriate stimulus in education.

The first proposition, that intellectual development depends on what one does for himself, asserts an educational commonplace, recognized and used by all skillful teachers.

But this proposition, fundamental to the argument, contains a fallacy that reigns almost supreme in educational circles. The preëminence given to the intellect and its development has made possible many a practice that otherwise would meet with peremptory challenge, at times on ethical grounds. As if there were no other function of mind, as if society today more needs intellectual culture than it needs development of Christian morality, largely a matter of the heart and will, we have concerned ourselves with intellectual culture to the serious neglect of heart and will, at times to the negative development of these phases of life; for it is possible for "the intellect to grow wise while the heart grows wicked," as Horace Mann contends.

The second proposition, asserting that this self-effort is painful for awhile and then becomes pleasurable is, so far as the painful feature is concerned, an assertion of what has been and of what often is the case, rather than an assertion of what could be and of what should be the case. This proposition as an assertion of what should be the accompaniment of intellectual activity is psychologically antiquated. The later psychology contends that "while the love of knowledge takes its rise in a painful feeling—the sense of ignorance or perplexity—it is greatly reënforced by *the pleasurable feelings which accompany the attainment of knowledge.*" (Sully). Intellectual exertion not carried to the point of fatigue is pleasant, if healthful, teaches the same authority. "The fact is," writes Dr. Search, "only our methods of approach are distasteful—truth is always attractive. The rich realm of learning is full of pure delight." *

Proposition three asserts the need of a stimulus (extraneous is taken for granted) to counteract the pain of exertion. But any little pain, strain, sense of obstacles that might accompany

* Educational Review, Lib. '96–141.

a quest of truth would be naturally counteracted by the hope of success, by the prevision of the truth as the learner draws consciously nearer and nearer to it, by the emotional concomitant of the intellectual exertion, and by the joy of conquest of truth at the end of the process. Why then an extraneous stimulus?

Proposition four makes of emulation and love of honor the appropriate stimulus in education. No one has ever denied to emulation the right to be ranked as a stimulus. It is a potent one. This fact has never been better understood than by the Jesuits, the past-masters in the use of the stimulus. Fitting stimulus it is for them with their principle of ignored instrumentalities in view of the importance of the end. If our wish is to set a few to intense effort to reach each before the other an artificial goal which at best proclaims that the winner has but outstripped another regardless of how it was done, regardless of whether or not he has done his best—if this is our wish, we shall find in emulation the shortest way to the attainment of that wish. Yes, emulation is a stimulus; but it is a stimulus that has found no sanction in *the world's greatest text book on Education—the Bible.*

This argument under consideration contains a fallacy that finds no explicit statement in connection with the several propositions. If explicitly stated it would read "during the painful stages use a powerful stimulus, extraneous, until the pleasurable stages are reached when the stimulus will no longer be necessary, being replaced by the pleasure incident to the efforts put forth. The error of dissociating the pleasure and pain in the process of acquiring knowledge we have seen. The two chase each other through the various stages of acquisition. But for the sake of argument, grant the dissociation contended for by the illustrious author of this defense of the system of extraneous stimulation. The fallacy persists. The stimulus used during the assumed painful stage will not be easily dispossessed. To contend that it will be is to encounter two stubborn facts. The first of these is the law of *habituation of motive*, asserting that the longer one works under the stimulus of a given motive, the less likely he is to be swayed by any other motive that

might try to displace the one to which he has become habituated. The second fact is that of the refutation of the fallacy by experience with extraneous stimulation. Where has it been found that the stimulus can be removed? It is often applied in the home. Does the secular school remove it, the Bible school, the high school, the college, the university? What a long drawn-out painful period must be passed through! How far off the pleasurable stage! The experience of Mr. Lawrence in his Bible school is pertinent. The Robert Raikes Diploma, described as "a beautiful lithographed diploma, 14x17 inches, designed by the author some twenty years ago," is given for a year of perfect record. For each of six succeeding years a seal is given until the diploma represents seven years of perfect record. And then the thing of present interest. We quote: "Hundreds of members having earned and received the Robert Raikes Diploma with all its seals, made it necessary to inaugurate something else, *lest they lose their interest.* We consequently introduced what is known as the Robert Raikes Alumni Diploma. * * * * This is much larger and handsomer than the Robert Raikes Diploma, being 19x24 inches in size, beautifully lithographed in four colors upon heavy bond paper." *

Having thus been led through the painful stage of Sunday School work, the pupil is ready to go to Sunday School for the pleasure there is in it. But no, some pain still lingers. The Alumni Diploma provides for twelve more annual seals, each required (reasoning from the author's reason for the existence of the Alumni Diploma) "Lest they lose their interest."

Unconvinced by the argument, unswayed by the name of its distinguished author, we continue to press our interrogation of Christian Education; and in pressing it, we bring against the system of extraneous reward, incentive, stimulus, whether it is employed by the church or school or home, taking the form of emulation and of competition as it unavoidably does, the following accusations:

We accuse the system of laying on the majority of those un-

* (How to Conduct a S. S. 163-4).

der its sway additional and unnecessary burdens. What of stimulation is to be gotten from the fact that one helps to form the dull background whereby the brightness of the foreground may be made apparent? Stimulus! what a mockery the word to a pupil of ordinary power, of sluggish mental process! The consciousness of one's deficiency is not often classed as an instrument of stimulation.

We accuse the system of contributing in many instances to an overpressure in education that undermines health and robs society of some of its potentially most useful members. Overpressure's victims are to be found at all ages of school-life. Dr. Talbot in his work on Degeneracy says: "In children emotional conditions, school strain, rivalry between classmates, are as liable to produce neurasthenia as are the struggles for existence in later life." Elsewhere the same author says, "It is the spirit of emulation with its attendant alternation of worry and hope that causes so many of the acquired nervous disorders of the adult, and which *obviously is much more potent with children.*" When we recall in this connection Prof. Lombroso's contention that, unlike the lower organisms, the individuals most fit to survive and to bless humanity are the ones that are most likely to be injured, we see that society's loss is much more than a matter of mere numbers. Literature has seen the danger. Dickens in Dombey and Son has given us a classic on overpressure. And you will easily locate the following paragraph from a present-day author: "It was a low-roofed room with a box, bed and some pieces of humble furniture, fit only for a laboring man (we regret the implication of this clause). But the choice treasures of Greece and Rome lay on the table, and on a shelf beside the bed college prizes and medals, while everywhere were the roses he loved. His peasant mother stood beside the body of her scholar son." It is between the lines we read the accusation against educational overpressure operating through emulation. One such life of promise as was that of Geordie Hoom is too much of a social loss. In 1899 at the midsummer distribution of prizes by the University of London, Dr. Alexander Hill was the speaker. He took as his text the

system of offering rewards for scholarship and severely arraigned it. The first contention in his arraignment was that the system "increases temptation to overwork." His audience thought him facetious and laughed, at first, at his contention. *They ended by cheering his utterances.*

We accuse the system of making the intellectual the supreme thing in life and of developing it, at times, at the expense of the emotional and volitional functions of life. This accusation can not be substantiated so far as the theory of education goes. We point to the actual practices for substantiation of it.

We accuse the system of displacing a natural incentive to effort by an artificial one, thus deadening real interest in the subject for its own sake, for the sake of its life—serviceability. There is a danger that the one thus stimulated artificially may not have a real and sincere interest in life, that his concern may be with life's superficial things because of which he shall miss the true meaning and the true joy of life.

We accuse the system of placing before students a temptation to resort to unfair means, and we aver from observation and from hearsay what few if any of us do not know to be a fact, that many students yield to the temptation and resort to unfair means, impelled thereto by the hope of surpassing others, or of making a more creditable personal showing. Are these things to which we dare be indifferent? Shall we set up a special standard of educational ethics by which indulgences are granted for all sorts of wrong whilst one is in school or college? What shall we say of the synodically aided student for the ministry who with dark lantern and a tried companion seeks (and finds and uses) the matter for the Greek examinations of the following morning? What shall we say of the ingenuity of deception, of acted falsehood, by which coveted standing and rank and distinction are sought for, and often obtained, without the installment payments of honest efforts through the term? Can it be that the system is all right and the students all wrong? Does the blame rest properly and solely upon the students in their total depravity? Or shall we enlarge our conception of depravity so as to include in it the system that tempts as well

as the students who yield to the temptation? Homes often help along the evil we are deploring. Many a child carries to school work his parents have done and for which he is credited. With such credits he wins place and class and school distinction. We have heard of a literary parent, a clergyman, who corrected his son's essays before the essays were presented for the criticism and *the credit* of the professor of English. What shall we say of a system that thus tempts young people and parents to close their eyes to delicate ethical distinctions? How shamefully unequal the competition between the child who has no one at home able to do his work for him and *the cultured parent of blunted ethical sense* who enters the competition by means of a child used as a proxy?

We accuse the system of cultivating egoism and anti altruism, the motives with which Christian education must contend so vigorously and with so little progress toward final conquest; the motives which grievously afflict society and rob the individual of the joy that comes from the indwelling of altruism, of the Christ motive. If the system's appeals are at all responded to, the responses one by one contribute to the growth of the anti social motives, each response leaving the student more self-centred than he was before responding. What might be could we rid ourselves of the system so almost universally in vogue is a matter of inference. Yet to those who believe in altruism as the supreme motive of life, as the crux of the Master's social teachings, how thrilling the prospect of an absence of this system! There seems to be a time when the adolescent is peculiarly open to the cultivation of altruism, when he thrills with interest in others and when the motive might be fixed for life. But at this time he is subjected to the artificial system and is made to be self-considering. By the laws of imitation, of suggestion, of the social atmosphere, of the sanction of those looked up to as guides and leaders and friends, he is led, beguiled, driven, into self-considering channels which go not through fields of altruism.

We accuse the system of presenting to the young and immature false ideals of life, giving them distorted and grotesque

notions of success, a false perspective of life's opportunities and duties. The law of the potency of ideals holds as well for false and negative ideals as for true and positive ones, with this difference—the negative ones actualize themselves in conjunction with the moral gravitation of the race, and therefore along the lines of least resistance and easily; the positive ones must counteract this gravity-pull downward and therefore actualize themselves with difficulty. If we give erroneous ideals we must expect them to bring forth their corresponding life activities and to persist with a baffling obstinacy even when one is awakened to their negative character. Nor is this all. These errors of life attitude, of ideal, of dominant motive are strangely self-perpetuative. They go out into homes and schools and Church, there to multiply their kind.

We accuse the system of making necessary many a life-long battle with the lower in one's self after the vision of the higher has been given to him, and of making more difficult the Holy Spirit's work of sanctification in a life that has in earlier years been habituated to the system's motive.

If any of us hold the biologic conception of mental development and believe with Lowell that

> "From the lower to the higher next,
> Not to the highest is Nature's text,"

if we believe with him in the analogy of the tadpole's tail, to such we accuse the system, contending that it interferes with this very process. The interference is seen not as is so often the case in the cutting off of the tail in a vain effort to hurry the development of the legs. It reverses the order, preventing the development of the legs by making the tail a permanent feature. The period of selfishness out of which and by means of which, on this theory, there should be a growth into the weaker altruism and then into the higher and higher stages of it, is so prolonged and the development of selfishness is so abnormal, that no energy is left for altruism; it remains but rudimentary, to tell of what should have been.

There are in recent educational literature two apparent defenses of the system under consideration; one by Dr. Gordy in

his "Briefer Elementary Education," the other by Prof. Griggs in his "Moral Education." If these could be shown to be sane defenses of the system in the intense form in which it is employed, they could be replied to by the fact that neither author is interested, professedly, in education that is marked off as distinctively Christian. But these are not defenses of the system arraigned.

Dr. Gordy's defense of emulation is a defense of emulation of so mild a kind that it differs by but very little from imitation. He gives to emulation as an emotional coloring the feeling of stress because of inferiority. He grants that this dislike of inferiority may easily develop into a desire for superiority and that the self-regarding character of emulation very clearly allies with the combative, aggressive tendency of a child. He sees the danger. When we read, "Deal with the child in such a way that he will wish not to emulate unworthy examples," we can not by predetermined effort find even between the lines a defense of the system as it is operative many places under the sanction of Christian Education.

But when Prof. Griggs says "even prizes may have a place" and refers to "the modern reaction against their use," the advocate of the system may feel that he has found a standing place. He is doomed to disappointment. The context adds * * * "——— their occasional therapeutic value. To have this value they must give as rarely and as carefully as a physician gives a physical stimulant, and we must never let them be substituted for the real nourishment of the moral life. Moreover, their use is helpful, not when given for superior natural endowments, but when they are used to stimulate sincere effort. With these restrictions, it is possible to make them a temporarily helpful if an altogether subordinate element in furthering moral growth." The validity of the analogy between the physician and the one entrusted with the moral culture of a child is open to serious objections. But granting the significance attached to it by Prof. Griggs, the system is condemned. The restrictions demanded do not exist in practice, would take from the system all that now characterizes it, and would require a much higher degree of professional

efficiency than is required in the employment of the existent system.

As if by way of salving a hurt conscience, Christian Education at times bewails the condition of things as they are in society today and interests itself in a remedy. This interest not infrequently runs in the channel of criticism of the public school and exhausts itself in an effort to have the Bible read and prayer offered in the school.

This procedure is too fallacious to be an answer to the interrogation we are making.

It is fallacious in that it throws the burden on the public school, where in justice it should rest most lightly. The public school is but one of several factors operating to bring about social conditions. It is just as illogical for the other factors to accuse the public school of failure and of recreancy to high duty and privilege, as it would be for the public school to so accuse the other factors; even more so. For the public school is, in large measure, a product of the other factors. For home and church to accuse the public school is for them to accuse themselves. Some of the most baneful features of the public school today exist because of the attitude of the community, of the demands made by the homes. The public school today sees visions whose materialization will be long deferred because of the community life, of business standards, of political ideals and practices—yes and because of a heritage of ideals and of traditions passed down to it by institutions existing as exponents of Christian Education.

There is danger of being satisfied with the formal. The reading of the Bible in the schools may or may not be the blessing we wish. Certain it is that it is possible by example to give the lie to precept, by personality to beget contempt for precept. There is something better than the legal, compulsory use of the Bible, so apt to be perfunctory. This better thing is the legal privilege to use the Bible, and the selection of such teachers as will, out of their love for the Bible, their appreciation of its value, *choose to use it.* More than the Bible in the schools is there need of the embodiment of its teachings in the lives of those in charge of education. Let us

not deceive ourselves with externals, with the letter. One can conceive of schools exerting a positive moral and religious influence though denied the privilege of using the Bible. Likewise is it possible to conceive of schools using the Bible and yet exerting an influence that makes not for righteousness.

Are we disposed to ask why this system, existing by the sanction of Christian education, has been allowed to exist, and does now exist? We shall find the answer in large part in the assertion that the system has so securely intrenched itself because it moves along the line of least resistance, fixing its attention on things more easily attainable and choosing the easiest way possible of attaining unto them—more or less disregarding all other considerations.

It is much easier for a mother wishing to have a child take disagreeable medicine to achieve the result by saying, "If you do not take it I will give it to John,"* than to have previously developed the habit of doing things that ought to be done. It is a much easier thing to pay pupils for effort, for behavior of a proper kind than it is to secure effort and behavior through previous development. It may be the easiest way of having Bible verses stored in the minds of children to resort to a commercial transaction in card board, red, yellow and blue, redeemable later on. But Mr. Riley's lines

> "E'en these tickets, blue and red,
> For the Bible verses said—
> Such as these his memory kept,—
> Jesus wept."

show that the motive may be sordid, and the end "the tickets blue and red." Mr. Clemens in Tom Sawyer points out another possibility of the S. S. ticket, that of speculation. A picture of Luther or of Dr. Barnitz, given for a stipulated contribution, may increase the amount of money a Board will receive, but we question whether such methods will at all contribute to the development of the benevolent spirit in the next generation of church members. (A spirit from an over-development of which we do not suffer at the present time).

There can be no question of the simplification of class-room

* Horace Mann gives the instance.

processes where the system of extraneous stimulus, in some one or more of its various forms, prevails. But there are some other things that exist along with this simplification that raise a serious question as to its desirability, so far as the pupils' good is concerned.

The system exists largely by virtue of its nonresistance, as well as by the sanction that it has from hoary traditions.

And yet, although the system has the sanction of hoary and almost universal tradition, that sanction is not universal. In all ages protest has been made against the system.

William Cowper in his Review of Schools arraigned the system in the latter part of the 18th century. Setting forth the defects of the system, he wrote.

> "But judge where so much evil intervenes,
> The end, though plausible, not worth the means.
> Weigh for a moment, classical desert
> Against a heart depraved and temper hurt;
> Hurt too perhaps for life; for early wrong
> Done to the nobler part affects it long;
> And you are staunch indeed in learning's cause
> If you can crown a discipline, that draws
> Such mischief after it, with much applause."

Byron, too, in his Thoughts on a College Examination, sees defects in the system, and concludes the poem thus:

> "This much at least I may presume to say,
> The premium can't exceed the price they pay."

Maria Edgeworth had written,

"Superior knowledge is dearly acquired at the price of a malevolent disposition."

Young, in earlier times, and Ruskin, in more recent, have made statements that were a criticism of the English system.

Among the many things for which Horace Mann, the Apostle of the American Public School system, stood, was that of antagonism to the system under consideration. In the lecture given in the first year of his secretaryship of the Massachusetts Board of Education, he says, speaking of emulation: "I entreat all intelligent men to give to this subject a most careful consideration. And let those who use it as a quickener of the intellect, beware, lest it prove a depraver of the social

affections. * * * * * No cruelty to a child can be so great as that which barters morals for attainments." * * * "Will there ever be any less of this deadly strife for the ostensible signs of precedence, in the social and political arena, while the germs of emulation are so assiduously cultivated in the school-room, the academy and the college? The pale ambition of men ready to sacrifice country and kind for self, is only the fire of youthful emulation heated to a white heat."

We do not wonder that this ardent lover of young people, when he took charge of Antioch College, forbade the presence of the system in connection with the institution, an institution which under Mann's presidency became the pioneer of six or seven advance educational movements.

Through her journal, we are able to see how another American educator of international repute looked upon the system. Maria Mitchell, Vassar's brilliant astronomer, wrote: "I start for faculty and we probably shall elect what are called the 'honor girls.' I dread the struggle that is pretty certain to come. The whole system is demoralizing and foolish. Girls study for prizes and not for learning, when 'honors' are at the end. The unscholarly motive is wearing. If they studied for sound learning the cheer which would come with every day's gain would be health preserving."

A present Vassar Professor, Lucy M. Salmon, contends for the same principle, asserting, "The practice of giving honors is demoralizing, and, if it could be eradicated from the educational system, a long step in advance would be taken."

In one of the Great Universities of the west, that of Indiana, the system is under the ban. We quote from the Vice President of this University: "I rather incline to believe with those who think that everything in the school which excites emulation, everything in the way of prizes and honors, all that sort of thing, from the bottom to the top, does more harm than good. Of course if Colonel Parker were here he would say the same thing in his great emphatic way. I am not sure of it, but it is true as far as my experience goes. In our university, for instance, we give no honors, we give no grades, we give nothing at all but 'pass' and 'not pass.' That does not re-

sult in the hundreds of students who are there doing just enough to pass. They did not come there for that. *Their attention is turned away from the artificial effort for marks, to the work they are there to do.*"

Let us hear how Colonel Parker says the same things "in his emphatic way." "Bad as corporal punishment has been and is, the substitution of a system of rewards is infinitely worse. Fear of punishment is bad enough, but the systematic development of selfishness is damnable." Again he asserts, "No prayer-meeting, no religion on earth can eradicate this monstrous tendency of selfishness which parents aud teachers are ignorantly and prayerfully fostering."

Dr. Search in his article on the "Ethics of the Public School" writes thus: "I have been thirty-five years in the schoolroom as teacher and pupil; have lived a good part of that time (with regret be it said) in the atmosphere of prizes and percents; have watched their false spur and unnatural coloring of character; have looked upon noble ambition perverted to things abnormal; have seen the physical, intellectual and moral wreckage that ensued; and as a result of personal observation and personal experience, I do not hesitate to pronounce the whole system of incentives to which reference has been made, as abnormal, unprofitable, false, and immoral. Their entire tendency is to temporary result, to stifled interest, to the recognition of an unnatural means as an end, to the development of a selfish spirit and to dishonest practice, as well as to overpressure and overnervous and physical strain."

How long must this system be endured? Is there a possibility of relief from it and its effects? There is, we believe; because we believe that there is that in human nature that will in the end lead to a response to an appeal to the higher nature, if at the proper time such appeal be made silent. The task may be more difficult, may demand the services of educational artists rather than of artizans, but it is possible of achievment. We believe that relief is more than possible, that it is probable. There are signs of promise in the bold declarations we have quoted, in the attitude of some persons prominent in educational circles. These signs of promise are not more encourag-

ing to those who hope for better things than is the response that is oftentimes given by parents, to the expression of the larger hope.

But in the meantime the homes can become a counteracting factor, if they feel the need of so doing. Most homes at present are coöperating factors, however, and very intensely so at times. The home can very effectively guard the children against the dangers of the system, by cultivating a healthy lack of respect for such appeals, and by nourishing the natural motives that should prompt to effort. This rare bit of schoolboy conversation fell upon our years some years ago. One boy, speaking of some branch of study, said to his companion, "I have seven 'zipps' in that." The companion's reply was, "Heavens!" We regret that we did not look into the conditions that made this conversation possible. For the boy who so complacently possessed the "zipps" we have admiration. Such boys are safe, only awaiting the touch of the artist teacher. *Some such disregard for the system is at present the only safeguard.*

Very refreshing, indeed, is the dedicatory sentence of the book, "A Study of the Sky," by Dr. Herbert A. Howe, of the University of Denver:

TO HUNDREDS OF MY STUDENTS,
whose steadfast devotion
to their daily tasks
is a delightful memory,
this book is
AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

ACTICLE V.

BABYLONIA, GLIMPSES OF ITS CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE.

By Professor Karl Josef Grimm, Ph.D.

I. THE COUNTRY, DECIPHERMENT AND EXCAVATION.

BABYLONIA is the territory enclosed by the lower Euphrates and Tigris, extending from the neighborhood of the modern city of Bagdad to the Persian gulf. It is about equal in area to the state of Louisiana, and largely made up of moorland and swampy districts. Owing to an extensive and careful system of canals and dykes the country became the most fertile land of the East and the granary of the ancient world. It was full of rich vegetation; the palm, the vine, and various fruits flourished in luxuriant abundance. Cities, towns, villages, hamlets covered the land. But today the country is a dreary depopulated desert where poverty and disease hold supreme sway. The sand swirls unhindered over the steppe and heaps up about huge and shapeless mounds of earth tells under which the ancient cities lie buried. Nothing is there to identify them as having ever been the abode of men.

No wonder that their very sites were mostly forgotten. When in the year 116 of our era the Emperor Trajan visited Babylon he found it in ruins. But a century before it had been the influential seat of a Parthian satrapy. This rapid decline was due, no doubt, partly to the decomposing influence of Romans and Parthians, partly to the increasing importance of the newly-founded cities of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Bagdad. Babylon served indeed as a regular quarry. Only sparse settlements of Jews and Christians breathed life into its ruins; and when, in the 10th or 11th century, the Arabic town of Hillah arose in the neighborhood of the ancient city, Babylon became completely deserted.

It is only within recent years that the treasures and splendors of the cities of Babylonia are again revealed to the sight

of man, and we are brought face to face with a civilization as marvelous as it is ancient.

The *decipherment* of the cuneiform inscriptions and the *excavations* and *exploration* of the old Babylonian and Assyrian cities form one of the most brilliant pages in the scientific annals of the nineteenth century and of our own time. As early as the 16th century travelers startled Europe with the news that magnificent ruins, covered in many places with mysterious signs, had been found near Persepolis in Persia. In 1621 the famous Italian, Pietro della Valle, acquainted the scholarly world with some of these signs which he had copied. But not until 1770 when Carsten Niebuhr, scholar and traveler, the father of the renowned historian of Rome, B. G. Niebuhr, brought more extensive and more accurate copies to Europe, was a basis furnished for future decipherment. Niebuhr confirmed the conjecture of Pietro della Valle that the inscriptions were to be read from left to right; he further observed the wedge-character of the signs and distinguished three different styles of writing, the first of which, having the fewest (42) characters, he rightly recognized as alphabetical. Toward the end of the 18th century Gerhard Tychsen, professor of Oriental languages in the university of Rostock, noticed that a peculiarly oblique wedge was constantly recurring at certain intervals, and ingeniously concluded that it must be a word-divider. Three years later (1802) the Danish scholar Friedrick Münter was able to affirm that the first system of writing was alphabetic, the second syllabic, and the third ideographic. Of course, he directed his efforts of decipherment toward the first system as being the simplest. He pointed out that, inasmuch as the inscriptions must have originated between the time of Cyrus and Alexander (558—330 B. C.), the language of the inscriptions could be sought only in the idiom of ancient Persia. He further showed that the same kind of signs, sometimes increased by one or more characters, occurred between the oblique word-divider and, therefore, must indicate the same words, with or without grammatical endings.

These beginnings finally led to the discovery of the real key to the mysterious writings. On the 4th of September, 1804,

George Friedrich Grotefend, a professor of Latin in the gymnasium at Göttingen, read before the Royal Academy of Sciences an essay in which he communicated his discoveries concerning the Persepolitan cuneiform inscriptions. With the true insight of a genius he saw that these inscriptions were not merely in three different styles of writing but in three different languages, and must have originated from the builders of the palaces where they were found, *i. e.*, from the Achemænian kings of Persia; further, that the most simple kind, since it always occupies the first place, must be the language of the ruling dynasty, Old Persian; and that the texts most likely contained the names of those rulers. By ingenious conjectures Grotefend reached the conclusion that only Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerses could be the kings mentioned. Comparing, then, these names, known to him from the Bible and the Classics, with one another as to their length and the recurrence of certain sounds he came to the following result: One group of signs constantly recurring must contain the titles. Owing to the great severity of tradition in the East these must be identical with the titles found in inscriptions of the late Persian kings of the Sassanide dynasty (226—637 A. D.), and must therefore mean King, Great King, or King of Kings respectively. The signs preceding these groups must, then, be the proper names. If now the sounds of the Persian form for Darius assumed by Grotefend, namely *Darhensh*, were substituted for certain signs of the groups supposed to be proper names, a second name could be interpreted as *Kshharsha*, and the third be read as *Goshtarp*; the letters which the three names held in common would appear in each one at the proper place.

Thus a solid basis had been found for all cuneiform research. Through the efforts chiefly of the great orientalists Silvestre de Sacy, Rask, Burnouf, Lassen, A. Holtzmann, Henry Rawlinson, Hincks, Benfey, Oppert, and Spiegel the work now advanced steadily and methodically, with the result that in 1862 the decipherment of the Old Persian inscriptions was practically completed, the alphabet definitely settled, the grammar known. Today all the texts, about twenty in number, can be interpreted with absolute certainty. What a triumph for

science! Stimulated by such signal success scholars directed their attention to the second and third system of inscriptions. A happy thought guided investigators from the beginning, the thought namely, that we have here nothing but literal translation of the text of the first system. The Persian kings wanted their proclamations to be understood by all subjects of their wide empire; consequently they had their inscriptions written not alone in the imperial language of Persia, but also in other languages of the realm, just as the Emperor of Austria, for example, has his pronunciamentos printed in German, Slavic and Hungarian.

The second system, appearing simpler than the third, was first attacked. Soon it was seen that, owing to the great number of signs (111), alphabetic writing was out of the question, and Münter was right when he conjectured it to be syllabic. A beginning was made with the proper names, the position of which (and probable pronunciation) could be determined from the analogous position in the Old Persian column. The problem was successfully solved through the united efforts of such scholars as Westergard, Hincks, De Saulcy, Norris, Mordtmann, Lenormant, Oppert, Hommel, and Weissbach. It is believed that we have here the language of Elam.

Grotefend had stated that the cuneiform inscriptions of the third column probably represent the speech of Babylonia. It goes without saying that this aroused the greatest interest of scholars, but for some time it seemed impossible ever to decipher them. The great number and variety of the characters baffled all human ingenuity. Even after it had been discovered that the Babylonian writing was syllabic and that the proper names were rendered recognisable by a perpendicular wedge, only little seemed to be gained. But here cuneiform research received help from unexpected quarters, from the excavations in Mesopotamia.

Opposite Mosul, in the Vilayet Bagdad of Asiatic Turkey, immense artificial mounds arrest the attention of the traveller. In 1765 Carsten Niebuhr visited the mounds and noticed masses of brickwork cropping out above the ground, immense fields of debris covering the mounds, bricks with traces of

strange characters found upon them, and many other objects lying on the surface. He was sure that he was standing upon the ruins of an ancient and mighty city, Nineveh. On account of time, however, Niebuhr was unable to undertake a thorough and systematic investigation. This was done by Claudius James Rich, resident of the British East India Company in Bagdad. After having visited and studied the ruins near Hillah he came, in 1820, to Mosul and, during a stay of four months, made similar investigations of the *tells* of Nineveh. He was rewarded by happy finds of brick covered with cuneiform inscriptions and other objects such as engraved gems, all of which, along with those from Hillah, he forwarded to the British Museum at London. "A box of three square foot included everything that was known of proud Babylon and great Nineveh." The newly found texts, it was discovered, in the same script as the third column, as yet undeciphered, of the trilingual Achemænian inscriptions. Soon afterward the latter were enriched by a most precious monument, the great Darius inscription carved on the face of the rocky cliff of Behistum, which rises abruptly from the plain about a mile northeast of Kermanshah, on the western frontier of Persia. The honor of this discovery belongs to Sir Henry Rawlinson, then a young English officer in the Persian army. The sculptures are placed at a dizzy height, reaching in their upper portion an elevation of about five hundred feet above the plain, and are so difficult of access that Messrs. Coste and Flandin, who were sent out by the French government with express instructions to copy the inscriptions, returned with their mission unaccomplished, declaring them to be absolutely inaccessible. But inspite of the fatique, exposure, aud personal danger involved, Rawlinson began his studies; undaunted by all obstacles he persevered, and on January 1st, 1828, he was able to communicate his discoveries to the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

Excavation followed now upon excavation in Mesopotamia. In 1842 the naturalist Paul Emile Botta was sent from France as consul to Mosul. Encouraged by the German scholar Julius von Mohl, at that time Professor of Persian in Paris and Secretary of the French Asiatic Society, to follow the example of

Rich, Botta began digging on the great mound Nebiyumis, but on account of opposition by the Mohamedans who worshipped there the grave of the prophet Jonah, he gave up excavation on this *tell* and turned to that of Kuyunjik. Not being successful, a short distance to the north, he removed, in 1843, at the suggestion of an Arab to Khorsabad, about four miles to the northeast. Here he laid bare an enormous palace, adorned with wonderful alabaster sculptures. The site proved to be the residence of Sargon II, the powerful conqueror of Samaria (722 B. C.). The movable objects found by Botta and his successor Victor Place, a noted French architect, were sent to Paris, where they constitute one of the chief treasures of the Louvre.

Two years later, in 1845, an English government official and traveler, Sir Austen Henry Layard, was enabled, through the munificence of Sir Stratford Canning, the English minister at Constantinople, to begin excavations near the modern village Nimrud, about fifteen miles south of Mosul. His labors were crowned with success. He unearthed three great Assyrian palaces, together with a large yield of sculptures, inscriptions, and miscellaneous objects. The site was discovered to be the city of Calah, and the palaces those of Ashurnasispal (886–860 B. C.), Shalmaneser II (859–825), and Esarhaddon (681–668). On the site of Nineveh he uncovered, at Kuyunjik, the palace of Sennacharib (705–681), and, at Nebijunus, three more royal residences. In the spring of 1852 he identified the mound at Kalah Shergat, forty miles south of Nimrud, as the site of Ashur, the earliest Assyrian capitol, and found there an octagonal prism of Tiglath Pileser I (1120). Hormuzd Rassam, Layard's assistant, discovered, in 1853, on the northern part of Kuyunjik, the palace of Ashurbanipal (668–626), the Sardanapallus of the Greeks, and found there several rooms filled with fragments of small and large clay tablets closely inscribed on both sides in the cuneiform characters. These tablets turned out to be the remnants of the royal library. In the corners of the palaces cylinders were found which proved to be the foundation records containing more or less extended annals of the events that occurred during the reign of the

monarch whose official residence was thus brought to light. The larger part of the objects obtained by Layard and Rassam is deposited in the British Museum.

Since Rich published, in 1812, his valuable memoir on the ruins of Babylon, in the *Wiener Fundgruben des Morgenlandes*, the mounds of Southern Mesopotamia have been visited by travelers and explorers, among others by Sir Austen Henry Layard. From 1849 to 1854 Sir Henry Rawlinson, assisted by William K. Loftus and J. E. Taylor, conducted excavations at Warka, the sight of the ancient city of Erech; at Mugheir, the supposed site of Ur; at Abu Shahrein, identified with Eridu, the southernmost and one of the oldest cities of Babylonia; and at Birs Nimrud, about seven miles southwest of Hillah, where he opened what proved to be the famous seven-staged temple as described by Herodotus.

Within this same period (1852–1854) the French government sent out an expedition under the leadership of Fulgence Fresnel and J. Oppert, to explore the mounds that had hitherto not been touched, many not even identified. Much valuable work was accomplished, especially in the study of the series of extensive *tells* (the most prominent are Babil, El-Kasr, and Tell-Amranibu-Ali) covering the remains of ancient Babylon. Unfortunately the antiquities recovered by the French explorers were lost through the sinking of the raft as they carried their burden down the Tigris.

With the year 1854 the excavations halted for two decades. The demand was not for the search of new things, but for the study of the vast mass of material that had been accumulated. Would it not now be possible to penetrate the secret of the language? With extraordinary zeal scholars applied themselves to the arduous task and, by dint of the most painstaking labor, succeeded. The credit for the solution of the riddle is due to the united efforts of Kidor Löwenstern, a Swede, the Frenchman, de Saulcy, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, of Dublin, and the academician, J. Oppert. From small beginnings, starting with the proper names, they advanced methodically step by step until they had established the polyphonic and syllabic character of the writing and the Semitic character

of the language. In December 1851 Rawlinson has so far progressed in his work that he could publish his epoch making *Memoir on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions* which contained the cuneiform text, transliteration, and translation of the whole of the Babylonian portion of the Behistun inscription, together with a commentary and analysis of the first thirty-seven lines, and a list of 246 characters whose phonetic (in some cases ideographic) values he has for the most part correctly determined. The mass of inscriptions found in Mesopotamia helped to substantiate, correct, and further the labor of Rawlinson, so that the Assyrian and Babylonian documents were read with ever increasing ease and accuracy.

The general public, however, received the results of cuneiform research with considerable reserve; the polyphony of the characters especially taxed their credulity. If, it was said, the Assyria characters possess multiple values, how can we be sure that the Assyriologists, working independently of each other on the same text, will assign to the characters the same values, and thus extract the same meaning? the Assyriologists did not shrink from the test. In 1857 Mr. W. H. Talbot, not only one of the inventors of photography, but also a pioneer of cuneiform research, wrote to the Asiatic Society enclosing a sealed translation of the long inscription of Tiglath Pileser, discovered in the ruins of Kalah Shergat, the text of which was at that time in process of publication by the trustees of the British Museum, and suggested that copies of the text be furnished to a number of Assyriologists, who should make independent translations, and submit them to the society. The suggestion was adopted: Rawlinson, Hincks, Oppert undertook the work; in a month's time the translations were completed and handed in, sealed, to a special committee appointed for their examination. The result was a complete triumph for the Assyriologists. The translations were in remarkable accord; differing here and there in the matter of a shade of meaning, of a word, or even of a whole phrase; but no unprejudiced observer could fail to see that all four were translations of one and the same text. Assyriology had established its claims; henceforward there could be no doubt as to the soundness of the principles laid down by

its expositors, or the methods they employed. The investigation advanced now with rapid strides, especially since the French government and the British Museum supplied scholars with the material by publishing the treasures found in the East, and, in 1869, Professor Eberhard Schrader proved in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, scientifically, beyond a reasonable doubt, the solidity of the new science of Assyriology. Since then a whole galaxy of enthusiastic scholars, American, English, French, German, and Italian have made its development their life-work, so that today the annals of Tiglath Pileser and Nebuchadnezzar, for instance, are just as well understood as Herodotus and Livy.

Among the clay tablets obtained by Rassam from the library of Ashurbanipal George Smith, an engraver employed in the British Museum to make copper plates for the cuneiform texts, found, in 1872, fragments of a Babylonian story of the Deluge. He communicated his find to the Society for Biblical Archaeology. His translation, which showed a remarkable similarity with the Biblical account, aroused such immense interest that the proprietors of the "Daily Telegraph" offered to Smith the funds necessary for a renewal of the excavations, in the hope of finding the missing fragments. The young scholar accepted, and continued his task for three years (1873–1876). He died on his return from Nineveh, at Aleppo, a martyr to his self-sacrificing devotion. He had obtained a great number of tablets from the library of Ashurbanipal, including some more fragments of the account of the Deluge, and had also purchased for the British Museum valuable tablets from Babylonia. Hormuzd Rassam succeeded him (1877–1882). Among his many brilliant finds, that of the unique and important bronze doors of the temple of Shalmaneser II (859–829), found at Balawat, fifteen miles southeast of Mosul, deserves special mention. On Babylonian soil he excavated, in 1881, the famous temple of the sungod at Sippar, (Abbu Habba), together with the temple archives, some fifty thousand tablets recording gifts and the like to the temple.

About the same time (1875–1880) Ernest de Sarzec, French vice-consul at Bassorah, made a series of most important dis-

coveries. He found at Telloh the ancient city of Shirpula. In spite of various unfavorable circumstances he succeeded in gathering a whole collection of materials illustrative of the most ancient times; statues, stelae, bas-reliefs, vases of silver, of bronze, and of stone, and as many as thirty thousand tablets. Almost all the objects found bear inscriptions in the oldest cuneiform writing known to us, dating back to the fourth millineum B. C. Kings hitherto unknown, among them, as the most prominent, Gudea, of whom eight, unfortunately headless, statues were found, and a world of art unsuspected for these early ages have thus been revealed to us. These treasures are now among the most precious of the Louvre.

A great surprise came to scholars and explorers from the soil of Egypt. In the winter of 1887–88 some natives found at Telel-Amarna in Upper Egypt, about 180 miles south of Cairo by river, between three and four hundred tablets, which proved to consist of letters and dispatches in the Babylonian language addressed to the Egyptian courts in the 15th century B. C. Of these tablets eighty-two were secured for the British Museum, and one hundred and sixty for that of Berlin; the Bulag Museum has sixty; St. Petersburg and Paris a few, and the rest are in the hands of private individuals. These letters and dispatches throw in many respects a flood of light upon the history and conditions of Western Asia and Egypt, and furthermore show that as early as 1500 B. C., Babylonia was, just as French is today, the language of diplomacy, in which even Egyptian officials corresponded with their own king.

So far the excavations and explorations in Mesopotamia had been carried on by England and France. Now Germany and America entered into the arena and at once took a leading position. When, in 1886, the Royal Prussian Museums desired to send an expedition to Babylonia for the purpose of finding scientific treasures, the Kommerzienrat L. Simon, of Berlin, declared himself ready to defray the necessary expenses. The expedition, under the leadership of the scholars Moritz and Koldewey, excavated for nine months at Surgul and El-Hibba. The two mounds were found to have been burial places for human corpses. Greater results awaited the explorations

carried on, under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, by Rev. John P. Peters, Mr. John H. Haynes, and Prof. Hilprecht. At Nuffar, the site of old Nippur, a centre of early Babylonia religious life, the American archaeologists uncovered the great temple of Bel, the foundations of which go back to a still earlier period than the ruins of Telloh. Beginning with 1888 each successive year of their activity has brought to light new architectural and artistic features such as, for instance, the ancient city gates, streets similar to those of Pompeii, the remains of stores and shops, and a fairly well preserved kitchen; numberless smaller objects, *e. g.*, specimens of pottery, jars, bowls, cones, images, as well as gold, alabaster and copper work; an ever increasing number of historical, legal, and religious records, to be counted by the thousands and partly antedating those of Gudea. This rich and splendid booty is deposited in the University Museum which has thus become one of the grandest collections of the world. America can justly be proud of the achievement of its scholars and explorers.

In 1898 the enthusiasm and zeal of Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, son of the great Lutheran theologian Franz Delitzsch, brought it about that a German Orient Society was formed for the purpose of sending out expeditions to the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, and first of all to Babylon. Scarcely a year after its foundation the Society was ready, thanks to the splendid munificence of His Majesty, the German Emperor, to send out an expedition under the direction of Dr. Robert Koldewey, of Görlitz, assisted by the Assyriologist, Dr. Meissner, of Halle, and 'Regierungsbauführer' Andrae. They started their thorough and systematic explorations on March 26th, 1899, and their labor has since been crowned with signal success. Among the most interesting finds may be mentioned a stele bearing in front the image of the Hittite storm-god, and on the back a Hittite inscription. At Karr, one of the mounds under which Babylon lies buried, they have laid bare the famous *Street of Processions* mentioned in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II (604-561), which ran along the outside of the King's palace, leading from Borsippa across the Euphrates to Babylon. On the Babylonian New Year's Day Nabu (Nebo),

the god of writing and patron of agriculture and science, was carried along this broad and handsomely paved street, in a magnificient ship, to pay a visit to his father, Marduk (Merodach), the chief of the Babylonian pantheon, the type of the sun and the symbol of spring. The German archaeologists have also identified the famous temple of Marduk, and the great wall of Babylon; and what is perhaps still more admirable, they have reconstructed, from hundreds of fragments of glazed tiles, one of the lions which adorned the walls of Nebuchadnezzar's palace.

Within most recent years, in the winter of 1901–1902, the French expedition excavating at Susa under the direction of J. de Morgan found the oldest corpus juris in existence, the Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon (2250 B. C.). Soon afterwards it was published by the Assyriologist of the expedition, Father Scheil, and within a very short time was translated into French, German, and English.

Cities, temples, palaces that had been buried for thousands of years have been unearthed; immense quantities of objects of all kinds have been found; over a hundred thousand cuneiform inscriptions have been housed in the museums of Europe and America. What have these cities, temples, palaces, these objects and inscriptions to tell us concerning the *life* of the people of Babylonia, its *civilization* and *culture* as reflected in its *religion* and *morality, its social, political, economic and legal status, its science, literature and art?*

II. PHASES OF THE RELIGION OF THE BABYLONIAN PEOPLE.

It may be impossible to write, in the present state of our knowledge, a historical and systematic exposition of the religion of the Babylonian people, but one thing can be established: *The whole life of the Babylonians was imbued with religion, which constituted the very source of their civilization and culture.*

The religion of the Babylonian people is polytheistic nature-worship, more especially star-worship. Life is ascribed to the phenomena of nature, such as trees, plants, stones; to the occurrences in nature such as storms, rain, lightning, thunder; and to the great luminaries, the sun, the moon, the stars. The

Babylonian sees in the processes of nature not the working of mechanical law, but the direct action of a superior power. And as there is a variety of natural phenomena so there is a variety of divinities. Spirits are, indeed, lurking everywhere. Within recent years the question as to a possible tendency towards monotheism, or even complete monotheism, has been under repeated discussion. So far as I can judge it has not been proven beyond a reasonable doubt that monotheism was entertained by the Babylonians. The idea that the various divinities are really one great deity may be interpreted in the sense of naturalistic pantheism; and, moreover, it would be confined to the thinkers and theologians. The religion of the *people* was, undoubtedly, polydemonistic and polytheistic.

Adoration is directed especially to heaven, to the earth, and the subterranean waters; to the sun, the moon, Venus, the planets in general, and the atmospheric forces. Each divinity could be worshipped under different aspects: the god Raman, for instance, is addressed as the giver of rain and as the thunderer. It is difficult to find system in the Babylonian pantheon; *prima facie* it appears rather as an agglomeration of divinities. Each Babylonian city, large or small, had a special deity devoted to its welfare, the spirit of the soil presiding over the territory. In some instances this might be a heavenly body, the sun, moon, a star, or it might be some atmospheric force, such as the rain, the storm, all of which were supposed to regulate or influence the fate of man. The deity which acted as guardian of the city was for that city the *deus supremus* But this did not exclude the worship of other gods, nor the divinities of other cities. There was no intolerance: the conquered city accepted the gods of the conqueror. Moreover, any god that happens to be invoked is endowed with attributes which seem to raise him above all other gods. In the hymn addressed to the moongod (see below p. 6) *Sin* is called lord, begetter of everything, whose fullness is not reached by any god; who alone is exalted, without any equal among the gods, his brothers.

As in other polytheistic religions so also in the Babylonian

the individual gods are variously related to one another, as husband and wife—every god seems to have his consort or consorts—, as father and son, as parents and children. But the generalogical relations fluctuate. Only in the case of two gods, *Ea*, the god of unfathomable wisdom, and *Marduk* (Merodach), the god of Babylon, we find that, whenever they are mentioned, the parental or filial relationship is emphasized. From the great number of gods we shall mention, first, the great triad *Anu*, *Bel*, and *Ea*.

Anu is the god of the heavenly expanse. Originally he was the city god of 'Der.' He hears prayers, but is not directly approached. The gods are his messengers who report to him what is going on in the world. His consort is *Anatum*.

Bel is worshipped as the god of the earth, the creator and champion of mankind. The principal seat of Bel-worship was Nippur. Bel's consort is *Belit*.

Ea is described as the god of the waters of the deep. He is the source of wisdom and culture. His principal sanctuary was at Eridu, one of the most ancient of the holy cities, situated near the shore of the Persian gulf.

A second trial is formed by *Sin*, *Shamash* and *Raman*.

Sin, or, as he is also called, *Namnar*, is the moon-god, and was especially worshipped at Ur and Harran.

Shamash represents the sun. He is called guide of the gods and judge of men. His main sanctuary was at Sippar.

Raman, the god of the atmosphere, the thunderer; the god of the rain, enjoyed special veneration at Hadad in Syria.

A third triad is constituted by *Ea*, *Marduk* and *Nabu*.

Marduk (Merodach) is the great local god of Babylon. He is the most important god of the Babylonian pantheon. The kings of Babylonia rule by the grace of Marduk. To him they pay special homage. Originally a solar deity, Marduk is essentially a life-giving god. He produces the life of nature. It was Marduk who conquered chaos and changed it into a cosmos. He is the author of order in the universe; he furthers and protects civilization; supports the weak, heals the sick, releases the prisoners. He is the counsellor who guides even the gods

in their decrees. He acts as mediator between his father Ea and mankind.

Nabu (Nebo), the son of Marduk, furnishes man with understanding and knowledge. He has revealed the art of writing; all literature is under his protection. He is called the scribe of the universe. Borsippa is his city.

Among the goddesses, *Ishtar* (*Ashtarte*) holds the preëminent place. She represents the planet Venus, the morning and evening star. As evening star she is the goddess of love and reproduction, the mother of mankind, the personification of fertility. She is further addressed as the mother of gods. In course of time she became simply *the* goddess. Ishtar is also worshipped as Queen of Battle.

Besides these deities there are a great many subordinate gods and goddesses, too numerous to mention here, that influence and control man's life.

The gods are all-powerful and supreme. All that happens is determined by them. Man owes his existence to them, and they interest themselves in his fate. Every man stands under the care of a special god, or a pair of divinities, his guardian angels as it were. In the character of the gods the nobler traces are not wanting. They see to it that righteousness and justice rule upon the earth; they are said to hate and punish wrong and violence; they may show mercy to those who call upon them in their afflictions, their faithful worshipper they overshower with favors. Nowhere do we obtain a clearer view of the conceptions the Babylonians entertained in regard to their gods than we get from the *hymns* addressed to the various divinities. One of the hymns to the moon god is, especially, characteristic. It reads as follows:

O Lord, chief of the Gods, who on earth and in heaven alone is exalted!
Father Nannar, lord of increase, chief of the gods,
Father Nannar, heavenly lord, chief of the gods,
Father Nannar, moon-god, chief of the gods,
Father Nannar, lord of Ur, chief of the gods.
Father Nannar, lord of Eshirgal (a temple), chief of the gods,
Father Nannar, lord of the brilliant crescent, chief of the gods,
Father Nannar, perfect in sovereignty, chief of the gods.
Father Nannar, who passest along in great majesty,

O strong bull, great of horns, of perfect form, with long flowing beard of the color of lapis lazzuli,
Powerful one, self-created, fair to look upon, whose fulness is self-created,
Merciful one, begetter of everything, who occupies a lofty seat among living things,
Merciful Father and restorer, who maintainest the life of the whole world,
Lord, thy divinity, like the distant heaven and the wide ocean, is full (?) of awe,
Ruler of the land, protector of sanctuaries, proclaimer of their names,
Father, begetter of gods and of men, who establishest dwellings and grantest gifts,
Who callest to sovereignty, givest the sceptre, decreest destinies for distant days,
Strong chief whose wide heart embraces in mercy all that exists,
* * * beautiful, whose knees do not grow weary, who opens the road (?) for the gods, his brothers,
* * * who from the foundation of heaven to the zenith,
Passes along in brilliancy (?) opening the door of heaven,
Preparing the fate (?) of humanity,
Father, begetter of everything * * * * * * * *
Lord, proclaiming the decisions of heaven and earth,
Whose command is not set aside,
* * * and granting water for all that has life.
No god reaches to thy fullness,
In heaven who is exalted? Thou alone art exalted.
On earth who is exalted? Thou alone art exalted.
Thy strong command is proclaimed in heaven, and the Igigi (spirits of heaven) prostrate themselves;
Thy strong command is proclaimed on earth, and the Anunaki (spirits of earth) kiss the ground.
Thy strong command on high, like a storm in the darkness, passes along, and nourishment streams forth,
When thy strong command is established on the earth, vegetation sprouts forth,
Thy strong command stretches over meadows and heights, and life is increased.
Thy strong command produces right and proclaims justice to mankind.
Thy strong command, through the distant heavens and the wide earth, extends to whatever there is,
Thy strong command, who can grasp it? Who can rival it?
Lord, in heaven is [thy] sovereignty, on earth is thy sovereignty,
Among the gods, thy brothers, there is none like thee.
O King of Kings, who has no judge superior to him, whose divinity is not surpassed by any other!

Marduk is addressed as the god of life:

O merciful one among the gods!

O merciful one who loveth to give life to the dead!
Marduk, King of heaven and of earth,
King of Babylon, lord of Esagila (temple in Babylon),
King of Ezida (temple at Borsippa), lord of Emath-tila (shrine of Borsippa),
Heaven and earth are thine.
The whole of heaven and earth is thine.
The spell that giveth life is thine,
The breath of life is thine,
The pure incantation of the ocean is thine,
Mankind, the black-headed race,
The living creatures, as many as there are, and exist on earth,
As many as there are in the four quarters,
The Igigi of the legions of heaven and earth,
As many as there are, to thee do they incline (?),
Thou art the *shedu*, thou art the *lamassu*
Thou restorest the dead to life, thou bringest things to completion (?),
O merciful one amongst the gods!

The gods, however, are neither omnipresent nor omniscient, as may be seen from the following hymn:

Bell who saw the oppression in heaven of the hero Sin,
The lord said to his messenger, god Nusku:
"My servant Nusku, carry my command to the Ocean,
"The news concerning my son Sin, who is sorely oppressed in heaven,
"Inform Ea in the ocean,"
Nusku honored the command of his master
To Ea in the deep he swiftly went,
To the high *massu*, the exalted, the lord *Nukimmat*,
Nusku brought the word of his master to the other side:
Ea in the ocean heard the word, and bit his lip,
And with woe his mouth was filled.
Ea called his son Marduk and commanded him:
Go, my son Marduk,
Of the son of the noble luminary (Nannar) who in heaven is sorely oppressed,
His oppression in heaven has been manifested;
Those seven evil gods, murderers, —irreverential they are,
They invade the land,
Into the land they come like clouds,
Before Sin angrily * * * * * * * *
The hero Shamash, Raman, the warlike, they brought into their power!

Ethical defects such as drunkenness, deceit, cunning, immorality are, sometimes, attributed to the gods. In the Babylonian account of the creation we read, for instance, of the followers-

of the god *Anshar* that, after war had been declared against the powers of choas, they assembled at a meal:

> They ate bread, they drank wine.
> The sweet wine took away their senses.
> They became drunk, aud their bodies swelled up.

In order to obtain the favor of the gods man must fear and worship them and obey their commands. Sacrifice and prayer are, likewise, enjoined. It is said that

> Fear of God begets mercy,
> Sacrifice prolongs life,
> And prayer dissolves sin.

Prayer is always a request of some kind, mostly for some physical good. Prayer as the result of an irresistible longing to hold communion with God we do not find among the many prayers and invocations that have come down to us. The various hymns, even the most beautiful ones among them, show traces of their having been, originally, formulas of incantation by which the god was to be forced to accede to the request of the petitioner. Let us take, for example, a passage from a hymn to Shamash:

> The law of mankind thou dost direct,
> Eternally just in the heavens thou art,
> Of faithful judgment toward all the world thou art,
> Thou knowest what is right, thou knowest what is wrong,
> O Shamash, the support of Anu and Bel thou art,
> O Shamash, supreme judge of heaven and earth thou art,
> O Shamash, supreme judge, great lord of all the world thou art,
> Lord of creation, merciful one of the world thou art,
> O Shamash, on this day, purify and cleanse the king, the son of his god,
> Whatever is evil within him, let it be taken out.
> Cleanse him like a vessel * * * * * * * *
> Illumine him like a vessel of * * * * * * * *
> Like the copper of a polished tablet let him be bright,
> Release him from the ban.

Similarly the hymns to Marduk, likewise excelling in pious feeling and splendid diction, usually end with an incantation.

> Expel the disease of the sick man,
> The plague, the wasting disease * * *

A prayer to the fire-god Gibil reads as follows:

O Gibil, mighty one, that art exalted in the land!
Leader in command, child of the ocean, who art exalted in the land!
Gibil! with thy bright fire thou makest light in the house of darkness;
Thou determinest everything that exists;
Of copper and tin thou art the mixer;
Of silver and gold thou art the purifier;
Of the deity Ninkasi thou art associate;
Thou art he who changest in the night the mind of the evil one.
May the physical strength of the pious man become vigorous again!
May he be brilliant like the heaven,
May he be bright like the earth!
May he shine like the centre of heaven!

The Babylonian inscriptions recording the erection of statues, the building or restoration of palaces and temples usually contain a prayer of the royal patron and architect. The objects asked for are, as a rule, success in war, abundance at home, long life, a secure throne, and numerous offspring.

Thus the Old Babylonian king Gudea (3100 B. C.) upon completing a statue to his god *Ningirsu* prays, Ningirsu, grant to Gudea who has built this house a good fate.

Tiglath Pileser (1120–1100 B C.) after restoring the temple of Anu and Raman beseeches these gods that they may be pleased to hear his petitions, may send abundant rains and years of plenty, may preserve him in battle, may subject to him all hostile lands and kings, may graciously draw near to him and establish his priesthood.

Ashurbanipal (668–626 B. C.) begs of the sun-god to consider favorably his deeds, grant him long life, good health and joy, and also to bless his brother, the king of Babylon.

From Nebuchadnezzar (605–562) we have a great many prayers. Upon completing the restoration of a temple to Ninkarrak at Sippar he addresses the goddess as follows: "*Ninkarrak, lofty goddess, look with favor upon the work of my hands. Mercy towards me be the command of thy lips. Long life, abundance of strength, health and joy grant to me as a gift.*" After he had restored the great temple of Shamash at Sippar he prays: "*O Shamash, great lord, upon entering joyfully into the glorious temple Ebabarra, look with favor upon my precious work. Mercy toward me be thy command. Through thy right-*

eous order may I have abundance of strength. Long life and a firm throne grant to me. May my rule last forever! With a righteous sceptre of blissful rulership, with a legitimate staff, bringing salvation to mankind adorn my rule forever! With strong weapons for the battle protect my soldiers! O Shamash, answer me correctly by oracle and dream! By thy supreme command, which is unchangeable, may my weapons advance, strike, and overthrow the weapons of my enemies." Elsewhere he asks for old age, numerous offspring, tribute from all the kings of the world, a secure throne, long reign, and that the threshold, the bars, the bolt, the doors of the temple which he has restored may be to the god perpetual reminders of the piety of the king.

Upon his ascendance to the throne Nebuchadnezzar approaches Marduk with a prayer.

O Eternal Ruler! Lord of all being!
Grant that the king whom thou lovest,
Whom thou hast called to the throne according to thy great pleasure,
May flourish before thee!
Guide him in a straight path,
I am the ruler, obedient to thee, the creature of thy hand;
'Tis thou who hast created me, and
With dominion over mankind hast entrusted me.
According to thy mercy, O Lord,
Which thou dost bestow upon all mankind,
Cause me to love thy supreme dominion.
Implant in my heart the fear of thy god-head.
Grant to me whatever is pleasing to thee,
For it is thou that hast fashioned my life.

The following is a prayer of Nabonidus (555–538 B. C.), the last king of Babylon, addressed to the moon-god:

"*O Sin, lord of the gods, king of the gods of heaven and of the earth, great god of gods, inhabitant of the great heavens, when into this temple thou enterest in joy, may grace unto Esagilla, Evida and Egishshirgal, temples of thy great divinity, be established by thy command. And the fear of thy great divinity establish in the hearts of thy people, that they may not commit sin against thy great divinity. May their foundations be firm like the heavens! As for me, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, in the goodness of thy great divinity rescue me, and life unto*

distant days grant to me as a gift. And as for Belshazzar, my chief son, offspring of my loins, establish in his heart the fear of thy divinity in order that he may not commit sin."

We find in the Babylonian religious literature expressions of *a deep feeling for sin and guilt.* Indeed the noblest documents of Babylonian religion are the so-called *penitential psalms* which are traced back to the second half of the third millenium before Christ. In these penitential psalms we have genuine *documents humains*: the soul of man crying for deliverance, forgiveness, and redemption.

By sin the Babylonians meant "a missing of the mark," a failure to comply with the demands of the god under whose protection one stood. The evil act is judged not so much as being an expression of character, or as affecting human beings, but rather as an offense against unseen powers. There is no distinction between moral and ceremonial delinquency, nor between delinquency and error. In the penitential psalms the confession of sin sometimes concerns only the omission of ceremonial acts required by the divinity. Mostly, however, moral faults, such as discord among members of a family, cruelty, oppression, dishonesty, mendacity, lack of reverence towards gods and parents, are referred to. It is not necessary that a sin be knowingly committed. The penitent feels the weight of offences into which he has unwittingly fallen:

The sin that I have committed I know not,
An offense I have committed unwittingly against my God,
A sin against my goddess I have been guilty of unwittingly,
O Lord, my sins are many, great are my transgressions,
O my god, my sins are many, great are my transgressions,
O my goddess, my sins are many, great are my transgressions,
Known (or unknown) god, my sins are many, great are my transgressions.

In another psalm we read:

O my god, my transgression is great, many are my sins,
O my god, my transgression is great, many are my sins,
O my goddess, my transgression is great, many are my sins,
O my god, thou knowest what I did not know,
My transgression is great, many are my sins;
O my goddess, thou knowest what I did not know,
My transgression is great, many are my sins,
The transgression I committed I did not know,

The sin that I sinned I did not know.
The forbidden food I ate,
On the forbidden thing I trod,
My god in the wrath of his heart has punished me,
God in the strength of his heart has overwhelmed me.
The goddess smote me with misfortune, and caused me pain.
The god who knew what I did not know caused darkness.
I lay on the ground, and none took hold of my hand,
I wept, and none grasped my hands,
I cried aloud—there was none that heard me,
I was amidst gloom and grief, I did not arise myself,
Upon God I cast my misfortune; my prayer I directed * * * *
How long, O my god * * * * * *
The sin I committed turn into blessing,
The transgression I committed, may the wind carry it off.
My manifold sorrows, destroy like a garment.
O my god, seven times seven are my transgressions.

Man must be constantly on his guard for fear he may offend some god or goddess and call down upon him divine wrath and punishment. The punishment for sin consists in sorrow, sickness, misfortunes of all kinds and death.

A goddess has become angry with me, and brought me into pain.
A known (or unknown) god has oppressed me,
A known (or unknown) goddess has brought sorrow upon me.

As a consequence man lived in constant fear. No matter how near the gods were felt to be, one could never be sure of their good-will.

Thrown upon the mercy of the angry deity, it mattered little what had called forth this wrath; the thought that would engage the entire attention of the penitent was the appeasement of his god; to obtain deliverance, not so much from sin itself, as from the punishment inflicted. In order to effect a reconciliation a mediator is needed. According to Babylonian ideas it seems, a god could not be approached by the common man directly, but only through chosen messengers, the *priests*. This idea of mediation is so pronounced as to lead to the frequent association with a god of a second divinity, his son or his servant, through whom the petition of man is brought to the throne of mercy. The priest acts as the representative of god upon earth.

A PENITENTIAL PSALM.

The penitent: I, thy servant, beseech thee, O give me peace!
Accept the fervent prayer of the sinner,
If thou inclinest thy heart to a man—that man liveth.
O goddess, ruler over all, lady of mankind,
Merciful one to whom it is good to turn, who hearest prayer.
The priest: Behold, his god and his goddess being angry with him, he calls upon thee,
Turn thy face to him and take him by the hand!
The penitent: There is no god above thee, none ruling over thee.
Graciously have mercy upon me, receive my supplication!
When, at last, (will there be rest)? oh. may thy wrath be calmed!
How long, O my goddess, till thy countenance be turned towards me!
I moan like doves, I satiate myself with sighs.
The priest: With pain and ache, his soul is full of sighs
Tears he weeps, he pours forth lament (?).

Whilst the penitential psalms thus exhibit a deep feeling of sin and guilt, other monuments of Babylonian literature abound in expressions of selfrighteousness. The kings especially never fail to tell in their annals what excellent rulers they are, and how good the relations between the gods and themselves. Sometimes we read whole columns of introductory selflaudation. Hammurabi (2250 B. C.) calls himself the exalted prince, the worshipper of the gods, the wise king, who restored Eridus to its place, who purified the sanctuary of E-apsu; who made the fame of Babylon great; who rejoiced the heart of Marduk, his lord; the pious and suppliant one; the divine protector of the land, etc. Ashurbanipal appeals to Ishtar on the ground of what he has done to promote the glory of the goddess in his land. He devoted himself to her service, he observed the festivals in her honor and repaired her shrine. In return for all this Ishtar is to become gracious to him and cut off his afflicion.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the kings always refer their great deeds to the help of the gods. Even the hunting expeditions of the Assyrian kings, if successful, are so through divine assistance. Ashurbanipal writes: *I, Ashurbanipal, King of the Universe, King of Assyria, in the power of my greatness seized a right wild lion by the tail, by the command of Ninib and Nergal, the gods, my helpers, with the weapon of my hand I smashed his skull.*

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

ARTICLE VI.

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF AMERICA.

By Rev. A. Spieckermann.

We call with pride our dear Lutheran Church the Mother of the Reformation. It is with pleasure that we watch her mighty development. For if there is a denomination that has met the expectation of the people, it is the Church of the hero who at Wittenberg in 1517 nailed those 95 world renowned theses to the church door; it is the Church of the hero of faith who by his indomitable courage showed that even the greatest forces of darkness could not prevent him from setting forth the principles of truth, as he, by earnest and humble searching, had found them in Holy Writ. Martin Luther believed in biblical truths with all his heart, because Christian experience had taught him their reliability. Clinging to the Word of God has made the Lutheran Church the most powerful Protestant institution in the world. But her mighty onward strides have been checked in the land, where her cradle stood, by a theology which by its negative tendencies has lost its right to existence in the Church of the Word. We cannot at this time dwell on the destructive influence modern theology has exercised in Germany, but confining ourselves to our subject will now consider one of the problems confronting the Lutheran Church in America, a problem whose wrong solution will doubtless become harmful to her development. I mean the Language Question. It goes without saying that the prosperity of the Church will depend to a large degree, upon her attitude toward this question. If the glorious words of Theodore Roosevelt, "the Lutheran Church in America will be one of the two or three leading institutions of the future," shall be realized, then our dear Church must settle her language affairs in such a way that no future time will witness the sad fact that so many chil-

dren get lost to their Church, because the latter has neglected their ecclesiastical instruction in the official language of the country, which alone they understand. The difficult condition in which the Lutheran Church in America finds herself in regard to the Language Question must be explained by the immigration of the different peoples, particularly the German and Scandinavian. Some of these settlers made a mistake in not founding schools where they built their congregations.

But everyone knows that those parochial schools of the immigrants, erected here and there, have been the best means of maintaining the languages and the best thoughts and ideas of the old countries. One would think the old settlers would have paid attention to so important a matter. But alas, that was, as we already remarked, not everywhere the case. When thrown among English speaking-people they often forgot, only too soon, the sacred treasures and traditions of their fatherland by which they had achieved so much success and believe they could easiest reach the height of prosperity by adapting themselves as fast as possible to the circumstances by which they were surrounded. But you ask in astonishment, is that not the duty of everyone who has adopted this country as his own? I answer: Yes and no. Yes, insofar, as every good foreigner will respect the great and noble institutions of the American people and try sincerely to become as good a citizen as possible. But no, I say, when, for instance, the question arises, Shall the foreigner accept in a lump all the social and eccesiastical teachings and habits of the new world. For here we have to consider that the American people is not yet one race, but a conglomeration of nationalities destined to grow into one great people, the one great American nation. But before this great goal is reached, every nation must be allowed to furnish its contribution to the welfare of this country in its own way. That each people is eager to make this country as great as possible, will not be questioned, but on the other hand it will not be denied that in these endeavours for the greatness of this Republic of ours the spirit of fanaticism often played an unpleasant part. I make, indeed, a fair statement, when I say that not only the

foreigner, but also the native allowed himself sometimes to be ruled by the spirit of intolerance. There were and there are natives who ridicule the language of the foreigner and make it appear as something of second order. I often wonder if these critics have so much historical knowledge as to know that the languages of the foreigners possess treasures of classical beauty, far superior to the literary products of this country? I wonder, if those critics are so ignorant as to believe that the language alone will make good and useful citizens of this country? I know the intelligent American never thinks so, for education has deprived him of such prejudices. When he goes to a foreign country, say Germany, he knows he will be given plenty of time to become acquainted with the institutions of that country, before anyone asks him to become naturalized. He knows further that the good thoughts and habits of his country will be appreciated everywhere, but that he would make himself suspicious, would he, for policy's sake, exchange them for worse ones. And is he not a hero who under the most difficult circumstances clings to his good old principles?

It is this noble consideration that makes it so hard for the Germans to part with their language. Knowing the great, distinguished teachings of their country, which, as recently one of the American college presidents said, have established for them the reputation of being the teachers of the world, we well understand their tenacious adherance to the language of their old country. And who will blame them for so doing? Look at the great treasures of philosophy, poetry, literature, music and moral and religious teachings of their language and then tell me, if this people of poets and thinkers, must not claim the respect of all who bear the German name; tell me, if this people must not expect from everyone who speaks its tongue, the spread of those great ideas which have made it so great and will doubtless benefit other nations? It is therefore the contents and not the form, the thought and not the language, that is of value to the welfare of a nation.

From this axiom we draw the logical conclusion that it will not harm the American nation to have in its fold beside the of-

ficial English tongue other languages. The beloved man in the presidential chair of the United States who speaks the German language fluently, can testify to the correctness of this statement. Besides, a host of sober social reformers will assure us that the process of Americanisation needs not to be accellerated in a nervous way, and that a quiet and lawful development will gradually bring the desired results.

The criticism we allowed ourselves as to some of the English-speaking people in this country applies with equal force to a good many foreigners. For they, too, are under the influence of a good many prejudices, when they come to the shores of America. We cannot blame them too much, for everything is new to them and many strange teachings call forth their suspicion. No wonder that Lutheran immigrants cling firmly to the old doctrines and principles of the fatherland which appeared to them like solid rock under their feet; no wonder they hold the banners of Lutheranism in this country higher than they did in the old one. But man, even in his highest aspirations, goes sometimes to excess. Some of our best Lutherans of the German type are open to this criticism. The matchless development of the land of the Reformation undoubtedly impressed the Germans with the idea of being a privileged people. And there is hardly a nation on the face of the earth which would deny this to be a fact. Or has not the Reformation of the 16th century extended its blessed influence over the whole German people? This immense progress, the Lutheran Church, the leading denomination of Germany, had made since the hammer blows of that famous Wittenberg monk in 1517, the powerful words which flowed from the lips of Martin Luther and were the death-knell of political and religious tyranny, the marvelous influence of the life and literature of this greatest of all Reformers upon German families throughout the whole land, led some to believe that the Lutheran Church is something specifically German and cannot be carried into other nationalities without being modified. If that were the case, Lutheranism would not have the world-mission, we like to ascribe to it.

Representing principles of truth which in the middle ages had almost sunk into oblivion, Lutheranism affords something which can be claimed by each individual and each nation. For truth is everywhere the same. It is truth in America and the Philippine Islands as well as it is in Germany. Consequently the truths of Lutheranism must be able to be taught in the English language as well as in any other. We send our missionaries to India and Africa and always see them first study the language of the people they go to bless with their teachings. We never think for a moment that the salvation of the heathen is dependent upon the home language of the missionary. On the contrary, we know that if the heathen understands and adopts the sweet gospel message, he will receive the blessings of Christianity. One should therefore never go so far as to say that the Lutheran faith can only be preached in the German language. For we know that the Scandinavian peoples are just as earnest Lutherans as the Germans, and from history we know that the greatest Lutheran treasures of the Reformation were laid down in the Latin language and forcibly discussed by its scholars. Since this is true of a dead language, how much more can it be said of a language which by its simple grammar and simplicity of style recommends itself to everyone.

We have now sufficiently demonstrated that the English language can convey the Lutheran ideas as well as any other language, and this fact should suggest the idea of coöperation. But the spirit of coöperation and centralization which has become one of the cardinal doctrines of the 20th century, has not been clearly recognized by many. National prejudices, love of one's own language, misunderstandings on account of the inability to see any good in the work of others, other methods of church work and so on, were the cause of harsh feelings and provoked many a battle. Of course, these fights between the German and English congregations are almost as old as their history on this continent. Heinrich Melchior Muehlenberg, the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, Rev. Berkenmeyer and some others had

already preached in German and English without finding any opposition whatever.

But these peaceable endeavours could not continue everywhere. In Philadelphia, for instance, the English-speaking element of the Michaelis congregation under the leadership of General Peter Muehlenberg demanded, beside the two German ministers, an English preacher. A struggle began. The English element after having been voted down departed from that congregation to have services of their own.

The history of Michaelis congregation has more than once repeated itself. But not only congregations, but also synods suffered great changes on account of the language question. There is for instance the New York Ministerium. For twenty five years it was German, then for about fifty years its business meetings were conducted in the English tongue, until since 1867 it became again an entirely German body. The circumstance that it became again German must be explained by the fact that its English element departed, while its German congregations received fresh forces from immigration.

That, of course, during all these battles a good many Lutherans became the prey of other denominations, needs no special mention. For the same thing occurs nowadays, when the wants of one part of a mixed congregation are neglected.

The question now arises: What shall we do, when a German congregation has developed itself toward the English language so much that some of the young people are incapable of following the services in the German tongue? I know there are some who will sacrifice these young people. They will say, those young folks had a fine opportunity of learning German, but they were too proud or too lazy to do so. Now, m. f., these reasons may often be well founded, but I doubt, if this is the case everywhere. Think, for instance, of those congregations, where the Low German is always the language of the home and no schools make the young people acquainted with High German. Say, do you wonder at all that in such congregations the younger generation is lost to the High-German —or, if you please, to the German church language? And

often even there, where the High-German has been taught in schools, the German instruction will never produce the well desired fruits on account of the lack of practice at home. For, if a language shall become a person's whole property, then it needs continual practice.

And supposing the young people do understand and speak the German tongue, are they not often compelled by inter marriage to ask for the use of the English tongue in their congregation, the language of their children? What shall we therefore do with the growing number of young people who wish to hear their Lutheran faith preached in the English language? I believe I have sufficiently shown the untenableness of the idea that the Lutheran doctrines could not be preached with the same force in the official language of this country.

I further believe, an exclusion of the English tongue from congregations of mixed membership would be equal to ecclesiastical suicide and never make the Lutheran Church the dominant factor in the religious life of America. But you say, let us be careful and not in too great a hurry. Haste has only too often been the cause of great harm. True, there have been sometimes in German and Scandinavian congregations inconsiderate demands for the English language, which were absolutely unnecessary, because the English speaking element well understood the German and Scandinavian languages.

True, here and there, the English-speaking element of a German congregation, though being in a very weak minority, has more than once thoughtlessly hastened the process of Americanizing, thus losing in its further development the good old leaders. But, on the other hand, we cannot deny that the Church missed many opportunities of growth by not providing with German and English speaking ministers those congregations which had reached that point of transition which demands services in two languages.

But here we have to consider that those congregations which are in a transitory state, will only fare well, when they prepare their period of transition intelligently. It goes without saying that only those ministers should be employed in this difficult

work who are able to treat with tact and fine understanding so delicate a matter. And when, do you think, shall they begin with the introduction of the English tongue? That is hard to say. In general, one shall not make a mistake in assuming that the time has come, when an overwhelming majority, with regard to the needful younger generation, think it necessary to provide the latter with the treasures of Lutheranism in the official language of this country. For then, through the influence of the older people, we have a guarantee of preserving, for the younger generation, the Lutheran doctrines in their full strength and purity. That a transition in a congregation takes place in this way, is to be hoped for. For, otherwise, what would become of the neglected children of the Church? Children neglected at home often run away, and no one really blames them for so doing. And where is the man that will blame a person for his departure from a Church that has failed to provide him with the spiritual food, for which his soul was craving? It is therefore necessary for the Church to give up her suicidal opposition, when circumstances advise a new road of ecclesiastical development, progress, and policy. And what will be the result of the new policy? Nothing more and nothing less than the fusion of the best and noblest elements of the German and English types of Lutheranism.

In order to secure this fusion, there must be a clear and distinct understanding between the different elements of the Church. To this end, the Germans and Scandinavians will approach the English speaking portion of the Lutheran Church, and, studying their practical methods of church work, find that there are excellent men and women among them, men and women from whom one can learn much in practical matters. On the other hand, the English-speaking portion of the Church will never forget that German scholarship and thoroughness are acknowledged the world over, and that it is only gross ignorance and superficial prejudice against the foreigner which denies this to be a fact. I am agreeably surprised that in the better circles of the American people the systematic educational work of the Germans finds increasing appreciation. One has

discovered that the clear headed German people which conscientiously pursues its aim with its substantial teachings had, indeed, something to offer. People who have a noble task are anxious to perform it. The efforts of German Lutheran theologians to preserve Lutheranism in its strength and purity are well known, and should be endorsed by those English brethren who more than once were in danger of being captured by false ideas of Lutheranism.

We certainly like freedom of thought. No Church ever made more concessions in this respect than the Church, which rang the death knell of every kind of tyranny. But, there is a limit to everything. Freedom and liberty must therefore never go so far as to endanger the mighty historical dome of Lutheranism, and Lutheran theologians must never forget that unity of thought and efforts means strength. This weighty consideration suggests the idea of hearty coöperation.

There is well founded hope that a better mutual understanding will lead to a better mutual appreciation. During the last few years much progress has been made in that direction. A better knowledge of languages has, to a large degree, caused this well desired change. And there is confident expectation that still more success will be achieved by the energetic efforts of the best men of the Church. Uniting their powers and assisting each other in the spirit of generous rivalry, they will create a common road of hearty coöperation and produce out of the different elements the Church of the future.

One of the main factors to bring about this great Church of the future is the theological seminary. The latter will not only take care of the student's moral and spiritual welfare, but also pay its highest attention to his intellectual equipment. It will show him the sacred treasures and traditions of his Church in their whole splendor and force, and render the German and Scandinavian student capable of preaching in the English tongue those grand old Bible truths that will not perish, even if the home language disappears.

The question, Shall the German and Scandinavian student in bi-lingual institutions be instructed through the medium of

his own tongue in the official language of this country, is of secondary importance and should be decided by the faculty in favor of the foreign language, if circumstances demand it. The main thing is that the foreign student remains in close contact with the English students and through them with the social and ecclesiastical life of the people. Many great factors influence the American nation. Lutheranism is destined to play in it one of the most prominent parts. The Chief Executive of the United States acknowledged it himself, when he spoke about the great educational tasks of the Lutheran Church. Shall therefore the development of this great Church become still more glorious; shall her efficiency become still more intense; shall she, as the leading Church of Germany and other countries, become also in America the first Church and thus exceed even the prophecy of brave Theodore Roosevelt in regard to her splendid future, then she must concentrate her whole powers upon the language question that the fruits of long years of hard pioneer work may not be lost.

ARTICLE VII.

A REVIEW OF THE FOURTH INTERSYNODICAL CONFERENCE AT FT. WAYNE, IND., (AUG. 8–10, 1905).

By Professor F. A. Schmidt, D.D.

The fourth intersynodical Conference had an attendance only about half as large as that of the third Conference, held the year before in Detroit. As to the mode of procedure this gathering decided that each speaker should be allowed only ten minutes.

In giving a brief survey of the proceedings, I intend to confine myself as much as possible to the main questions that were discussed, and to leave out of consideration various subordinate questions of a secondary nature. As a matter of course, much that had often been discussed in previous times was repeated on both sides without bringing the controversy in any manner nearer to the desired goal: A conclusion, scriptural and confessional. Nevertheless, it is not unlikely that also the Conference at Fort Wayne stands for the exertion of some enduring influence on the necessary development of the controversy.

The contrast between the contending parties stood forth in its clearness and ruggedness. The fundamental passage, Eph. 1 : 4, about the election of grace, constituted the basis of, or the point of departure in, the discussion. On certain questions of importance all minds were already agreed. It is generally acknowledged that a "secret," a great world of wonders, with unsearchable paths and inconceivable judgments, lies before man when he discusses the eternal decree of foreordination to salvation and its practical execution. But this secret will have an essentially different character and import according to the position taken to the universal will of grace. The universal will of grace may be considered as strictly executing itself behind the unsearchable *or*, by the side of the universal will of grace and independent of it, a particular will of election may be advanced as an unrevealed, secret regulation of the foreordination to salvation.

The "exelexato," *i. e.* he "chose" us, was, in accordance with the concept "election," understood in the same way, at least by the majority of the leading speakers. The "choice" is a taking out, picking out, of the multitude of the human race, which is a fallen one in Adam, a redeemed one through Christ.

"We are chosen"—is what *Lehre und Wehre*, p. 371, correctly writes—"out of the *massa perdita*, and, we add, out of the human race redeemed through Christ." Through his choice, *i. e.*, election, picking out of the *massa perdita* God has decreed to divide the redeemed human race into two parts: *salvandi et non salvandi*, those to be saved and those not to be saved. This being so, those who, after the decree to salvation has been made, remain as non-elect in the *massa perdita* are thus and therewith excluded from the final salvation, even if they should for some time in this life through baptism and faith become members of the true Church of God. This article, that God decreed *Wahl der Gnade* (election of grace) constitutes the real separation (*discretio*) between those to be saved and those not to be saved, is especially worthy of notice.

Also on another matter the agreement was general: That the motive of the election, the principle of separation, lies in the purpose and good pleasure of God. He alone determines and establishes what individual persons He will elect out of the lost and redeemed mass of the human race for the purpose of saving them. No one can prescribe anything to Him in regard to this. His sole good pleasure, his sole purpose is the only norm and rule according to which He, in this respect, decrees as well as acts. Predestination is decreed by Him, and also the attendant execution is His work.

As soon however as the question was raised in what the "purpose" or the motive of the "good pleasure" consists, the difference became at once a glaring one. The apostle says, We are chosen "in Christ." With reference to this it was emphasized by our side [Iowa and Ohio] that Christ as Mediator and Author of the new universal covenant of grace is also the sphere or the periphery within which the election of grace shall and can take place—and has in fact taken place—according to

the *measure determined by the dispensation of the covenant of grace.* The new covenant of grace, as it concerns all sinners, knows only of this, that "whosoever believeth on Him" has according to God's will eternal life. On the basis of the covenant of grace founded in Christ, faith in the Saviour is always the necessary condition and presupposition for the predestination or foreordination to salvation. With respect to a separation of persons into those to be saved and those not to be saved, the covenant of grace, established through Christ as the Mediator between God and our sinful world, knows only of repentance and faith, only of following the universal order of salvation established in this new covenant as the sole motive of separation between those that *are* to be saved out of the lost multitude and those that *are not* to be saved, *i. e.*, between the elect and the non elect, if election in its strict sense of the ultimate foreordination and predestination be regarded as the final aim. The gospel, as the doctrine of grace for all men, knows nothing of a will or decree of God to save certain persons or sinners without asking beforehand about their faith. For this gospel always proclaims this only: *Who believes*, shall be saved. The "purpose" of predestination, as it has been revealed in the new covenant is this: "(1) For God so *loved* the world, (2) that he gave his only begotten *Son*, (3) *that whosoever believeth on him* should not perish, but have eternal life." In the gospel's covenant of grace the mercy of the Father and the merit of the Son do not at all exclude faith as the condition of the decree to salvation. On the contrary, the rule "Who believes shall be saved," constitutes very plainly and decidedly that "purpose of election" which is clearly revealed in the gospel, namely, "that (auf dass) all who believe (and no other) shall have eternal life." Not less as plainly and positively is God's "good pleasure" revealed in the words of Paul, as determining "in Christ" who are to be saved, and as executing this determination in him. Paul writes in 1 Cor. 1, 21: *It was God's good pleasure* through the foolishness of the preaching *to save them that believe.* As true as it then is that the "election" is "revealed" to us in the gospel, so certain it is that the gospel presents the

order of repentance and faith as the decisive purpose and discretive good pleasure in virtue of which it has come to a predestination separating some from others. For Christ, in whom we are chosen, is certainly "the Book of Life" for all men, as far as the gracious will of God to salvation is concerned. However, when the question is one regarding the *firm decree* to salvation, He is for those only who believe on Him—who appropriate to themselves His offered merit or "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ"—the decisive motive of their predestination or foreordination to salvation, because God in His eternal counsel of election has firmly decreed and determined that He, beyond those who acknowledge his Son Jesus Christ and truly believe on him, will save no one (Müller, 556). It is thus clear that the "us" in Eph. 1, 4, does not apply to "certain *men*" or "*sinners*" who like those that are born of the flesh are still unbelievers; but it applies to those who do not thrust away from themselves the gospel of grace, but consent in faith to become partakers of Christ's merit through the proffered mercy. For thus only has God, according to the third verse, "blessed us with all spiritual blessing in heavenly things, through Christ." The blessing of the heavenly things is given only to those who in faith accept the promise, and it presupposes this faith as the necessary condition, as the proper means of accepting the gift of blessing (Rom. 3, 30-33; 11, 31-32; Gal. 3, 14-22; Hebr. 4, 2). And the execution of this—as the imparting of the blessing—which takes place in this life, is the true adequate counterpart of the decree of predestination issued in eternity. In both—in the eternal election and in the temporal blessing—faith in the Saviour of sinners, occupies, according to Paul, the same position in conformity with the purpose and good pleasure of God. He has blessed us (believers) in the temporal world with the blessings of Christ. He has likewise before the foundation of the world elected and predestined us (believers) to be the objects of his communication of blessing.

Our opponents, the speakers on the side of the Synodal Conference, were entirely dissatisfied with this understanding of

Eph. I. We were dogmatizing, not exegeting, was the oft repeated refrain of our opponents. They claimed that the analogy between the covenant of grace, founded in the gospel for all sinners, and the purpose and good will which the gospel reveals as universally valid, has nothing to do with the understanding of the Scripture passages which treat of election as an electing predestination to true salvation. Of course has Christ, they asserted, through his work of redemption made this choice or election out of the lost multitude of sinners possible, and in so far we are chosen in Christ. But the real motive of the predestination to life is neither Christ Himself, nor the Father in Him, but the sole *Eudokia* (good pleasure) of God in certain persons in the alike lost, alike redeemed, but yet alike unbelieving multitude. For the unchangeable "purpose" of God, through which certain persons shall for certainty obtain eternal salvation does not apply to *believers as such*, but simply to *men as such*, persons, sinners, children of Adam in the same multitude, as they all alike yet lie in the same sinful condition, and are the children of wrath, even as the rest. The election decreeing to salvation, our opponents further claimed, is the beginning and source of the blessing which is imparted to these persons above others, but it is nevertheless as a matter of course an unchangeable predestination to *unerring salvation*, a firm decree regarding their obtaining salvation regardless of conditioning repentance and faith. The decree not only brings them to the supreme goal of salvation: it gives them salvation and all that leads to it and is necessary as way and means to obtain it. The *firm decree*—to save certain persons, who as parts of the multitude are viewed as still lying in complete corruption, but not as embracing in faith the grace of Jesus Christ —also includes from the beginning, as a no less firm decree and purpose, all that is necessary to their salvation. This "Wahlvorsatz Gottes" (God's purpose of election) they asserted, is so certain and infallible in its execution that *neither the Devil, nor the world nor our own flesh can put it to naught* (*Lehre u. Wehre*, p. 371). And all this—not by virtue of the universal order followed, but simply by the virtue of the special purpose

of election which does not refer to all men, is not revealed in the order of salvation, and has not its corresponding motive and rule in the universal covenant of grace, but is, much more, according to its *essence* and its *execution* on the whole a particular will of election and purpose of election. They claimed that to advance here, as we did, a principle "in view of faith" or an adherance, of whatsoever kind, to the order of salvation as the dividing principle or rule of separation, did not agree with the Scripture passages which treat of this election as distinct from the universal counsel of salvation and its order. The election in strict sense, they said, was an initial separation of persons, a separation standing at the very head of the order of grace. "Chosen us" does therefore not signify "us as believers," but this only: God has predestinated "us as yet lying in our original condition," (1) to a firmly and securely guaranteed salvation, and therefore (2) to all that leads us safely to this goal.

That was the well known contrast respecting the main question for discussion. I do not think that my presentation of this can by any one be justly considered as incorrect or misleading. On our side we here emphasized repeatedly that we in a decided manner should have to reject any exegesis so manipulated as to get out of "sedibus" a *special particular will of grace*, a second will to salvation which not only differs essentially from the universal will of grace for the whole sinful world revealed in the gospel, but also stands in diametrical opposition to it, especially in regard to the elect themselves. For when on the one hand the universal will of grace connects the ordination to salvation strictly with the condition of being persevering in faith, this particular will of grace, on the other hand, firmly foreordains sinners as such to virtual salvation, irrespective of Christ's merit laid hold of in faith, and it makes on the contrary Christ laid hold of in faith only the consequence and effect of this absolute purpose—election.

The Word of God contains only two doctrines about God's will to salvation and both concern all men. The will of the law requires one to be righteous by fulfilling the law. The will

of grace, revealed in the gospel, proclaims Christ to us as Saviour of the world and the Book of Life for all men. It offers them through the call of grace and the means of grace all that is necessary for being saved; it makes, however, in all its utterances the real *foreordination* to adoption and inheritance of eternal life dependent on whether the called sinner accept Christ or not. The doctrine of election in Holy Scripture is an *article in the universal gospel*, not a special doctrine of grace which does not concern all men, but altogether only the few elect.

The teaching of our opponents manifestly set up a *third doctrine* about God's will to salvation by the side of and outside of law and gospel. They advance, by the side of the universal will of grace revealed in the gospel, a special will of grace as revealed in the Scripture passages treating of election of grace. The following statements will make the situation clear:

1. The universal will of grace concerns all men without exception, but the will revealing itself in the election concerns only the elect, only "certain persons" in the multitude of lost humanity. The election as act of the will, as purpose, as good pleasure, as decree, does not extend to all men, but is, before every consideration of the relation of the called, already *from the beginning particular*, and limits itself only to certain persons in the multitude of sinners. The election-grace, or the election-love, *i. e.*, the grace and love to save sinners, which realizes itself in the election-act is not according to its concept universal and does not extend itself in unity and equality of the will to all men, but is simply a "particular will of election" which exists and has its own essence by the side of and apart from the universal will of grace.

2. The universal will of grace as well as the particular will of election, according to the claims of our opponents treats of foreordination and predestination to salvation, however, in an essentially different manner. In the universal will of grace, revealed and proclaimed by the gospel as of concern to all sinners, there can be no talk about foreordaining sinners to salvation, no talk about a firm properly decreed predestination of

sinners to eternal life before God has offered the sinners through his gracious call Christ's saving merit and before they have laid hold of it in faith. Here the firm purpose of the order of salvation has absolute validity: Who believes shall be saved, who does not believe shall be excluded from the blessing of Christ's merit. In the "particular will of election" of our opponents the firm foreordination to salvation in a like manner constitutes the chief contents. But they deny that this actual predestination to salvation is dependent on the faithful laying hold of Christ's merit, and they transfer it over to a secret, unrevealed divine will of separation, according to which only a few, out of the whole multitude of lost sinners, are foreordained to salvation. This *a priori* will of separation they, like Calvin, designate "a secret."

3. The universal will of grace as the particular will of election is, according to the doctrine of our opponents, a "cause" in view of salvation of sinners, again, however, in a very different manner. The universal will of grace is not, according to its essence, a decreeing will, which with necessity establishes the unerring execution of that which is willed, but is an impeding will, being a will conceived in a definite arrangement of the means and the resistible mode of operation. The gracious particular will of election, on the contrary, which concerns only the few elect is, according to its essence and concept, *at once also an irresistible decreeing will*, an unchangeable purpose which with necessity executes itself in spite of the Devil, of the world, yea, even of "the flesh" of the elect; for this inavoidable termination no mediating explanation is furnished by a following of the order of grace. The others, on the contrary, are abandoned to their natural, carnal freedom of choice, so that the universal way of salvation with its resistible grace offers to them just as little of the necessary aid to salvation as if no way of salvation ever existed for them. It is utterly impossible for them to walk the way of salvation. And it is just as impossible for the elect to retain any real possibility whatever of not walking the way leading to salvation, for the unchangeable purpose excludes from beforehand in their case every real possi-

bility of forfeiting their salvation—they "shall and must" in spite of everything again and again find favor with God, it may turn out with others as it pleases.

4. That is the special consolation which this particular will of grace guarantees and insures for those whom it concerns. Also in the universal will of grace is indeed mention made of consolation and blessing, grace and salvation; but "*of what avail is the richest blessing, if it is not certain?*" (Dr. Stöckhardt in Fort Wayne). That all is from the beginning guaranteed and absolutely promised.

ARTICLE VIII.

CONFIRMATION.

By Rev. Upton A. Hankey, A.M.

In recent years the youth have come into greater prominence in the Church. This is the Lord's will: Christian parents, presenting their children in holy baptism, solemnly pledge themselves to "bring them up in the murture and admonition of the Lord." Under the wise, tender, constant pressure of the mother in the home and the influences of the Sunday School, these children are gradually led along until they find their way into the pastor's catechetical class. Here he receives them, and faithfully instructs them in religious truth, until they know something of sin and grace, and are led nearer to the Saviour, whom they love, and in whom they believe.

The faith of their hearts must be publicly, personally professed; for the Word of God says: "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." Christ also says: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven." As the promises are all made to those who thus do confess, it is evident there are none to those who do not confess. This public profession is made, and the catechumens inducted into the full privileges of the Church, by what we call the impres-

sive rite of Confirmation. In other words, Confirmation is the opportunity which the Church affords to all baptized persons to confess Christ publicly, in the acceptance of their baptismal vows, and in the unreserved surrender of themselves to the God of love and grace. The most appropriate time to make this required profession is when the youth desire to be admitted to the privileges of full and accepted members.

Our Liturgy says: "The rite of Confirmation is not a Sacrament, but an ordinance of the Church." It grows out of the doctrine and practice of infant baptism, which we believe to be Scriptural, and is connected with infant baptism as its ratification. We do not claim for the ordinance a direct "thus saith the Lord;" it lacks Sacramental efficacy; it means no new vows; it rests on no direct Scriptural proofs; it is not an ordinance of the Lord's, but a work of the Holy Spirit. How then did Confirmation arise? It was introduced about the close of the second century, after the distinction of presbyters and bishops had sprung up in the Church. Upon the baptism followed an anointing, *χρίσμα*, and then the laying on of hands. In the Eastern Church presbyters and deacons were permitted to dispense baptism including also anointing and laying on of hands. But in the Western Church the bishops claimed the exclusive right of the laying on of hands. When the bishop did not dispense the baptism, the laying on of hands as well as the anointing was given separately by him as Confirmation, which separation, even when the baptism was administered by a bishop, soon became the usual practice. Thus the bishop claimed the right of authenticating, or confirming the baptism of all those who had been baptized by presbyters or deacons. If the bishop was present the Confirmation took place immediately after the baptism; if not, it was deferred to the next convenient season.

In course of time this rite became incumbered by superstitious ceremonies, and soon thereafter was erected into a sacrament in the Roman Catholic Church, and entirely separated from baptism.

Luther, in a sermon on the Mass in 1520, follows the pre-

vailing theory as to the number of sacraments, mentioning confirmation as a sacrament. Later, however, he points out "the absence of any divine Word of promise attaching specifically to Confirmation," and calls it an "ecclesiastical custom." The Roman Catholic rite with its appendages was abolished in the Reformation, and in Luther's Order for Divine Service there is no reference to Confirmation. In many places it was abolished, and some of the churches in Germany have it not to this day. Melanchthon, in his Apology to the Augsburg Confession says: "Confirmatio (et extrema unctio) sunt ritus accepti a Patribus, quos ne ecclesia quidem tanquam necessarios ad salutem requirit, quod non habent mandatum Dei." Is it not quite certain that opposition to the sacramental character of Confirmation, as taught in the Romish Church, led the Reformers to a too depreciatory view of the rite of Confirmation? Was it not easy to go to the other extreme of diminishing view? And is it not possible today to have too inadequate notions in respect of the rite of Confirmation? That it is a merely beautiful human ceremony, not at all essential, to be used, or despised, according to personal option, seems to be a low and inadequte conception of the rite, and has led some extreme jurists among the sects, since the Reformation, and as well among our own Churches, to set it aside as unscriptural and unevangelical.

This peculiar form of receiving the public profession of individuals appears to be in the Church by direction of the *renewing, unerring, and ever fruitful Divine Spirit.* Martensen says: "Confirmation is not an ordinance of the Lord's, but must be regarded as the work of the Spirit in the Church." It is enough, therefore, to say upon authority for its use that it is the appointment of the Church by the direction of the Divine Spirit. We find it in the pure age of the Church immediately succeeding the Apostolic. By analogy at least it has Biblical support, and is, therefore, not an arbitrary injunction of the Church, but wholly in accord with the tenor and spirit of the Scriptures. "Laying on of hands" was a ceremony used on different occasions, in the first years of Christianity. Upon the

sick the Apostles laid their hands when they would recover them. In the ordination of anyone to either of the orders of the ministry, "laying on of hands" was used. And sometimes in sending out evangelists upon their work, recourse was had to this significant ceremony. The "laying on of hands," as mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews, is connected with baptism, and several other things, as "the foundation," in the Christian life. As the "laying on of hands," in healing the sick, or in ordination, concerned only a few exclusively, there must have been some other occasion of using this rite, in which all Christians could partake, if it belonged to the principles of the Christian faith. Delitzsch, in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, says: "It is very significant—and, as in the case of every other apostolic word, it demands serious consideration here—that the author of this Epistle reckons the doctrine of the imposition of hands among the fundamental articles of Christianity. As the purpose of the ordinance was to qualify for independent participation in the official work of the Christian Church, its separation in time from baptism (with which it was not always connected even in the apostolic age) has been necessitated since the Church began regularly to renew herself out of the bosom of the family, and so children to be ordinarily baptized; but it still continues a fundamental condition of the revival of church life that Confirmation be restored to its proper place as a complement to baptism, and that the imposition of hands be regarded as the means of imparting the gift of the Holy Ghost, which the Church, in virtue of being the body of Christ, and having dwelling within her the fulness of His Spirit, is empowered to dispense. It is not meant that the imposition of hands is to be regarded as a sacrament in the sense in which baptism and the Lord's Supper are so: still something of a sacramental character attaches to it; for while, on the one hand, it is an apostolic ordinance in which the Lord's own example is followed, it is on the other hand, by virtue of the word of prayer and blessing connected with it, an effectual means of conveying heavenly (although for the time no longer extraordinary) gifts." Dr. Delitzsch further raises

the question: "How can we imagine that the Apostolic writer here (Heb. 6 : 2) would have reckoned the ἐπίθεσις Χειρῶν along with baptism among the funnamentals of Christianity, if he had not regarded it as a sacred ordinance, with a promise of grace attached to it?" Are we in error, when we recognize the integral significance of this rite of the imposition of hands in Confirmation, as well as in ordination? Hoffman "On the Right Administration of Confirmation," speaks thus, with special reference to Heb. 6 : 2: "By baptism the believer is separated from the world, and brought into communion or fellowship with Christ; by the laying on of hands he is, as it were, while still in the world, inwardly glorified, and wondrously provided with strength for conflict and for service."

The term "Confirmation" is defined to be a strengthening, fixing, or establishing any matter to which it refers. As applied to this rite, it means the strengthening; or establishing the Christian character and profession of those who come to engage in it. Confirmation is just what the word means,—being made strong. The persons confirmed renew their baptismal covenant, and by the gracious help of the Holy Spirit, their faith and moral purposes are strengthened.

The services usually connected with this rite are: A hymn suitable to the occasion, a prayer, and an appropriate discourse. The subjects, in a standing posture, then present themselves before the altar of the Church. The pastor proposes to them the questions found in the Liturgy, to which they respond affirmatively. The nature of these questions should be explained privately to the class before the public service of Confirmation is held. The subjects are requested to kneel, then the pastor places his hands upon the head of each one, and offers up a prayer. After rising to their feet he extends his right hand to each, saying: "Upon these, your voluntary professions and promises," etc. A prayer and hymn conclude the service. This is the simple, and appropriate service of Confirmation.

We do not regard it as the act of uniting with the Church, as some people suppose, and as pastors by their remarks lead people to believe. How often older members will take the

catechumen by the hand, following the ceremony of Confirmation, and say: "I was pleased to see you join the Church today." Sometimes the pastor says to his class: "All those who wish to unite with the Church will please hand me their names." Union with the Church of Jesus Christ takes place in Holy Baptism, and not in Confirmation. In baptism the seal of the Covenant is fixed; the Saviour establishing this Sacrament as the means of admission into His kingdom.

Confirmation is, in one sense, the act of the catechumen, and refers "to the solemn promise and vow that was made at baptism," and ratifies and confirms that vow. It is the public assumption of a covenant previously made with God. Thus the subject, by personal profession, confirms, or establishes his obligations to Christ as one of His disciples, and openly avows a purpose to take up the cross and follow Christ, to renounce the evils of the world, and to keep obediently God's holy will and commandments. Instrumentally it is the pastor's act in the name and authority of God. He certifies the catechumen of the grace of God, and by prayer obtains the strengthening influence of the Holy Spirit. As Christ's ambassador he applies the means of grace. While we place no superstitious dependence upon the "laying-on of hands," yet this is more than mere symbolism, especially if Confirmation is in the Christian Church as a work of the Spirit, then the Spirit is here given as the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength, the spirit of knowledge and the true godliness. But the special object of "the laying on of hands" is to point out the persons for whom prayer is offered, and in whose behalf the blessings of the covenant are sought. But the confirming and establishing of the catechumen in grace, is *primarily the Holy Spirit's work through the Word.* It is the part of God to confirm and strengthen the catechumen in faith and moral purpose to keep the vows assumed. The spiritual preparation, or qualifications, of those who engage in this rite, are matters of moment. If this office were a mere device of man, a human arrangement, participating in it would not be of so serious import. But an institution, of which God's Spirit is

the author, requires proper seriousness, and due preparation. We look for special fitness in those upon whom hands are laid in Confirmation. It will not do to admit into full and accepted membership catechumens without the proper qualifications; for that would build up a cold, formal, worldly congregation, creating a situation fraught with absolute danger and many evil consequences to both the pastor and the church over which he presides. Dr. J. G. Morris, in his "Autobiography" says: "Every year of my pastoral life, at the First Church, I instructed a class in the catechism, and confirmed those whom I could with a good conscience admit to the full privileges of membership. I occasionally gave great offense by rejecting some, who merely learned the lessons as they would a school task, and the sooner it was over the better. Personal religion made no part of the business, but it was merely a mechanical process from beginning to end. Such I did not confirm." To admit to Confirmation all catechumens regardless of spiritual qualifications must be condemned. It will bring into the Church many who have not sincerely repented of their sins, and accepted Christ. So important is this matter that our Formula of Government gives advice on this subject, saying: "It shall be the duty of the Council to admit to membership adults, who shall make application, and whom, on mature examination, they shall judge to be possessed of the qualifications hereafter specified. They shall be obedient subjects of divine grace—that is, they must satisfy the Church Council that they have sincerely repented of their sins, and do truly believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Also to admit to the Communion of the Church all those who were admitted to church membership in their infancy, and whom on like examination, they shall judge possessed of the above-mentioned qualifications. No one shall be considered a fit subject for Confirmation who has not previously attended a course of religious lectures delivered by the pastor, on the most important doctrines and principles of religion."

The qualifications necessary are a certain amount of Christian knowledge, and a changed heart. In respect of knowledge,

they should be able to say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; also to answer such other questions as are contained in the Catechism. They should not only know these forms of knowledge, but also understand their meaning and intention, for;

> "Knowledge, alas! 'tis all in vain,
> And all in vain our fear;
> Our stubborn sins will fight and reign,
> If love be absent there."

The subjects should experience such a gracious operation of the Holy Spirit upon their wills, as will lead them "to adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things."

Also, there should be brought to the minds of the catechumens, as something necessary for thought and understanding, "the promise and vow which were made in their baptism." By reference to the order for the administration of baptism, this promise and vow are expressed in their parts, and are found to contain the solemn pledge to renounce all evil, to believe in and follow that which is good. The fact that such vows were made, and the nature of them, are also part of the knowledge and understanding requisite for those who should engage in the solemn rite of Confirmation. The object to be sought after in this enlightening knowledge is a converted heart. The catechumens are required "with their own mouth and consent, openly before the Church, to ratify and confirm" the promise made in their baptism. They are also "to promise that they will evermore endeavor faithfully to observe all those things," which were then promised for them. The sum of requisites is: Repentance, whereby the catechumen forsakes sin, and faith, whereby he believes the promises of God; thus a personal, public profession of religion is made, according to the requirements of Scripture, and the method which the Church has appointed by the wisdom of the Spirit. Dr. Martensen says: "If the practice of Confirmation in the Evangelical Church corresponded perfectly with its theory, it would be an outward declaration that the personal life of faith was now beginning to manifest itself in power, and that a Pentecost was dawning

upon the youth. For as this ordinance is upon the Church's part a consecration to a personal life of faith, and an act of admission to the rights and responsibilities of years of understanding, the youth himself must witness the good confession before many witnesses, and thus avow himself a member of the Church founded by the Apostles. The work, therefore, of instruction for Confirmation, as well as of Christian training generally, must be, so far as lies in human power, so to teach as to give confirmation a really *awakening* import, that it may serve to awaken in youth holy promises and resolutions, but, above all, holy joy on account of the grace of baptism, on account of the richness of the promises which are given to them in the new covenant."

Look, for a moment, at the nature of the profession which they make who engage in this rite. In the Order for Confirmation, following the preface which introduces the rite, the pastor asks for the personal profession of each catechumen: "Do you this day, in the presence of God and of this assembly, renew the solemn promise and vow made in your name, at your baptism; do you ratify and confirm the same; and do you acknowledge yourselves bound to believe and do all those things which your parents then promised or undertook for you?" To this personal question the response is, "I do;" a brief reply, but as extensive as the question previously proposed. Thus, in the presence of God, who searches hearts, and before the congregation, who are witnesses of the profession, each catechumen professes "to renew the solemn promise and vow" made at baptism; this is required whether they were baptized as infants or adults. The promise which the catechumen professes to renew is "to renounce Satan and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the sinful desires of the flesh, so that you will not follow, nor be led by them." Renouncing these—the devil, the sinful world, the flesh, is "denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, and living soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." The promise which they renew is also "to believe what is taught in the Apostle's Creed," and also, "to obediently

keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of their life." The simple promise "I do," is large, and solemn; it expresses the catechumen's understanding of what he is to believe and assume; it also expresses the conversion of his heart to God. The profession here made refers to acts past, and declares a purpose for the future; it is on the one hand a voluntary approval, and on the other a solemn promise in respect of what a Christian ought to believe and do for the salvation of his soul. This profession sweeps the whole circle of life and duty, and sums up all that is required in the divine word; it accepts the law of discipleship laid down by the Lord: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me." Confirmation in our Church is closely connected with baptism, and presupposes it. St. Thomas of Aquino says: "Character confirmationis ex necessitate praesupposit characterem baptismatem." The concluding question of Part VI, of the Sacrament of Baptism, in Luther's Catechism is: "What is required of those, who were baptised in their infancy?" Answer: "That they should make a personal profession of religion, that is, should *confirm* the vows made for them at their baptisms, so soon as they attain the years of discretion." No baptized children can ever be released from the obligation to confirm their baptismal covenant, and those who refuse become covenant-breakers. Confirmation is the solemn opportunity which the Church offers to all baptized persons to confirm, or ratify publicly in their own names that which their parents, or sponsors, promised or undertook for them. Thus this rite grows naturally out of the doctrine and practice of infant baptism. It does not complete baptism, it is already complete. It does not renew it, for it is made but once. It simply assumes, or expresses, that which has been entered into in the covenant of baptism. Confirmation is then simply thus: It is as persons understanding their baptismal vows, and seeing their duty in regard to them, coming before God and in the presence of the congregation acknowledging these vows, assuming them, and receiving the promised gift of the Holy Spirit to make strong in them their faith and

purpose of obedience. It is more then than a human rite, machinery without the oil of divine grace, or a merely beautiful ceremony, that can be had or dispensed with. It becomes necessary to complete our system, and without it, we grieve the Spirit who placed it in the Church by His wisdom.

Catechisation and confirmation were originally unconnected rites. Catechumens in the early years of Christianity were adult heathen, who having become impressed with the truth of the Christian religion, and willing to accept it, were gathered into a class for the purpose of instruction in the principles of Christian doctrine and practice, and at the close of the course of instruction were received as full members by baptism, but without separate confirmation. This catechumenical system began in the second century, and ended about the sixth. But as the rising generation began chiefly to be the offspring of Christian parents, and were baptized in infancy, catechisation looked to the fulfillment of baptismal vows, and to preparation for Confirmation. For this rite, at first, in the Romish Church, no instruction was given in preparation. Catechetical instruction of the young, in preparation for Confirmation, may be said to be chiefly a Protestant institution. It is Scriptural and according to Christ's commission, "baptizing them and teaching them." Saint Luke writes to Theophilus, "*ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.*" Faith cometh by hearing; it is an act of the human will in response to the word of truth which is lodged in the mind through instruction, or by reading the Word. St. Paul says to the Ephesians: "In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the Gospel of your Salvation in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory."

The Lutheran doctrine of infant baptism involves the idea of religious instruction, nurture, catechisation; and when parents send their children to the pastor seeking his aid in catechetical instruction, they are endeavoring to fulfill their plain promises.

Thus catechetical instruction lays the foundation and paves

the way for a personal profession of religion, which profession is made public in the Confirmation. After the pastor has faithfully catechised those under his care, and has awakened and filled their minds with religious knowledge, and has come to the conviction that a gracious operation of the Holy Spirit has taken place in the heart and will, he calls them before the altar of Christ's Church, and receives their confession of faith, and solemn pledge of obedience, in their Confirmation.

ARTICLE IX.

THE GENERIC IDEA OF THE SERMON.

By Professor J. W. Richard, D.D , LL.D.

Professor Phelps says: "A sermon is an oral address to the popular mind on a religious theme contained in the Scriptures." Accepting this definition of a sermon as a correct one we perceive that a sermon is different from any and every other discourse delivered to men, since it contains as its most important element, as its material content, a message, or a lesson from the Divine Word. It is this its Scriptural element that distinguishes it from secular orations, or from scientific lectures. Unless it find its theme and its materials in the Scriptures it cannot, according to popular apprehension, be regarded as a sermon, however eloquent it may be in delivery and however instructive in content.

1. *The sermon as an oral discourse.* The sermon is not a book, nor an essay, which seek only to inform the understanding and to convince the reason by being read where there is ample time for reflection. The sermon is a discourse to be delived *viva voce.* Consequently it should be constructed with that end in view. Its thought, arrangement, language, illustrations, movement, must be such as will adapt it to be spoken, and to make its impression in the passing moment. Its thought must be lucid and easy of apprehension. Its language must be simple, plain and forcible. Its illustrations must be clear and apt. Its movement must be rapid and energetic. These are

qualities requisite to all good oral discourse, and the presence in due proportion of these qualities in a composition will adapt it to be spoken, and if properly spoken, will make it effective as an address to the popular mind. Undoubtedly the ideal discourse would be produced without pen, but not without premeditation and prearrangement, for it may be set down as certain that what has cost the preacher but little thought will not produce any considerable effect on the audience. And thoughts however good, however profound, need systematic and logical arrangement in order to produce the best effect. A good sermon is not an ephemeral production. Back of it lies much general or special preparation. A man who does study, does not acquire information and does not cultivate the habit of carefully thinking out his sermons, will never be a good preacher.

Professor Phelps says: "The custom of preaching written discourses grows out of mental infirmity." Under man's present limited ability, the best sermon, doubtless, is that which combines the weight of written composition with the fluency, the versatility, the rapid transition of extemporaneous speech. The pen should be used for composing, arranging, condensing the thought of the sermon, but the delivery, after the thought has been mastered, should be left to the inspiration of the occasion. By this method the most effective discourses have been preached. Preachers who, after a few years of ministerial study and experience, write books or articles for newspapers and magazines, may compose their sermons in outline and arrange their illustrations without pen. But no preacher can afford to throw away his pen. It is an indispensable assistant to thought. But, while a man is yet comparatively young, he can easily acquire the habit of committing to memory the chief portions of his sermons, and of delivering them without the presence of the manuscript. This would not be preaching off-hand. Neither would such preaching have the mechanical effect that usually results where the sermon has been committed *verbatim*.

When a sermon is carefully prepared and is delivered as we

suggest, opportunity will be given the preacher to simplify and to popularize many points contained in the mere formal discourse, and for adapting it to the instantaneously arising demands of the occasion. In this way many a preacher has succeeded in making the best impressions.

2. *The Sermon is an address to the popular mind.* The sermon is not a scientific lecture, nor a forensic plea, nor a senatorial argument, nor a demagogic harangue. The audience is never select, whether it be select in ignorance, or select in intelligence. As a rule it is made up of people of varying degrees of intellectual and moral condition. In almost every religious assembly there are the intelligent and the ignorant. There are the pious and the worldly-minded. The test of a good sermon is that it meets the intellectual wants of the learned and of the unlearned, and that it contains some spiritual instruction suited to the religious and moral condition of all classes of hearers. This does not imply that some parts shall be meager in thought to suit those of small intelligence; and that other parts should be grander and profounder in thought to suit the more intelligent. It implies that the sermon should contain ample thought, but that the thought should be clear and distinct in conception, and should be expressed in plain and simple language. Its thought will commend it to all. Its language will make it acceptable to the uneducated. The language of the schools, and the "academic manner-primness," both in conception and in expression, should be excluded from all preaching. The lofty subjects of preaching should be brought down to a level with the comprehension of the unintelligent class of hearers, which may be done without the sacrifice of scholarly dignity or without even the possibility of offence to the educated.

Dr. Alexander says: "Don't leave humanity at the foot of the pulpit stairs—talk like other men—as any profoundly thinking, thoroughly agitated man would talk on a great subject to a casual group of waiting persons also deeply agitated. The democracy must be reached—people must be made to feel that the heart of the minister is with them. Common people

require this. Age requires it. Young men require it." One chief aim of the pulpit—one that must never be lost sight of—is that it must instruct the ignorant and elevate the lowly. This it can best do by adopting a mode of thought and a style of expression which they can fully grasp, and which, by the very instruction imparted, have an uplifting tendency.

Such being the aim of the sermon, it is to be judged by its effect upon the *popular mind*, and not as a piece of literature addressed to the aesthetic sense of the cultured. That may be considered a good sermon which makes those who hear it think soberly, and act righteously. That is a poor sermon which is admired only for its literary excellence; although literary excellence does not of itself detract from the merit and effectiveness of a sermon. As a sword is not less a sword, and is not less effective, because its blade is polished, so a sermon is not less a sermon and is not less effective as a sermon, because it exhibits high literary art. Strength and beauty, power and refinement are not necessarily strangers. As evidence of this, see the sermon on the Mount by Christ and that of Peter on the day of Pentecost. The new truths and profound thoughts of these model sermons are set forth in a style of literary excellence which satisfies every claim of literary criticism, and yet with a simplicity that meets every demand of the popular intelligence. We only insist that the test of the sermon is its effect on the popular mind, and that every sermon should be composed with the popular need and the popular capacity fully in view.

3. The sermon must be based on religious truth, and must be religious in its subject. It must recognize man as a religious being. It must discourse of subjects adapted to the wants and destiny of this religious being. This also implies that the spirit of the treatment should be religious. Without these characteristics the sermon may be useful as an oration, and may do good in removing popular ignorance, and in elevating the general standard of moral order, and in creating patriotic sentiment, but it cannot be a sermon in the sense that it *announces* and *teaches* and *enforces* the truth of God's Word with

reference to man as a religious being. It is this, its distinctively religious character and aim, which entitle it to be called a sermon, and which give it its right of appeal to the religious nature of those who hear it.

4. The sermon must contain truth revealed in the Christian Scriptures. It is not enough that the sermon is based on a text of Scripture merely, for a text is not absolutely necessary to a sermon, but above all, the sermon must expound, or illustrate some fact or principle or doctrine, or enforce some precept of the Divine Word. Not only must these be biblical, but the great mass of the materials must be taken from the Bible, and the spirit of the Bible must animate it. It dare go outside the Bible for illustrations and for any truths of history or science which may confirm the truth of the Bible, but these are not to form its subject matter, and its aim is not to expound or enforce these extra biblical truths. Besides, whatever truth comes into the sermon from without the Bible must be made to breathe the spirit of the Bible before it can be properly used in the sermon.

Professor Phelps says: "Only when Christianized in spirit and in form does the religion of nature become on any large scale the power of God unto salvation." The same may be said of any and all truth. That it can have no authority over the consciences of men, so as to command their obedience, until it shall have been shown to be in perfect harmony with revealed truth, is enforced by two facts. (a) The religion of nature and the truths of philosophy have not purified the human heart. The gods of the Greeks and Romans were little else than the human passions deified and worshipped. Philosophy refined the manners of the select few, but it did not appoint the worship of the true God, nor did it give assured hope of eternal life. Indeed the existance of one only divine mind, the Cause of all things, and the immortality of the human soul, were the dreams rather than the conclusions of Philosophy. (b) Preaching is peculiar to Christianity, which claims to be a revelation from God. Natural religion erects no pulpits and employs no heralds. Vinet says: "There is no Mohammedan

Church, nor Braminical; and certainly there was no Church in the religion of Homer." Natural religion has a *cultus* and teaches some truths by symbols, but it has no preachers, no public heralds of religious truth, and no expounders of doctrines which touch the interrelations of God and man. It takes little or no account of man's capacity to know truth and to be influenced by it. Revelation recognizes man's faculty for truth, and seeks to influence him by the truth. It chooses the sermon as the instrumental bearer of the truth,—hence of its own truth.

But as this truth is not of man or by man, but from God, the sermon which is fully charged with revealed truth is a strong instrument for persuasion. Hence preaching and reformation, preaching and revivals, have always gone hand in hand. Also preaching and the study of the Bible have always been associated, as the study of the Bible has led to preaching and preaching in turn has led to the study of the Bible. Preaching is simply setting forth and expounding the truth of the Bible; good preaching is setting forth and expounding these truths in such a way as to get the largest amount of revealed truth before the hearers. Hence the Bible must be the preacher's chief study. He must learn its doctrines and strive to catch its spirit.

5. A sermon is a discourse on revealed religious truth carefully elaborated. It is not enough for the sermon merely to state the truth. It must elaborate it and present it in its details and applications. This makes a sermon a work of art—it has its orderly parts, its beginning, middle and end, its proposition, proof and application. Hence the sermon dare not throw its materials together in any way, relying on the orthodoxy of its doctrine, or on the strength of its separate statements. It must also be solicitous about the collection of parts, and the proportionate treatment of each part. It must be constructed in full recognition of the laws of the human mind, which has a natural love of order, and which is never more offended than when publicly addressed in a disorderly and incoherent way. Hence the best effect in preaching can come from

a systematic arrangement of the several parts of a discourse, and from thoughtful adaptation of Scriptural truth to the condition and needs of the audience. Spontaneous efforts now and then may succeed; but spontaneous efforts that have been successful, have always been the result of previous careful training in thinking and speaking. Spontaneous preaching as a rule will no more succeed than spontaneous poetry. Both will be deficient in thought and arrangement. Great poets, historians, and orators have given much attention to the elaboration of their materials and to the details of their work. All good preachers carefully elaborate their materials, which means that they have arranged them in such order and in such proportions as to give the sermon the character of a work of art, but differing from a pure work of art in this, that it seeks to accomplish an end, and is not an end in itself.

By elaboration is meant further that in the sermon the truth is to be presented in its various forms and aspects. In a book it is sufficient often simply to enunciate the truth, or to exhibit it in a single phase, since the mind of the reader can pause long enough to elaborate it for himself. But in listening to preaching the mind of the hearer is hurried on from one point to another with such rapidity as to be unable to supply any deficiency. If it pauses to examine one thought it loses the next, and so on. Many valuable truths are lost in a sermon because they are not dwelt upon and turned from side to side and exhibited in different lights.

These five characteristics of a sermon, given above, should be brought destinctly before the mind of every preacher. He should know what a sermon is and what it is intended to accomplish before he attempts to compose and preach it. We give below the following "Requisites of a Sermon," condensed from the *Pastoral Theology* of the late Dr. Walther:

"The most important of all the official acts of every pastor is that of public preaching. To this he must consequently give the greatest diligence. The most important requisites of a sermon are the following:

1. It must contain nothing but *God's Word*, and that, too,

pure and *unadulterated*, (1 Peter 4; Acts 26 : 22; Romans 12 : 7; Jer. 33 : 28; 2 Tim. 2 : 15). 2. God's Word must be *correctly applied*, (2 Tim. 3 : 17); 3. The whole counsel of God concerning their salvation must be proclaimed to the hearers, (Acts 20 : 20, 26, 27). 4. The same must be adapted to the *special wants of the hearers*, (Luke 12 : 42 : 1 Cor. 3 : 1, 2; Heb. 3 : 11; 6 2). 5. *It must be adapted to the time*, (Matt. 16 : 3). 6. *It must be well arranged*, Luke 1 : 3. And finally, 7. *It must not be to long.*

OBSERVATION 1.

"If the preacher be ever so good a liturgist, or ever so well endowed with gifts for ruling a congregation, or for exercising the office of the private care of souls, yet all this can in no way supply the place of excellence in preaching. This is the chief means for the successful exercise of the holy office. 'Nothing,' says the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, Art. 24, 'attaches the people to the Church more than good preaching.' So in the article of Confession: 'If you wish to attach the Church to you, you must try accordingly to teach and preach aright; thereby you can produce a good will and constant obedience.'

OBSERVATION 2.

"A pastor cannot be guilty of any greater infidelity in his office, and through nothing else so change it to only the greater condemnation, than, by the neglect of the greatest diligence in reading, meditation and prayer, to fail to give his congregation the very best within his power. The fearful expression of the prophet, Jer. 48 : 10, 'cursed be he that doeth the Word of the Lord negligently,' applies above all to public preaching. Woe, therefore, to the preacher who, either from indolence or dislike of exertion or from fear of man, or from desire to please men, or from ambition, or because he consumes his time in other pursuits (as may occur from taste for other occupations, or avarice or ambition), does not form his sermon in accordance with his text, or in accordance with the wants of his hearers; but only so that he may consume a portion of an hour in

speaking, without any special preparation, upon what is easiest and thus perform this duty without trouble and exertion, or so that he may give the least offence, or may shine with the greatest brilliancy as a pulpit orator. The other occupations, through which a preacher must not allow himself to consume the time necessary for the preparation of his sermons, are such as farming, raising cattle, gardening, grape culture, music, painting, learned studies, authorship and other hobbies not to speak of other matters absolutely inconsistent with the office of a minister, such as hunting, fishing, visiting of drinking and other places of pleasure, mercantile occupations, political activity and the like."

ARTICLE X.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I. ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

By Professor M. Coover, D.D.

The science of comparative religions has taken into its province not only ethnic, but also universal religions. The tendency is to reduce all religious phenomena to a natural origin, and to trace from common sources the development of the religious consciousness and the varied forms of its expression. Scarcely any distinctive feature of Christianity has escaped parallelism with the phenomenology of nature-religions. The incarnation of the Son of God finds asserted parallels discoverable in every well-developed religion of primitive peoples. Without present discoverable connection between identical conceptions, it is said that East and West manifest elements of religion which indicate a common origin. The rise of these similar conceptions may be from the spontaneity of man's religious feelings in his observance and philosophy of nature without necessary connection with any racial type; or instead of spontaneity of many peoples the similarity may be due to the imaginative genius of some preëminent primitive race whose

religious phenomenology and mythical tenets have been transmitted by hidden but discoverable links through migrations of races and varied by differing religious temperaments.

In respect of the Incarnation a Western type of phenomena is discovered in the religion of ancient Mexico.

In sunny tropical climes where flowers were in luxuriant bloom and birds sang the joys of ceaseless happy rhythm, one heart of humankind was tremulous with the sad consciousness of man's sorrowful condition. Nature was perfect. Sights and sounds were in harmony with celestial beauty. Flowers and birds were in sympathy with heaven's perfectness, and man alone was vile.

At the foot of the Mountain of the Serpents, the sacred Mount Coatepec, lived the pious widow Coatlicue; a lonely widow she, but near to the gods in her life of grace and meditation. Coatlicue pondered the estate of evil as she sought the temple of the Sun to pay her vows of humble sacrifice. As she pursued the path amid the flowers that led to the sacred fane, there fluttered to her feet a tuft of brilliant feathers. She placed the treasure in her bosom for an offering to the Sun, and as she drew it forth within the holy temple, lo! she had conceived, and the humming-bird took on human form to be the savior of the Aztec nation.

Uitzilopochtli was born resplendent of hue barred in shades of azure blue upon his face, and legs, and arms. A plume of gorgeous feathers crowned his head, and rainbow-shaded humming-birds' feathers decked his agile left leg. Endowed with superhuman strength, while yet an infant, though grasping shield and lance, he slew all those who had derided his mother in her pregnant state, and bestowed upon her all their plundered property. After accomplishing feats of wondrous prodigy for the Aztec race, he reascended to heaven bearing his mother with him, and crowned her henceforth the goddess of flowers.

The humming-bird in the Aztec language means the "sunbeam," or the "sun's hair." As with us the swallow is the harbinger of spring, so among Mexicans the humming-bird is the prophet of summer.

Coatlicue is the female serpent, which is none other than the

spring florescence creeping over the face of the earth which embodies the life of restored nature. Man's sadness was not due to moral causes, but to physical conditions of a desert and barren earth. And nature made annual atonement for man's sad loss. The sun, the giver of life, calls nature back from the path of death, and reflecting his redeeming rays in the plumage of the humming-bird becomes the world's deliverer. The earth dead in winter, wrapt in the sere mantle of decay, pulseless to the dream of birds and flowers, is again visited by the sun which revives from death, and brings back the flowers and songs of birds, whose emblem of sure but evanescent beauty is the transiently elusive and resplendent humming-bird.

When we turn from Mexican mythology to the court of ancient Chau in China, we find the story of Lao-tsze, the "treasure-keeper," or the "keeper of the archives" in the house of royal records.

He was carried before his birth in the womb of his mother for seventy-two years, and according to other accounts, for eighty-one years. Hence he was called "Old Boy" or "Venerable Philosopher." Ethical precepts and practical philosophy constituted the elements of salvation for the Chinese. The "Venerable Philosopher" became the national deliverer and savior.

The sun-myths of Greece find their counterpart in the Aztec nation, and the Grecian wisdom-precepts as sources of salvation find a Chinese ancestry.

A Chinese antecedent of supernatural conception is claimed for Hau-chi whose mother chanced to tread upon a toe-print made by God, and in consequence was found with child, and in due time brought forth her illustrious son who became a national hero and deliverer.

More embellished and definite is the oriental myth of the birth of Siddartha, the illustrious Buddha.

> "In this wise was the holy Buddha born.
> Queen Maya stood at noon, her days fulfilled,
> Under a palsa in the palace grounds,
> A stately trunk, straight as a temple-shaft,
> With crown of glossy leaves and fragrant blossoms;
> And, knowing the time come—for all things knew—

The conscious tree bent down its boughs to make
A bower about Queen Maya's majesty,
And earth put forth a thousand sudden flowers
To spread a couch, while, ready for the bath,
The rock hard by gave out a limpid stream
Of crystal flow. So brought she forth her child
Pangless—he having on his ferfect form
The marks, thirty and two of blessed birth;
Of which the great news to the palace came."

After the royal birth follows the glorious pagentry of mingled but harmonious subjects of heaven and earth.

"But when they brought the painted palanquin
To fetch him home, the bearers of the poles
Were the four regents of the earth, come down
From Mount Sumeru—they who write men's deeds
On brazen plates—the angel of the East,
Whose hosts are clad in silver robes, and bear
Targets of pearl: the angel of the South,
Whose horsemen, the Kumbhandas, ride blue steeds,
With sapphire shields: the angel of the West,
By Nagas followed, riding steeds blood-red,
With coral shields: the angel of the North,
Environed by his Yakshas, all in gold,
On yellow horses, bearing shields of gold.
These with their pomp invisible, came down
And took the poles, in cast and outward garb
Like bearers, yet most mighty gods; and gods
Walked free with men that day, though men knew not:
For heaven was filled with gladness for earth's sake,
Knowing Lord Buddha thus was come again."

Regents take the place of Wise men from the East, and the king plays a different role from that of Herod; instead of secrecy with malign purpose, there is public proclamation and commanded deference.

"The king gave order that his town should keep
High festival; therefore the ways were swept,
Rose-odors sprinkled in the street, the trees
Were hung with lamps and flags, while merry crowds
Gaped on the sword-players and postures,
The jugglers, charmers, swingers, rope-walkers,
The nautch-girls in their spangled skirts and bells
That chime light laughter round their restless feet;
The masquers wrapped in skins of bear and deer,
The tiger-tamers, wrestlers, quail-fighters,
Beaters of drum and twanglers of wire,
Who made the people happy by command."

If there be any nature-myth in this poetic recital of India's deliverer, the physical antecedents have been lost in the embellishment of attempted history. It is a poetic recital with legend written large on the face of it, with legend which follows no nature-antecedents, but designed in fanciful detail to depict historic character and to posit a princely personality. It is replete with fancies, and environed by explicit fineness of accompaniment. The minutia of insignificant detail irrelevant to sane history or conceptual propriety, indicate the collected fancies of the poet.

Legend is not supposed to be psychologically accurate in rational accompaniments; poetry may in a measure transgress the reasonable in the flight of imagination and in exaggeration for emotional effect; but history must be psychologically true, else it is not history, but fiction. The story of Buddha is religious history in poetical dress. But religious history must undergo the test of moral examination. The ethical criterion must decide the quality of the supernatural as a ground of its probability.

Is it psychologically natural for human beings to face the supernatural, as in Buddha's history, with commonplace composure? With undisturbed equinimity the populace meets with superhuman events and personages. Who is not startled at the sudden appearance of the supernatural, especially when that power is personalized as angel, spirit, or regent go d It is psychologically true for shepherds to be sore afraid at a supernatural manifestation; but it is false to human character to confront supernatural prodigies, and join in dance and revelry with transports of happiness. If at any time the moral sense is quickened, it must be when man stands face to face with the spiritually astounding. But tiger-tamers, jugglers, and rope-walkers, "nautch-girls in their spangled skirts and bells, that chime light laughter round their restless feet," are no fit ethical accompaniments to the revelations of regent angels. It is not according to human nature to dance before celestial visitants, and be merry at the appearance of angel bands. But such is the manner of unreasoning fiction. The history of Jesus of Nazareth is true to human nature, and true to the manner of

the supernatural. It is credible by the verity of the circumstances, and their agreement with the action of human minds and sensibilities. It is not the product of superstition, for that partakes of vagary; it is not religious fancy, for that is more ecstatic; it is not legend, for that is incongruous with rational fact, and transgresses ethical propriety and purpose.

Confucianism has its prudent maxims; Buddhism its spirit-ecstacies; but the story of Christ's birth and infancy fits human nature in its psychological attitude of meeting what is divine, and in the ethical accompaniments necessary for a great salvable purpose.

The vagaries of legend, the superstitions of nature-religions, fade away before the peculiar halo that surrounds the person of a Jewish babe. It is the ethical radiance that dispels the gloaming in which are unappeased feelings after God; it is the perfect adaptability of Jesus' history to the moral consciousness of men that stamps the supernatural with credibility. Men may cease to seek for historic evidences of the divinity of Jesus, may cease to hunt for verifying demonstrations of the supernatural, and find the certitude sealed as sacred evidence in their own lives in the complete adaptation of the objective fact to their subjective as well as spiritual need. Let him who doubts the historic fact believe through the historic effect.

Principal Adeney in the *Biblical World* for December makes some significant statements relative to Jesus' self-testimony, and the sacrificial character of his death.

The personal authority of Jesus we not infrequently overlook, because his words and declarations are so self-evident that we do not pause to question them. Prophets who spoke peremptorily through a consciousness of the divineness of their message, and prefaced their deliverances by "Thus saith the Lord," were set aside without any apology by Jesus, who simply declares, "Verily I say unto you," not infrequently in controversion of specific prophetic statements.

While Jesus frankly confesses limitations to his knowledge, mark the claim of personal dignity in the statement in the ascending order, angel, Son, Father. "But of that day or that

hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father."

In the parable of the Vineyard where the servants maltreated are the prophets, Jesus in calm self-consciousness refers to his own exalted relation to God, the owner of the vineyard, who "had yet one, a beloved son; he set him last unto them, saying, They will reverence my son." In the parable of the Sheep and the Goats Jesus himself is the judge before whom all nations are gathered.

The gospel must be torn to shreds to eliminate the divine dignity and exalted position of Jesus.

If we demur at Jesus' self-valuation as indelicate assumptions of what should come from other sources for modest and adequate evidence, we pause before the sanity of his teaching and the "sweet reasonableness" of the manner of one that never speaks or thinks of himself for his own sake, but in lowliness and self-abandonment spontaneously seeks the welfare of others.

From the constituent elements of Jesus' sanity and profound self-consciousness is his teaching concerning the character of his death as a ransom. In view of the definite statements which he makes when the occasions open the door to this necessary presentation of his ministry, and in his declarations when he institutes his sacrament at the supper, the significance of his death as a sacrifice for the remission of sins, and as a ransom for the world, cannot be set aside.

The synoptists and Paul are in full harmony with the express statements of Jesus himself in their deliverance on this momentous theme.

Dr. Adeney says: "In view of all this, we cannot escape from the idea that Jesus here teaches the sacrificial character of his death.

"In the present day some people fight shy of all references to the blood of Christ, no doubt partly because they revolt against crude, gross references to the subject. Let them note this significant statement. I do not know that I have met with it before; but I venture to throw it out as beyond question: Since our Lord's reference to his blood as thus essential to our re-

demption is contained in all three synoptics, in one of Paul's most certainly authentic epistles—our oldest and best sources of primitive Christianity—and also reflected in John 6 : 53, it is *the very best authenticated of all our Lord's teachings.*"

II. GERMAN.

By Professor S. Gring Hefelbower, D.D.

It is often claimed that the problems of Biblical Introduction have so overshadowed Dogmatics and Christian Ethics in the theological thought of the Fatherland, that the last named branches receive small attention compared with that which was given them in a former generation. But this is true of theological Ethics, only with marked limitations; for, though the students in this field have labored to a great extent without the inspiration of controversy, recent decades have witnessed an increase rather than a decrease in interest in the subject.

During the closing decades of the last century the most important works of the previous generation were published in new editions (Harless, Martensen, Wuttke), the lectures of a number of prominent theologians were given to the public (Vilmar, Beck, Kuebel, Dorner, V. Hofmann), and both Koestlin and Luthardt closed their life's work by publishing books on Christian Ethics. Luthardt had already placed the theological world under lasting obligations to him by his History of Christian Ethics. V. Ottingen published his Ethics in '73 and Frank his great work on the same subject in the middle of the 80's. Along side of this there were a number of smaller works, such as the section on Ethics in Kaehler's published outlines for his classes, and in a small book by Pfleiderer. The 20th century had scarcely opened when Stange published his *Introduction to Ethics*, which has opened up perhaps more problems than any other recent publication. Hermann gave his Ethics to the public in 1901, which is scarcely anything else than an attempt to weave in a uniform system Christian Ethics and the Ethics of Kant; and soon afterward Haering, from a somewhat similar viewpoint, published his booklet on Ethics, which, in spite of its size, is adjudged by many to be of cardinal importance.

It is apparent that we have considerable material on the subject, but Hermann's work is really scarcely anything more than introduction along the lines already indicated. Haering is brief and popular. Luthardt's book was not a system, but a compendium. And Koestlin's work has had comparatively little influence. However, the great system of Frank remains as a master work unto the present day, and the fundamental principles on which he built up that system give it permanent value, because they enable him to present the whole of Christian Ethics with practically no limitations arising from the author's philosophical system. However, to assert that his work now after 20 years needs practically no supplementing or adjustment to the changed conditions in the world of thought, would be utterly false. In fact even his friends have frequently complained that he did not make sufficient use of historical and Biblical material, and entered into no discussion of viewpoints that he considered false. You cannot arm yourself with Frank to meet his assailants.

Strange as it may seem, from Heidelberg University, whose present theological reputation depends largely upon the fact that Troeltsch, who has been called the dogmatician of the Relegions-Geschichtliche Methods, lives and teaches there, has come a work which is judged by some to be a most important book. A few months ago Prof. Ludwig Lemme published the first volume of his *Christliche Ethik*. He places himself in the direct line of descendence from Schleiermacher, Rothe, Schmid, Martensen and Frank, and seems to feel that one of the chief problems which has to be met is the Kantian philosophical Ethics, against which he directs most of his polemics.

The present volume contains parts 1 and 2. The first part is again divided into two chief divisions—"The natural moral capacity as it is presupposed and always present in Christain Ethics" and "The particularly Christain moral capacity of man." He rejects directly the referring of all moral activity to the will as a faculty; the sensibilities and the intellect also take part in all moral activity. But, though the will is neither the seat nor the source of moral action, it is nevertheless absolutely necessary for all ethical activity, for neither the formu-

lation of the fundamental principles of Ethics nor the entering upon an ethically correct course of life is possible without it.

The second chief subdivision, which treats of the Christian ethical capacity of man, brings in much material from dogmatics, such as divine revelation, the incapacity of the natural man, faith in its double quality as the receptive organ for religious truth and a moral motive power, the Kingdom of God, Christ as our example, which are regarded from ethical viewpoints. When he presents the Kingdom of God as the goal and greatest good of life, he discusses in a very instructive way the formula of Kant that a man should do good for the sake of good, which he declares to be false.

The second chief division which discusses "The growth of the Christian-Ethical personality," is in five divisions. 1. The necessity of this growth. 2. The hindrances of ethical growth (the Christian teaching concerning evil). 3. The means of sustaining moral growth. 4. The manner of growth. 5. The crowning points of growth. In discussing the first subdivision mentioned, we are surprised to note that regeneration is treated only as a higher stage of sanctification and as conditioned by the development of the individual. He counts among the evils not only the attacks and temptations but also illusions, such as the craze of sinlessness and of special inspiration. Among the means for supporting the moral growth, not only the Word and Sacraments, but also the congregations, devotions, labor and prayer. Christian personality in its perfected condition is the crown of this moral growth, and in this section he naturally discusses Christian perfection.

Of course those whose ethical conceptions are dominated by the social viewpoint will not be satisfied with Prof. Lemme's method of treatment, yet they are disarmed to a great extent by his conception of personality, which does not regard it as the opposite of society. On the contrary, he proves how the personality by virtue of its social conscience stands in close relation with society. Thus his ethics has the advantage of fusing the social and the personal character of Christian Ethics into a unity because of its fundamental principle.

The method that he follows in presenting his material is the

descriptive or empyric-psychological, which, according to the author, is the only adequate form for Christian Ethics. Lemme bases the obligatory character of his system upon the claim that the life of faith rest upon an unconditioned "ought," and is directed by an imminent norm, and consequently because of this very fact becomes normative, and because it discovers the difference between that which should be and that which is, it becomes imperative.

In applying this descriptive method he gathers material not only from the present, but also from the past; and these historical citations, as well as the free use of the New Testament, makes his book a reference work in many respects.

In his preface he proposes to draw a sharp dividing line between that which is ethical and that which is intellectual, religious, aesthetic, juristic or sociological, and, according to his reviewers, he has succeeded. The peculiarity of that which is specifically ethical appears in clearest outline; and, though at times that which is peculiar in the ethical life may seem to be only of obligatory character, the teleological element is plainly seen, and the highest good is the Kingdom of God. The old conceptions of good, virtue and duty which are still to be noted in Frank are not all prominent in this work, and in this is to be noted a marked step forward. Lemme also acknowledges that all ethics, even Christian ethics, is in a certain sense eudaemonistic, if a person understands thereby the interest of the ego in the religious-moral worth of personality. The foolish assertion of many students of ethics, that the essence of true morality consists in being independent of the ego, has often held the science up to scorn. The task of ethics is rather to draw a sharp line between that which is moral and an immoral egoism.

In February of 1903 Prof. Kunze delivered an address before the Chemnitz Conference on *The Eternal Divinity of Jesus Christ*, which the conference requested him to publish. It appeared about one year later rewritten and enlarged. When we remember that Kunze is a deciple of Thomasius and Luthardt, and that he is generally regarded as one of the most conservative dogmaticians of the present day in Germany, his avowed and actual deviation from the traditionally orthodox establish-

ment and statement of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and the evident influence that the Schleiermacher-Ritschlian method of considering this doctrine has with him, it is evident that this pamphlet deserves more than a mere passing notice.

After a brief introduction and discussion and rejection of the Ritschlian conception of Christ's divinity as held by such Ritschlians as H. Schultz and Kaftan, he raises the question: "How do we come to ascribe divinity to Christ?" He is not satisfied to establish Christ's divinity merely on Scripture passages; for as long as we derive the religious conviction of the divinity of Christ from biblical citations alone, this conviction is too externally mediated and it does not have the firm foundation that faith requires; we can believe in Christ only for Christ's sake. Ritschl's own theory, which is characterized by the expression "judgments of value" (Werturteile) is only a subterfuge which dodges the real difficulty. For if my faith is the recognition of the divinity of Christ, His divinity is first of all the begetting cause and the sustaining foundation of my faith. Our faith affirms only a divinity which, independant of it as existing, has proven itself before and continues to do so. Kunze likewise rejects the method of those who establish the value of Christ on the workings that we experience from Him. The works of Christ on us are conditioned on that which He is and accordingly that which we consider Him to be. "The divinity of Christ depends on that which He makes out of Himself, upon that which He is and desires to be, yet that which He is in such a way that it is known to us in Him." Consequently the question concerns, on the one hand, the claim that Jesus made, and, on the other, it concerns a reality which supports and establishes that claim.

Accordingly Kunze analyzes the self-revelation of Christ in the Word and in the working of Jesus. He starts with the Synoptics, but also uses the fourth gospel and claims that, with the exception of Christ's preexistence, it does not go beyond the others in predicating divine attributes of Him. The divinity thus established is compatible with full humanity. We do not assert this as if we applied to Jesus a previously formulated canon concerning the general relation of His divinity and

humanity, but we predicate this concerning Him just because we have experienced it in Him. On the basis of scripture Kunze seeks to prove that Christ's humanity does not exist independent of and yet alongside of His divinity, but that it is ever mediated through the human, and that the latter always appears as the vessel for the infinite content; accordingly His incarnation is an act of His divine power and love. His preexistence and wonderful birth are not two fundamentally exclusive and contradictory theories invented to explain the religious peculiarity of the man Jesus, much rather do they require and mutually condition each other. The miracle of His death corresponds to the miracle of His birth, consequently every logical system assumes the same attitude to the events of Christmas and Easter. Christ's divinity is proved also by His activity included between these termini. The crowning point of the gospel proof of His divinity is the story of the passion. Only His divine sonship enabled and justified the man Jesus to represent man before God and to take on Himself the burden of the sins of the world.

In the closing pages Kunze proves that the absoluteness of the Christain religion hinges upon our recognition of the eternal essential divinity of Christ.

The publication of this pamphlet is intended by Kunze and the Chemnitz Conference, which requested it, to show that confessional clergy and theologians are not opposed to a further development of the dogma, if only its religious content remains. In fact by his avowed dissatisfaction with many things connected with the traditional orthodox establishment and statement of the doctrine, Kunze wishes to announce to the theological world, and in this the conference also concurs, that he cannot think this cardinal doctrine of orthodox protestantism in the thought forms of a previous age. In fact he does not hesitate to criticise the statement of the problem, the method and even some of the results of old protestant orthodoxy. And the modern kenotists are charged with "ever more and more trimming, abbreviating and weakening the doctrine of the divinity of the incarnate Lord."

Though Kunze's results, so far as the religious content of the

doctrine of the divinity of Christ is concerned, are practically the same as those with which we have ever been familiar, his method proves that even a conservative theologian reveals the influence of the Schleiermacher-Ritschlian method, even though he does not think Ritschl's thoughts and finds it necessary to disagree with him in almost all of the cardinal truths of the Christian religion. If we are not mistaken this pamphlet is more than a discussion of its theme, it is a symptom of the times in Germany. However, Kunze is not becoming Ritschlian. This is proven by the severe criticisms that such men as Lobstein (Theologische Literaturzeitung) and Titius (Theologische Rundschau) have made both of his methods and results, though of course the latter were more objectionable to them than the former. They recognize his effort to formulate and establish the dogmas of the Church without the Scholasticism of past centuries, but they are also thoroughly convinced that any attempt to accomplish this that falls short of their own methods and results will be unscientific,—according to their way of thinking.

ARTICLE XI.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

The High Rock. Sermons, Addresses and Articles by Edmund Jacob Wolf, D.D., L.L. D., Late Professor of Church History and New Testament Exegesis in the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pa. Memorial Edition. Compiled by Committee of the Board of Publication. Including also "Dr. Wolf from the Home Side," by Robbin B. Wolf, Esq.,and "Dr. Wolf in the Lutheran Church," by Rev. W. E. Parson, D.D. With portrait. Cloth, gilt top. 379 pages. Price, $1.50.

Dr. Wolf's many friends will welcome the appearance of this memorial volume. The biographical part of it is necessarily brief; but furnishes a faithful picture of Dr. Wolf as we knew him who frequently sat at his table and abode under his hospitable roof. His work in and for the Lutheran Church is briefly indicated in its salient features. The body of the book contains ten sermons and seventeen articles and addresses. These have been carefully chosen as typical of Dr. Wolf's Scriptural preaching, his wide and vigorous thought and his profound interest in the affairs and questions of the day. These specimens of his pulpit and literary work need no comment, for Dr. Wolf will be best remembered as a teaching preacher. The Board has done well to preserve something of his handiwork for coming generations in the Church. The book is not a commercial venture and should need no advertisements.

STANLEY BILLHEIMER.

Text-Book of the History of Doctrines. By Dr. Reinhold Seeberg, Professer of Theology in Ordinary, in Bealin. Revised, 1904, by the author. Translated by Charles E. Hay, D.D. Complete in two volumes. Price $4.00.

This book is a valuable addition to scientific theology, and as such we welcome it in the English language. It fills a vacant place, and may be read and studied with profit. It does not have the compactness of Loofs, nor the fulness of Hagenbach, nor the brilliancy of Harnack, nor the geniality of Thomasius, nor the learning of Münscher (von Coeln). But it is written in strong, clear style, and for the most part its materials seem to have been gathered by an original study of the sources. It also constantly notes the places in the originals from which information has been gained and quotations have been made. It thus serves as a guide for further and independent study of the subjects. As a text-book it can be used profitably by a teacher who will make it the basis of lectures and discussions. But students who have

to recite from it in the usual way of reciting are sure to pronounce it "tough," and are not likely to get, through it, a clear and connected idea of the history of the Christian doctrines.

The book is written from a thoroughly Protestant, and, in the main, from the Lutheran standpoint, but neither the Protestantism nor the Lutheranism of the author has betrayed him into dogmatic and denominational partiality. He has aimed at objectivity in the representations he gives of Catholics, Zwinglians and Calvinists. He recognizes the fact that on Protestant territory the fallibility of Dogma must be acknowledged as an axiom, and that every age must preserve its own version of the History of Doctrines, since our conceptions of the past are always conditioned by the conceptions of the present. Hence the History of Doctrines is not a fixed conception.

The introductions, which cover more than thirty pages, are taken up with definitions, and matters pertaining to Literature, Heathenism, Judaism and other necessary preliminary subjects.

The discussions on Early Christianity, the Christological controversies, the heresies, the conduct and decrees of councils, are especially full, but they do not exhibit anything new. We doubt whether the author has done full justice to the facts relating to the influence which Greek philosophy exerted on the organization of the Church and on the shaping of the decrees of synods and councils. Here we think that both Hatch and Harnack are the more correct and reliable.

The section on the "divergencies of the Eastern and Western Church," prior to Augustine, though brief, is comprehensive. These divergencies in the main are connected with anthropology, and more particularly with the problem of free-will. The Greeks, as is ethnologically natural, gave greater prominance to the intellect. The Romans lay the greater stress on the Will, and also on grace. But neither Greeks nor Romans knew anything about the "alone-activity" of grace. Speaking of Ambrose in this connection our author says: "It is easily seen that this forerunner of Augustine was not unacquainted with Paul. We find in him, it is true, a certain synergism. But while the Eastern theologians represent man as making the beginning for the attainment of salvation, and then ascribe a *synergia* to God, here it is God who begins the work, and the *synergia* is upon the part of man. The Eastern Teachers think of a divine, the Western of a human synergy." Vol. I., p. 331.

This we regard as a just discrimination.

Naturally our author gives much space to the discussion of the views and controversies of Augustine. Without question this great African father subtends a larger arc on the Christian horizon than any other theologian from Paul to Luther. We may say that he was a man of two souls, the one Catholic and the other Protestant. Hence we are not surprised to hear our author speak of "the multitude of in-

consistencies and self-contradictory tendencies in his teachings." Vol. I., p. 367. With this we thoroughly agree, as we also agree with what Dr. John Hunt says of this same Augustine, viz., that his language was "never logical, always exaggerated, and often inconsistant with itself." *Religious Thought of England*, Vol. I., p. 16. "And yet," as Seeberg says, "the ideas of this man furnished the themes for the piety and theology of more than a thousand years." Vol. I., p. 368. Without doubt the entire ecclesiastical and sacramental system of the Roman Catholic Church, is based on Augustine's conception of the Church as an organism, and on his doctrine of the sacraments, which imprint *character indelebilis* on the recipient. His doctrine of sin and grace laid the foundation for the theology of the Reformation. Hence at the same time Augustine was the patron theologian of Rome and of Wittenberg, and each fought the other over his shoulders.

All in all we commend Seeberg's exhibition of Augustine's doctrine of sin, grace, predestination, free-will. No two students of Augustine's works will interpret him alike, and that chiefly because of his exaggerated language and his multitude of inconsistencies. Our author thinks that his influence in the Church is explained by his "wonderful power of assimilating and glorifying." Vol. I., p. 367. Rather would we say that his influence is explained by his profound thought and by the intensity of his convictions and by the fervor of his piety. He was an epoch-making man and belongs to the entire Church. Hence he must be studied in order that we may understand the theology of the Reformation and also that of our own times. We must study him in order to avoid his pessimistic anthropology, his monergistic predestinarianism, his hierarchism, asceticism, sacramentalism, worship of saints, veneration of relics and other unevangelical doctrines and practices. The book before us will serve as a guide here, but it can do no more.

We turn now to volume II. of this *Text-Book*.

Here the first 217 pages are occupied with an account of Dogma and with the movement of theological thought from the seventh century to the close of the Middle Ages, including a brief account of the *Renaissance*.

Scholasticism is not as clearly defined as it ought to be, and the relation of Aristotle to the same ought to have been more fully stated; neither has the author adequately discussed *Realism* and *Nominalism*. He has taken too much for granted by the reader. But the discussion of Anselm's, *Cur Deus Homo* and of Peter Lombard's *Quatuor Libri Sententiarum* is quite as satisfactory as the space would seem to allow. He regards Anselm's book as based on the German legal maxim: *Punishment* or *Satisfaction* More correctly, we think, has Stevens defined the Anselmic theory as "feudal"—"an interpretation based on the ideas of mediaeval chivalry." *The Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, p 241.

Our author aptly characterizes the *Sententiae* of Peter as "a great collection of citations from the Fathers," p. 62. Yet "it is dominated by the *ratio* and the dialectic method." It was certainly the most influential theological work of the Middle Ages. It summarizes the results of previous theological thinking and fixes for the Roman Catholic Church the number and the doctrine of the sacraments. A good characterization of Thomas Aquinas, and a good analysis of his great work, the *Summa*, appear on pp. 99 *et seqq*. Duns Scotus, William of Occam and Gabriel Biel come in for a good share of consideration; but in a Text-Book we should expect less detail and the omission of the names of men who are merely the satellites of the real thinkers of the Mediaeval Period.

Book III., Vol. II., pp. 221–466, is devoted to the "further development of doctrine through the Reformation and the fixation of the doctrines of Catholicism." This section opens with "the views of Luther," to whom eighty-four pages are given. Here our author shows himself at his best. No one can resist the conclusion that he has made an original and comprehensive study of the theology of "the wonder-worker of modern times, *Martin Luther*." The genesis of Luther's theological views is traced historically and chronologically. The famous *De Servo Arbitrio* is admirably sketched on pp. 244–6. It may surprise some persons not a little to read: "Everything is the work of God, even the fall of Cain, although Luther does not enter upon the question of the genesis of evil in the world. From this follows, as a logical consequence, the absolute double *Predestination* and the subjugation of the free will: With this thunderbolt he hurls down and crushes the free will to its foundations." His views are Scotist and deterministic; but they do not enter genetically into Luther's theology. They are subordinate to the central purpose viz, the magnifying of Christ and of his grace. Hence Predestination never assumed a genetic and principiant place in the theology of Luther, nor in that of the Lutheran Church.

Naturally we may expect to find in Luther—a man of intense conviction, of fervid imagination, and a "rhetorician," as he describes himself—"a multitude of inconsistencies and self-contradictory tendencies," but he is consistent with a growing intensity on the central and fundamental things: Faith, grace, good works, the means of grace, the Church as the congregation of saints. These subjects as conceived and treated by Luther constitute the Lutheran system and differentiates it from the Roman Catholic and Calvinistic systems. Hence there is such a thing as a Lutheran theology, a Lutheran method of conceiving and applying the content of a certain book called *via eminentiae* THE BIBLE. And we agree fully with our author when he declares, p. 334, "that the Augsburg Confession affords a clear, compact

and through presentation of the views of Luther in their fundamental features."

He who cannot find time to study Köstlin's *Luther's Theology* will do well to give days and nights to Seeberg's presentation.

But we regret that we cannot speak in terms of high praise of our author's *Theology of Melanchthon*, pp. 347-362. Here the "good Homer" must have slept. He seems to have dipped into Melanchthon, now and then, and not to have 'drunk deep from the Pierian spring.' On p. 349 he speaks of the "three causes of conversion: the Word, the Holy Spirit and the human will," and says that Melanchthon expresses himself most plainly upon this point in the third revision of the *Loci* (A. D. 1543). Now as a matter of fact in the edition of 1543-4 (there is no edition of 1543) Melanchthon expresses himself "upon this point," *verbatim et literatim* as he had done in the edition of 1535. Moreover, our author has not quoted Melanchthon fairly. He should have written it thus: "The will not absolutely inactive, but resisting its own infirmity." "His inner motive is opposition to the Stoic *anagke*" (fate). But not more so in one of these editions than in the other. "Man yet retains freedom as a power of applying himself to grace (*facultas applicandi se ad gratiam*)." This definition does not appear in the edition of 1543-3 and when used in the edition of 1548, it was not meant to favor the Romanists, but to refute the Manichaeans and Fanatics, and was intended to be applied to the will renewed by grace, to the *voluntas renata*, as Melanchthon declared, and so all candid historians from Selneccer down to Herrlinger (1878) report. Moreover, in the editions of the Reformation time this definition was printed in immediate connection with and as an explanation of the three preceding lines, and not as it is in the C. R., as the beginning of a new paragraph. How could Professor Seeberg have committed such a blunder? By following the Flacianist traditions, we should say: "Accordingly, by conversion God stirs the heart through the Word read or heard, and the heart then, by virtue of a certain freedom yet left to it, decides for or against God." Such is not "the theology of Melanchthon:" "By virtue of a certain freedom yet left to it." In the editions named by Professor Seeberg and in all the editions of the third period (1543-1559) Melanchthon declares that "the human will is not able without the Holy Spirit to work the spiritual work which God requires, the true fear of God, true faith," etc. It is the reiterated teaching of Melanchthon that the will can decide for God only when potentiated by divine grace. How often does he write: *Praecedente gratia, comitante voluntate*, and "when the Holy Spirit assists, the mind tries to assent, and the will is not inactive?" The *initiative* is from God through the Word. "Without the Holy Spirit corrupt nature is not able to conceive the spiritual affections which God approves." Melanchthon never uses language that can be rationally interpreted as Professor Seeberg has interpreted.

And equally inexact and unjust is our author when he says of Strigel,

p. 368, *note* that "he was unable to ascribe the ground and beginning of conversion absolutely to God." Has Dr. Seeberg never read Strigel's *Declaration* quoted in full in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for Oct. 1905, pp. 456 *et seq.*, nor his *Loci, Pars Prima*, pp. 368 *et seqq.*, where the ground and beginning of conversion are ascribed to God absolutely, and where it is asserted "that beyond all doubt, and beyond all controversy the power to believe is the gift of the Holy Spirit?"

It is very inadequate to limit the history of *The Synergistic Controversy* to a few extracts from the *Weimar Disputation*, which constitutes a very small part of the literature of the subject. It is certainly unfair to Melanchthon and untrue to the facts for our author to say that "Melanchthon gradually lost confidence in Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper," p. 350. He lost confidence in some of the crass and extreme statements of Luther in regard to the Lord's Supper, but not in that which is essential to the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as that doctrine had been set forth in both Wittenberg Concords of 1536, and elsewhere.

Very unsatisfactory also is the representation concerning the Form of Concord. We are left almost entirely in the dark in regard to its theological antecedents, and absolutely so in regard to the methods pursued to obtain the endorsement of the Flacianists, and of the manner in which it was introduced into *some* of the Churches, for not less than twenty-two Lutheran principalities and cities declined to accept it. It is altogether a question as to how far "it is based on the fundamental symbols of the Lutheran Church." It were better to say that the authors make such a claim for it; and "that it actually gave expression to a consensus already existing" is contradicted by the fact that so many principalities refused to accept it, and by the fact that it has never had the consensus of the Lutheran Church; and it is very far from being a fact that "it gradually restored the peace of the Church." That its history has been a history of warfare no man can truthfully deny. And what shall we say of this affirmation: "The detailed theological definitions of the pure doctrine which it presented were in keeping with the spirit that had prevailed in the Church it represented for about a century and a half?" The Form of Concord is *supposed* to represent the Lutheran Church, which certainly had not existed "a century and a half" in 1580.

On the supposition that the translation is a correct rendering of the original (which in this case we are disposed to call in question), we say unhesitatingly that the first nine lines of the second paragraph on p. 382 make affirmations that are one-sided, partial and misleading.

But our author has succeeded far better in his representation of the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, pp. 332 *et seqq.* Here the chief facts are accurately given, and the synopsis, though brief, is excellent. It will surprise some people to read the following: "The Confutators interpreted Article X. in the sense of transubstantiation, and Melanchthon, so far from contradicting them, even introduced into the Apology a citation containing the expression 'changed (*mutari*) into flesh.'"

And this: "As the Confession places Article XIII., on the use of the Sacraments, after the discussion of baptism, the Lord's Supper and repentence, it is evident that it recognizes three sacraments (See Apology, p. 202, 4)." We may add that these conclusions are shared by all candid historians and expounders of the two symbols named. They certainly bear heavily on those who declare that "they (the Confessions) must be accepted in every statement of doctrine, in their own true, native original and only sense," and that those "who subscribe them must not only agree to use the same words, but must use and understand those words in one and the same sense."

The Schmalkald Arlicles enumerate two sacraments, and reject Transubstantiation as a "subtle sophistry." How then are the earlier and later symbols to be harmonized?

Our author writes intelligently, sympathetically and generous about Zwingli and his system, though we think he does not adequately recognize the significance of Zwingli's doctrine of predestination as a determining factor in his system. The characterization of Calvin. given on p. 394, is just and discriminating. The sketch of "the theology of Calvin" is comprehensive, but it does not create the impression that the author has made a very thorough study of Calvinism. We certainly differ from him when he says, in opposition to Schweizer, p. 407, that Predestination is not Calvin's "central dogma." He seems to overlook the fact that Calvin affirmed that election, which is only the mercy side of Predestination, is "our first fundamental principle," and that in his *Articuli de Praedestinatione* he declares as the first article: "Before the first man was created God had determined by an eternal decree what should take place in regard to the entire human race." Christ, faith, justification, are all postponed to the Double Predestination, and are explained in adjustment to the eternal decree.

We close our notice of this book by calling attention to two matters that are purely formal: 1. The translator has executed his task (in this case an exceedingly difficult one) with conscientious fidelity. The English is everywhere idiomatic. Sometimes he has transfused rather than translated the original. Of the general accuracy of his renditions of the German there will scarcely be a difference of opinion. We call attention to inaccuracy of translation in the following instances: (a.) Vol. I., p. 322: *Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum* should be rendered: "The word comes to the element and a sacrament is formed" "Fit" is passive, and "it" has no grammatical antecedent. It would be absurd to say that either the word or the element becomes a sacrament. (b.) Vol. II., p. 356 (twice): *Credo remissionem peccatorum*: "I believe (not I believe in) the remission of sins." In the Apostles' Creed the preposition *in* is not to be applied to the articles that follow *Spiritum Sanctum*. Since the Christian does not believe *in*, but believes "the Holy Catholic Church is,"

and so with all the remaining articles. (c) Vol. II., p. 334: "Gentle Stepper" is altogether too *gentle* as a translation of *Leisetreterin.* The translation does by no means represent what Luther intended when he called the Confession *Apologia-Leisetreterin.* See the standard dictionaries *sub voce.*

2. The printing of the work is cramped and pinched. Both the words and the lines ought to have been more generously leaded. Printed as the *International Theological Library* is printed, these volumes would commend themselves to a wider circle of readers. Doubtless such a dress would have placed the work at $5.00 instead of $4.00. But eyesight is of more account to the reader, and especially to the theological student, than money.

J. W. RICHARD.

CHAS. SCRIBNERSSONS, NEW YORK.

God's Choice of Men, a Study of Scripture. By William R. Richards.

Has God any favorites among men? What sort of men are they? Why are they chosen? The man who has an interest in these questions will do well to read this fresh and stimulating book. Here is no stiff doctrine of election upon which a Lutheran might sharpen his logic, but a clear persuasive presentation and appeal that will awaken men to the dignity and duty of life. "I think that a hearty belief in the doctrine of election," writes Dr. Richards, "as it is taught in Scripture will supply the very elements of character needed to meet the peculiar moral perils of our age, enabling the men of our day to play the same manly part that was played by the old Calvinists in the days of the Reformation." And, we may add, by the old Lutherans, whose modern descendants will find themselves in hearty agreement with such a doctrine of election as is taught in this interesting volume.

One of the finest things in this book is the comparison of Jacob with Esau It is sympathetic and it is modern. These men are types of those found in every society. The steady Jacob, single of purpose, tenacious of every advantage; the unstable Esau, wayward, capricious, are most vividly drawn. The attitude of the two towards life is shown in one sentence. "The birthright represented the highest things these two boys knew about, and while Esau despised it, Jacob set his heart on having it." And the obvious principle there illustrated is thus expressed. "When any child or man sets his heart on having the highest thing he knows about, and is willing to toil and wait and suffer and go hungry and cold—anything rather than lose it— he may not know much about high things yet, and there may still be many mean streaks left in his character, but it seems to me he has got his face turned toward being a Christian."

Everywhere in this volume one runs across flashes of light that illumine obscure passages of Scripture. And the wonderful way in

which the old truths and incidents are brought to bear upon our modern life will be most suggestive to the preacher and prophet of today. His kindly way of dealing with trailties and his hopeful, inspiring words for the despairing, his spur to the indolent, the quick jerk of his thought which brings the wayward into the road. the high purpose which fires the heroic soul, all these are done with skill and kindliness. The reading of a simple straightforward book like this makes one satisfied with the deep and high things of life, causes one to seek again the real sources of a strong nature, and under the touch of manifest sincerity in these refreshing pages, sends a man out into life with a singing of gladness in his heart.

D. W. WOODS, JR.

The Spirit of Christmas. By Henry Van Dyke.

One of the most beautiful books of the Christmas season was "The Spirit of Christmas," and because the holidays are over is no reason for thinking that it is no longer timely. It is a book appropriate to any day in the year, for its lessons, if learned, are those that will make every day a song. Dr. Van Dyke's style is so familiar to the host of readers with whom he has become popular that they will anticipate at once how beautifully he will write of Christmas and they will not be disappointed. The book is divided into "A Dream Story;" "Christmas-Giving and Christmas-Living;" "Keeping Christmas;" "A Christmas Prayer for the Home," and "A Christmas Prayer for 'Lonely Folks.'"

The Christian Doctrine of Salvation. By George Barker Stevens, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D., Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University.

This book belongs to *The International Theological Library* series of Text-Books edited by Drs. Briggs and Salmond. Of the series as a whole it were superfluous to speak, inasmuch as quite a number of the volumes have been for years known to the theological public. As was to be expected the volume before us bears the familiar family features of its predecessors: It moves on the line of the so-called liberal theology; it is critical towards the older theological systems and theories; it exhibits ample learning, and is written with decided ability.

The reader of this notice will get a more correct idea of the contents of this book, we think, if we should describe it as a treatise on the Atonement, for the major part of the book, as we interpret it, is occupied with criticisms of the older theories of the Atonement and with the establishment and vindication of the author's "own judgments" on the significance of the sufferings and death of Christ in their relation both to God and to man.

The method pursued by the author is critical and inductive, and he endeavors to test all "opinions by the fundamental Christian concepts of

God and of man." This, undoubtedly, is the only rational way to write a book on the Christian doctrine of salvation. Unfortunately, however, men do not all view history from the same standpoint, and the concepts which Christian theologians have of God and of man, are likely to be determined more or less by the reigning philosophy, and by their own personal experiences.

Part I, pp. 1–135, is devoted to a discussion of *The Biblical Basis of the Doctrine*. Here the Old Testament system of sacrifice, the prophetic doctrine, the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptics, the Pauline doctrine, that of the Epistle to the Hebrews and that of John, are passed under review with critical examination. That different expositors have reached widely divergent conclusions in studying the sources and particularly the New Testament, can be accounted for, the author thinks, "partly, no doubt, because of the different presuppositions which they have brought to their study, and partly because the subject is variously represented and illustrated in the New Testament, and every interpreter may find something there to encourage his favorite mode of thought. The mind which thinks in terms of animal sacrifice will find a congenial representation in Hebrews. The thinker of the Roman, legal cast will hear his favorite keynote in Paul's idea of a satisfaction to law, meeting the ends of penalty, while the mystic will find ample material in the same apostle's conception of the ethical death to sin on Christ's cross and in John's doctrine of the 'propitiation' which is a moral cleansing provided and wrought by divine love." Pp. 122–3.

True, no doubt, but the fact suggests at least two things: (1.) Less dogmatizing on the part of expositors. (2.) The need of a theory of the Atonement based on *all* the facts, and hence made broad enough in its generalization to include all these scriptural conceptions, since it may be regarded as certain that not one of them comprehends all the truth in the premises; and it can be hardly questioned that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and Paul, and John, had each his own characteristic conception of the significance of the sufferings and death of Christ.

In *Part II*, the author discusses *The Principal Forms of the Doctrine*. Here *The Commercial Theology of Anselm*, *The Governmental Theology of Grotius*, and *The Modern Penal Satisfaction Theories*, are stated with clearness and fairness, and are demolished in fine style. These theories are all *a priori*, and are not, in our judgment, based on the proper "Christian conception of God and of man." According to our author's interpretation of the first, "sin is *laese majestas*, an offense against the sacred person, the sovereign," or it is "an affront to infinite honor and majesty." Man *owes* debt. God alone can pay it. Very properly has this theory been called the *quid pro quo*, the commercial theory of the Atonement. It is quantitative rather than qualitative.

"Grotius * * * viewed sin as a breach of God's public law, a rebellion against his government, which must be maintained and vindicated." "The interests of the public law and order" require a "penal example," "'some compensation,' lest sin should be lightly regarded." This

theory, though wrought out in opposition to Socinianism, is based on the conceptions of European law, and savors of the courthouse. Its chief value arises from the fact that it was a factor in modifying rigorous Calvinism.

The penal satisfaction theory, according to our author, finds representative expression in the language of the late Dr. Shedd: "'Retributive justice is necessary in its operation, the claim of the law upon the transgressor for punishment is absolute and indefeasible. The eternal Judge may or may not exercise mercy, but he must exercise justice.'' *Infandum!* Christ was "'vicariously punished;' punishment "must be strictly equivalent.'" Must Christ have remorse for sin? "'Literally equivalent punishment.'"

Against these three theories Dr. Stevens enters objections in clear and incisive terms, and says finally: "The theories which are kindred to the thoughts of such men as Anselm, Melanchthon, Turretin and even Grotius—the interpretation of the Work of Christ in mathematical, legal, and official analogies—are absolescent," p. 260.

This the critical and historical part of our author's work we regard as the most valuable part of the book. Whether the reader accepts or rejects the theories in question, he cannot convict the author of deficient information or of unfairness of representation.

In *Part III.* we have the *Constructive Development of Doctrine.* The first chapter deals with *The Christian Conception of God.* Here, we think, the author has magnified the Fatherhood of God at the expense of the rectoral attributes of God. The Christian conception of God dare not ignore the Old Testament conception of God, and dare not be constructed in opposition to the Old Testament conception of God, since Christianity has its roots in the religion of the Old Testament. Each conception taken by itself is different from the other. But the two must be so adjusted as to present the proper conception. *Paterfamilias*—and our author employs "the human analogy"—includes also a concept of *rectorfamilias.* Hence we object to the affirmation: "Fatherhood is synonymous with love," p. 265. Fatherhood includes the qualities of authority, honor, judgment, justice, law. Love is only one of the attributes of the eternal Father—the attribute turned most conspicuously towards the world in the New Testament (John 3 : 16), but it is not the only attribute of God revealed in the New Testament. He is still the righteous judge, and his judgments are true and righteous. Hence while with all our heart we accept the Lutheran concept: *Fons et origo salutis est amor Dei*, we nevertheless insist that God has published a law, and that that law cannot be violated with impunity, though this must not be interpreted to mean that Christ was *punished* for us.

Of course, as was to be expected, the author's own theory of the Atonement is determined by his "concept of God and of man." His theory is what is known as that of the moral influence of the Work of Christ—"the interpretation which construes it in terms of personal relationship and interest," p. 532. God is not reconciled to man. There is no "ground" of atonement God-ward. Man is reconciled to God. "God is

satisfied in the work of Christ because it is the nature of the divine love to give, to serve, and to suffer with and for its object," p. 426. "Substitution 'by strong sympathy' and satisfaction in self-sacrifice—that is a summary statement of my conclusion," p. 426.—all good, very good—so far as it goes. But it does not go far enough to satisfy *our* "Christian concept of God and of man," nor does it go deep enough to satisfy exegetically those passages in the New Testament which declare that Christ gave his life a ransom; that he is the propitiation for our sins; that by his stripes we are healed; made peace through the blood of the Cross; the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us. In our judgment the author of this book has not entered sufficiently into the meaning of the sufferings and death of Christ in their objective features and as they relate to the holiness of God and to the sinfulness of man. In a word, his Christian concept of God is too limited, onesided, sentimental; and his concept of man as a sinner is superficial.

But in offering these criticisms we do not mean to be understood as rejecting the emphasis laid on "the moral influence of Christ's work." We think that this feature was too much overlooked by the older theology. We mean to say that this moral influence theory does not exhaust the subject, does not go deep enough, is inadequate and one-sided. It does not have a proper and sufficient *ground* for the Atonement. It does not magnify the law and make it honorable. And here is just the weakness, in our judgment, of many of the modern theories of the relation of Christ's work to man's salvation. We are profoundly thankful to Professor Ritschl for his "judgments of value" (Werturtheile). Theology needed that word and also the thought it embodies. But the "value" of Christ to the sinner depends not a little upon what Christ is in himself, what he declared himself to be, what relation he inwardly sustains to the Father, who is also *Rector Mundi*. Hence we need to supplement the *Werturtheile* by proper aud adequate conceptions of *Seinurtheile*.

And now, dissatisfied as we are with the commercial, the governmentel, the penal theories of the Atonement, we find no satisfactory substitute in the moral influence theory. We have the conviction deeply ingrained in us that a fair and comprehensive exegesis of the New Testament passages that report the sufferings and death of Christ, and the apostolic interpretation and application of the sufferings and death of Christ, must bring out the doctrine of an instead-of-ness, of a substitutionary relation and conduct on the part of Christ, that will furnish a "ground," a reason, a cause of forgiveness, when Christ is appropriated by faith, that is, when the sinner by an act of inner penitent self-surrender and confidence of the heart, accepts Christ as his Saviour.

It is in the objective aspect of the Atonement that our author comes short, as it seems to us. And yet he has not set forth his theory in a dogmatizing manner, nor has he held it up as settling the controversy; nor does he claim to have delivered the final word on the subject. He is as modest as he is learned. He regards his work as only a contribution

to the exposition of a subject which can be set in the proper light only by the Christian thinking of generations.

The book deserves to be read by all theologians and clergymen, and also by intelligent laymen. It gives information and stimulates thought.

J. W. RICHARD.

The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel. Eight Lectures on the Morse Foundation. Delivered in the Union Seminary, New York, in October and November. 1904. By William Sanday, D.D., LL.D. $1.75 net.

The literature resulting from the study of the Fourth Gospel has been multiplying during recent past months, showing a renewed interest in the important subject.

Dr. James Drummond, successor of Dr. Martineau, and head of the principal educational institution of the Unitarians in England, has given pronouncement of the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel in his recent celebrated work, *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel.*

Dr. Sanday holds an eminent position for scholarship in the Anglican Church and his declarations carry weight because of his careful method of critical examination, and his candor and sincerity in estimating literary and patristic evidence. Dr. Sanday after careful and accurate handling of all evidences does not hesitate to pronounce the Fourth Gospel the work of John, the son of Zebedee.

His thorough scholarship and his acquaintance with patristic works have enabled him to show the weakness of the hypothesis that the gospel owes its origin to the uncertain personage, "John the Presbyter," or to a "Beloved Disciple" other than the son of Zebedee.

That the author was a Jew, and an eye-witness of the events which he describes, is as conclusively shown as internal evidence is capable of effecting literary demonstration. The force of literary evidence resides in those acute and refined indications of genuineness which the rough and ready expositor mostly fails to discern. The blow of blunt force that seems to kill is met by the keen cut of criticism which penetrates the vital elements of spiritual and ethical discernment. It is these delicate examinations, this looking around corners to view things in natural and psychological aspects, that gives real effect to literary and internal evidence.

Dr. Sanday holds to the Johannine authorship of the concluding chapter of the gospel, and of the prologue. The gospel was probably well formulated in mind before the prologue was composed; but whether precedent or antecedent to the body of the gospel, the prologue is a legitimate introduction. It is not likely that John ever read the works of Philo. The *logos* idea was in the air and John's use and development of the term has grown out of personal experience and probable discussion with men in Ephesus who were advocates of the popular religious philosophy.

Both patristic matter and internal evidence are fairly handled without any *tour de force*, the quality of the evidence as handled by Dr. Sanday excluding the necessity for bluster.

But one aspect of Dr. Sanday's work needs careful notice, and that is his somewhat frisky attitude toward the historicity of the gospel. Of what value is the gospel as an adequate description of the life and ministry of Jesus though certainly written by the son of Zebedee if the account is not accurate and reliable? Dr. Sanday says, "I do not honestly believe that everything happened exactly as it is, or seems to be, reported" (p. 157). Again, "I do not mean, by asserting this (eye-witness of events), to impose upon others the necessary consequence that everything happened (*i. e.* that we can realize it to ourselves as having happened) exactly as it is described." (p. 179).

Traditional authorship without transmission of content with reliable historicity is a weakening of the foundation of inspiration and revelation. If the objective fact be not secure, the free subjective handling of fact even by an apostle cannot present to us a real and true Jesus.

M. COOVER.

The Bible, its Origin and Nature. Seven Lectures delivered before Lake Forest College on the Foundation of the late William Bross. By Marcus Dods, D.D.

With the exception of Dr. Sanday probably no English Biblical scholar has given himself so absorbingly to the study of the Bible as Professor Marcus Dods. In his lectures on the Bross Foundation Dr. Dods sums up in seven chapters the opinion of present scholarly Bible students in regard to the Bible. In these chapters he treats of The Bible and Other Sacred Books, The Canon, Revelation, Inspiration, Infallibility, Trustworthiness, and The Miraculous Element.

The conclusion reached in respect of the Canon is the commonly accepted protestant opinion: "The two attributes which give canonicity are congruity with the main end of revelation and direct historical connection with the revelation of God in history.

On the subject of inspiration Dr. Dods is careful not to assume too much, and in consequence claims little or much according to the interpretation applied to his statement: "Inspiration enables its possessor to see and apprehend God and His will, and to impart to other men what he has himself seen and apprehended; but of any further power it confers it is precarious to make assertions." (p. 127).

In respect of infallibility he says, "It would seem that the members of our churches are yet far from understanding that the authentication of Christ cannot be touched by criticism; that He is His own best witness, and that this witness is independent of any doctrine or theory of the inspiration or infallibility of Scripture." (p. 157). In this candid statement is manifest the unstable attitude toward the historicity of Biblical events. To escape a subjective interpretation of Christ which is no sure

Christ historically, we must have an historic account of Him. Without a basic historic Christ whose Christ are we to accept? "He is His own best witness," says Dr. Dods, but that witness is from the lips of a recorder whose record is suffered to be reconstructed according to the taste of modern criticism.

Though Dr. Dods minimizes the effect of extreme criticism by saying, "We need as little fear the nibblings of criticism as we fear the minute erosions of our shores by the ocean," (p. 157) yet his position is one only of degree with that of such critics as Wernle, Juelicher, and Schmiedel. The erosion produces an immersion of slow process while the German criticism permits of sudden and complete continental submergence. The objective facts of Biblical history are strenuously assailed by the critical school, and with a sifting of material a subjective reconstruction of the events and sayings is deemed a necessity. Dr. Dods disclaims any desire to reconstruct the record, yet expresses doubtful repose in the historical accuracy of the Bible.

The assumed defects of New Testament history as a mode of revelation may not imperil seemingly any essential doctrine of religion, and yet the principle renders precarious the security of the whole. The subjective sifting of Biblical matter must affect the principle of reliability and trustworthiness, and the reconstructors necessarily assume a religious consciousness and discernment superior even to apostolic writers. Dr. Dods accords in general with the views of present scholarship in the unsettled state of debateable principles, the trend of which is toward the unfortunate last utterances of the late Dr. A. B. Bruce expressed in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. Subjective treatment by reconstruction of the details of the life and ministry of Jesus must result in mere value judgments where the details of objective fact are waived. The historicity especially of the New Testament, and the ethics of religion, form now the battle ground on which the principles of religious interpretation must be fought out and settled.

M. COOVER.

EATON AND MAINS.

Vision and Task. By George Clarke Peck, D.D. Cloth, gilt top. 289 pages. Price, $1.00

Dr. Peck's sermons are already well known through his three earlier books. The present volume contains fifteen sermons in the brief and terse style which characterizes the author. The texts are short, often a phraze legitimately separated from the rest of the sentence. The themes, correctly drawn from the several texts, command immediate attention. The sermons go straight to the mark and convey the truth to the problems and conditions of life to-day. There is good and suggestive reading here, and material for expansion without detriment to the sermon.

STANLEY BILLHEIMER.

Christianity and Socialism. By Washington Gladden (7¼x5; pp. 244; price $1.00 net.)

If it were desired to nominate the foremost man in the American pulpit today certainly one of the first names to be considered would be that of Dr. Washington Gladden. It is not his ministry to an influential congregation, but his convincing logic and common sense, his superiority to material good, his valuation of man as man, his long and honorable career and the confidence inspired by his fairness that give him his primacy. Of course we must add to this his writings which have made his name familiar in every intelligent community in the land. No man has done more than he in affixing its proper stigma and the condemnation of religion upon ill-gotten wealth. His applica ion of the Sermon on the Mount to the solution of the most troublesome problems of modern society and his judicial temper in looking at all sides of a question are conspicuous in his latest utterance on Christianity and Socialism. His views are not commonplace, though they command assent by their fundamental simplicity and reasonableness. Whether acquired honestly or dishonestly wealth is not the foremost thing in the world. "Property is tributary to brotherhood, not brotherhood to property." Every man is bound to see not only that he wins a living for himself, but that in his business activity he performs an actual service to his fellow men and performs it well. The diffusion of the ideas of this book through society would make rarer the collisions of interest and make them easier of settlement when they do arise.

J. A. HIMES.

The Last Message of Jesus Christ or The Apocalypse in a New Light. By Rev. John Hamilton Timbrell. $1.75 net.

The author feels assured that he has a message for the Church in his exposition of the Revelation of St. John. He regards the Apocalypse as rightly placed at the close of the Bible as the last New Testament production. "Delving within its treasure lodes in search of hidden wealth, his conviction of the value of the book has steadily appreciated." "What he has brought forth seems to him to possess sufficient indications of gold to justify this resort to the alembic of public criticism." (pp. 1–2). "Let us but emulate these heroic spirits to whom we owe so much, dig a little deeper, unmindful either of scholastic disdain or of fanatical vociferation, aud the result may be an exhumed Apocalypse. The cry of outraged truth, writhing upon the rack of the destructive criticism, and the needs of a half enlightened church, moribund and helpless in the presence of the issues of the hour, unite to spur us forward with pick and shovel." (pp. 4–5).

This work, however, is not addressed to the scholarly. "The book is addressed to him 'that hath an ear.'" "When we lay mere scholarship aside, and our faces in the dust, strange flashes of light begin to come as

it were through the fringes of the veil, as the earnest of the divine splendors concealed behind its impenetrable foldings." (p. 12).

Before St. John "The glorified Christ stands in the forefront of the vision; the Eternal Father, veiled in mystic splendor, is throned above the lightnings and thunders; a mighty Angel clothed with the clouds of heaven, with the sunlit face of the Alpha and Omega, rises to view—completing a series of sublime epiphany that unquestionably touches the mighty deep of the Holy Trinity." (p. 7).

"With eyes flaming as the lightnings he takes the sweep of the ages, and with voice as the sound of many waters he articulates with lingual sword, through lips that have tasted death, his sublime message to the church universal." (p. 6). With this style of exposition with the author, "We stand under the vault of the midnight. We cannot touch one of its stars nor fathom the mystery that lies back of them; yet how they thrill and whelm us with their glory! So let us devoutly stand in the presence of the flamings of the mighty Apocalypse." (p. 10).

With bewilderment the reviewer stands, and yet takes one more glimpse at the prolegomena of the volume, at the *Comprehensive Diagram of the Plan of the Apocalypse*: *The Dramatis Personae*," (1) The Chrystophany; (2) The Theophany; (3) The Pneumatophany; (4) The Basilophany; (5) The Satanophany; (6) The Theriophany; (7) The Pseudo-Prophetophany. Still "we stand under the vault of the midnight." We will not venture "to touch one of its stars nor fathom the mystery that lies back of them." The atmosphere of fog seems to gather about us, and with forbodings of a dark night, and but dim hopes of a clear morning, we hesitate to proceed with the author any farther.

M. COOVER.

Soul-Winning. By Rev. Phidelia P. Carroll, Ph.D. Cloth, 110 pages. Price, 50 cents net.

The introduction by Bishop Charles H. Fowler, LL.D., would of itself commend this book. The author styles himself an ardent believer in genuine revivals of religion. But his experience in the ministry has convinced him of the necessity of more personal work among the unchurched. He presents here his methods, which commend themselves by their results. Concrete examples are used to illustrate his methods. Pastors who want help on the problem of soul-saving without special revival meetings, will derive much benefit from Dr. Carroll's experience.

STANLEY BILLHEIMER.

The Divine Opportunity. Sermons preached by F. B. Stockdale. Cloth bouud. 136 pages. 50 cents net.

That familiar texts have not been exhausted of all their teaching is shown by these nine sermons. The author is a careful thinker and delivers his message clearly. The sermon on "The First Thing God Did" is especially edifying.

STANLEY BILLHEIMER.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Katechismuspredigten über das erste und zweite Hauptstück, etc. (pp. 275.) By Rev. C. C. Schmidt, St. Louis, Mo.

A volume of short sermons covering the first and second parts of Luther's Catechism. They were delivered by the author to his congregation in St. Louis, on Sunday afternoons, and are published by request. They were prepared by special reference to the requirements of the times, and the author deviates somewhat in the treatment of his themes from the beaten paths of German pulpit dialectics in order better to meet the necessities of the present day. There is, however, no departure from the form and substance of sound doctrine, and no shifting of the old land-marks in Theology to please a perverted and depraved taste, but an emphasizing of the doctrines of grace as over against a vain and misleading legalism.

Our Missouri brethren are certainly displaying a highly commendable zeal in the dissemination of a literature effective in the upbuilding of the Church and the doctrinating of her youth, and along this line the volume before us is worthy of special commendation.

R. H. CLARE.

THOMAS Y. CROWELL COMPANY, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK.

The Prophets and Promise. Rev. Willis Judson Beecher, Professor of Hebrew in Auburn Theological Seminary. Pp. 440. 8 vo. $2.00 net.

The title page states that this work is for substance the Lectures for 1902–3 on the Stone Foundation in the Princeton Theological Seminary. The author affirms that "the presentation is essentially a restatement of the Christian tradition that was supreme fifty years ago, but a restatement with differences so numerous and important that it will probably be regarded by men who do not think things through as an attack on that tradition. I have tried to make my search a search for the truth without undue solicitude as to whether its results are orthodox; but it seems to me that my conclusions are simply the old orthodoxy to some extent transposed into the forms of modern thought, and with some new elements introduced, by widening the field of induction. We are further informed that he begins the examination of the Old Testament from a neutral standpoint as far as concerns the Higher Criticism, but one does not need to read far into the book before he will discover that a spirit of profound respect and veneration for the Christian tradition pervades the entire work, that the faith of the Christian Church is something sacred and must not be set aside except for sufficient reasons, that while there is a manifest willingness to accept well substantiated conclusions of scientific investigators, there is an equal readiness to reject mere guesses and unsupported deductions, and that while patient study and research are in evidence on every page the ultimate aim is not the defending of a theory or hypothesis but the setting forth of the truth as contained in the Word of God.

In the first part of the volume there are some fresh and striking points

under the discussion of the prophets, their appearance, their literary attainments, their function as reformers, statesmen, evangelistic preachers, and above all their mission as God's ambassador with a divine message. These descriptions give us a new conception of those grand heroes who were raised up to be Israel's guides and teachers during the dark centuries of its national life. In connection with the foregoing the distinctive meanings of the Hebrew words *raah* and *hharah* are very evenly pointed out.

On page 178 our author lays down this proposition: God gave a promise to Abraham and through him to mankind; a promise eternally fulfilled and fulfilling in the history of Israel: and chiefly fulfilled in Jesus Christ, he being that which is principal in the history of Israel. This is the central thought around which the discussion revolves, the theme of the entire volume, and to the elucidation of this theme the author brings the ripest scholarship, the fruitage of years of labor and research. He shows how the Promise runs like a scarlet thread through the whole Bible from Genesis to Revelation, how it was believed in by the patriarchs and proclaimed by the prophets of old, and how it is taken up by the Apostles in the New Testament and unfolded and preached to the waiting nations of the earth. And this is done in such a thorough and masterly way that when one lays down the book at the end of the last chapter the feeling is that nothing more remains to be said on the subject. We are sure that this work will be a standard authority in theological literature.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

A. C. ARMSTRONG & SON: NEW YORK, N. Y.

Complete Index to the Expositor's Bible: Topical and Textual. By S. G. Ayres, B.D., Librarian of Drew Theological Seminary. Also, General Preface to The Expositor's Bible by the Editor, W. Robertson Nicoll, A.M., LL.D., together with Introductions to the Old and New Testament sections by W. H. Bennett, D.D., Professor of O. T. Exegesis at New College, London, and Walter F. Adeney, M.A., Professor of N. T. Exegesis at Lancashire College, Manchester. Pp. 312.

It is not surprising that a librarian should see the need of an index to a large work and appreciate its full value. But it is not often that a librarian will undertake to meet this need. Librarian Ayres, therefore, may well be assured of the appreciation of the work he has done here with the forty-eight or fifty volumes that make up the Expositor's Bible. Every owner of this work will rise up and call him blessed.

The goods of this valuable storehouse are here classified and listed, and time is saved in searching for what you want. The investigator can turn at once to the volume and page to find out what each author says on the subject he has in hand. To the busy preacher this is of inestimable value and greatly enhances the worth of the whole work.

Whatever complaint a rigid conservatism may make against the Expositor's Bible on account of the color it has received from the school of

the Higher Criticism, it will be found far more refreshing and stimulating, and not less scholarly, than most of our commentaries constructed on the exegetical plan. And although most of the contributors may be shy of the traditional interpretation of many parts of the Scriptures, their reverence and love for sacred word will appear nanifest everywhere. They represent different Evangelical Churches and different schools of Biblical criticism. There will be found Anglicans like the Bishop of Derry, Presbyterians like Professor G. A. Smith, and Free Churchmen like Doctor MacLaren.

But it is not our purpose to comment on the work. We gave our views of the separate volumes as they appeared some years ago. We merely want to say that there are treasures here to show the serviceable work done in this index, which will serve, in a large measure, as a key to unlock them.

But the title page, as we have given it, will show that there is more in this volume than this index. Besides the excellent preface of the editor, we have the introductions to the Old and New Testament sections by Professors Bennett and Adeney respectively. These introductions are frank statements or reviews of what has appeared in recent years in literature and archaeological discovery, bearing on questions in dispute in Biblical criticism, not a little of which is confirmatory of the old time "traditional interpretation."

P. M. BIKLE.

GERMAN LITERARY BOARD, BURLINGTON, IOWA.

Revelation Twenty. A concise evangelical Treatise and Exposition. By Simon M. Lutz, A. M., B. D., Chaplain U. S. Army, and Rev. Paul G. Krutzky, A. M. Pp. 24. Price 10c. a copy or $1.00 per dozen.

This little pamphlet contains Introductory Remarks. An Exposition of the twentieth chapter of Revelation and brief discussions of Death, Resurrection, Hades and Millenium. The interpretation is straightforward, evangelical and scriptural with no attempt to read forced meanings into the several symbolical expressions, and the treatment of the topics at the end of the book is temperate, and in accord with the views held by the Christian Church.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Amerikanischer Kalender fur Deutsche Lutheraner.

Besides the matter usually found in almanacs, this contains a biographical sketch of Pastor John Paul Beyer, statistics of the various General Bodies of the Lutheran Church in this country, together with the usual clerical register.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

ATLANTIC MONTHLY, BOSTON, MASS.

The prospectus of the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1906 is one of the most promising that has ever been sent out by this leader of American literary magazines. During the year Dr. William Osler will contribute an article on "The Ideal Physician;" and Charles Cuthbert Hall, President of Union Theological Seminary, one on "The Ideal Minister." "The Ideal Lawyer," and "The Ideal Journalist," will be the subjects of later papers. "Is the Theatre Worth While?" will be answered by James L. Metcalfe, dramatic critic of *Life*. Richard Mansfield will write of "The Art of Acting versus the Art of Talking." Great questions as, "Rich Men and the Body Politic." Industrials as Investments; "Railroad Securities as Investments;" and "Causes of Commercial Panics," will be discussed by men whose judgment is trusted. Writers of international reputation will furnish brilliant short stories, there will be interpretative criticism of the work of living writers by eminent critics John Burroughs will write of "Camping with the President." Many additional features of similar attraction will be found in the magazine during the coming year, making it altogether a periodical that the person ambitious for culture cannot afford to do without.

LUTHERANS IN ALL LANDS CO.

Luther's Church Postil. Gospels, Thirteenth to Twenty-sixth Sunday after Trinity. Translated by Prof. John Nicholas Lenker, D.D. Pp. 395. $2.25.

This is the second volume of Luther's incomparable Church Postil, translated by Dr. Lenker and his co-laborers. These sermons are wholesome reading for pastor and people. Marked by Luther's insight into Scripture and expressed in simple language they appeal to us after the lapse of centuries. The reader is impressed with Luther's glorification of grace and faith over against work-righteousness. The sermons have the true gospel ring. Dr. Lenker deserves the patronage of the Church in his effort to put Luther's writings within the reach of the English speaking public.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

APRIL, 1906.

ARTICLE I.

WESLEY'S ATTITUDE TOWARD LUTHER.

By Professor John Alfred Faulkner.

What was Wesley's relation to Luther? What was his attitude toward him? What was his debt to him? In seeking to answer these questions in an historical spirit let us take Wesley's references to Luther in chronological order. *

(1). "In the evening [of May 24, 1738] I went very unwillingly to a society in Adlersgate street [London], where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while Luther was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation. And an assurance was given me that he has taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, saved *me* from the law of sin and death."†

Wesley was now thirty-five years old. He had been a pious and religious youth, conscientious and devout, student at Christ Church College, Oxford, fellow of Lincoln College, ordained deacon in the Church of England, 1725, priest in 1728, served as his father's curate at Epworth, and in 1729 joined a society of Bible students at Oxford, who for their strict living and religious spirit were nick-named the "Holy Club" and "Methodists." These students took the sacrament at Christ

* I shall use the third London edition of his *Works* in 14 vols. 1831, reprinted in 1881.

† *Journal*, May 1738, i, 103.

Church weekly, met together every night for conversation, prayer, and study of the Greek Testament, visited the prisoners, ministered to the needy, and as far as possible released those imprisoned for small debts. His good old father, the busy rector at Epworth, encouraged him in every way. "I have the highest reason to bless God that he has given me two sons together at Oxford, to whom he has granted grace and courage to turn the war against the world and the devil." In 1733 Wesley published his first book, *A Collection of Forms of Prayers for Every Day in the Week.* He became more and more a High Churchman.

In 1733 Oglethorpe founded the colony of Georgia as a refuge for poor debtors and for the persecuted Protestants of Germany. When ministers were asked to go to the colony, men "inured to the contempt of the ornaments and convenience of life, to bodily austerities, and to serious thoughts," the two Wesleys, with characteristic readiness to serve, responded. The stormy voyage out (1735) was really the turning point of Wesley's life. On board were some German Moravian Brethren, among others, their bishop Nitschmann, and Wesley with his usual intellectual curiosity and love of study plunged into the German language that he might converse with these men. He was wonderfully impressed by their piety.

"At seven I went to the Germans. I had long before observed the great seriousness of their behavior. Of their humility they had given continual proof by performing those servile offices for the other passengers which none of the English would undertake, for which they desired and would receive no pay, saying, 'it was good for their proud hearts,' and 'their loving Saviour had done more for them.' And every day had given them occasion of showing meekness which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again and went their way; but no complaint was found in their mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over, split the

main sail to pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the main decks as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterwards, 'Was you afraid?' He answered, 'I thank God, No.' I asked, 'But were not your women and children afraid?' He replied mildly, 'No; our women and children are not afraid to die.' From them I went to their crying, trembling neighbors and pointed out to them the difference in the hour of trial between him that feareth God, and them that feareth him not. At twelve the wind fell. This was the most glorious day which I have hitherto seen," (i, 21-2).

Though Wesley did not act for some time on these impressions, but retained his High Church enthusiasm and methods, and energetically worked in that spirit in Georgia, there can be no doubt that his intercourse with "the Germans" on shipboard and later was the determining element in his whole future life. Speaking after the manner of men, if Wesley had not learned German we would never have heard of him, and if he had not fallen in with the men of the Unitas Fratrum the Methodist movement would never have been. Herrnhut is in a true sense the real mother of the evangelical revival of the 18th century.

"Mr. Oglethorpe returned from Savannah with Mr. Spangenberg, one of the pastors of the Germans. I soon found what spirit he was of, and asked his advice with regard to my own conduct. He said, 'My brother, I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?' I was surprised and knew not what to answer. I paused and said, 'I know he is the Saviour of the world.' 'True,' replied he; 'but do you know that he has saved you?' I answered 'I hope he died to save me.' He only added, 'Do you know yourself?' I said, 'I do.' But I fear that they were vain words," (i. 23).

The echo of this conversation returns in the account of Wesley's so-called conversion, quoted above. The faith that saves now from all sin and fear, and the assurance of the Spirit that

we are the sons of God, these are and always have been the fundamental things in Methodism, and these Wesley learned from his Germans.

Wesley returned to England early in 1738 disillusioned and sick at heart. His High Church practices and all his zeal had brought him no peace, and he came back feeling that there was something vital in Christianity which he had not yet attained. It was the working of the Protestant leaven, the lesson which all his ardent Anglicanism had not yet taught him. And yet it was the first principle of the Gospel (see Rom. 5 : 1, 2), to learn which he had to sit at the feet of the wandering, persecuted, simple-hearted Christians of another clime and another language, and to come into the full possession of which he had to listen to Luther's illuminating words as almost to a new revelation come from God.

After his return to England he continued to seek this simple way of faith, attending faithfully all the services of his own Church as well as associating constantly with the Germans. Finally on the evening of May 24, 1738, at a meeting of a religious society in Aldersgate street, London, as some one was reading Luther he found the assurance of salvation through faith, as quoted above.

I have often wondered what special passage it was in Luther's preface to Romans which was the occasion of what has been called in a true sense Wesley's conversion. When I was studying in Leipsic I had a German friend, who knew English thoroughly, translate this preface, intending to have it published when I returned. The late Rev. Dr. P. Anstadt, of York, Pa., was, however, working at a translation at the same time, and he published it early in the year 1903. Since then a translation has been published by the Rev. Dr. Hay through the Lutheran Publishing Society. Wesley says that Luther was "describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ." Maybe it was this passage: "Hence it comes that faith alone justifies and fulfills the law, for faith procures the Spirit through the merits of Christ. But the Spirit fills the heart with joy and peace, as the law requires, and thus the good

works proceed spontaneously from faith." (Anstadt's tr., 53–4). Or this: "Faith is a divine work within us which changes and renews us in God, according to John i : 13: 'which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.' This destroys the old Adam and makes new creatures of us in heart, will, disposition and all our powers. Oh, faith is a living, active, zealous, mighty thing, inasmuch as it cannot possibly remain unproductive of good works" (61–2). At any rate the experience which Luther describes made Methodism. Let us keep this initial debt of Wesley to Luther in mind, or, as we proceed, we may become discouraged at the reaction of Wesley's ingrained Anglicanism.

---

(2). "In the evening three young women agreed to meet together weekly [in Bristol] with the same intention as those in London, viz., 'To confess their faults one to another, and pray one for another, that they may be healed.' At eight, four young men agreed to meet in pursuance of the same design. How dare any man deny this to be (as to the substance of it) a means of grace, ordained of God? Unless he will affirm (with Luther in the fury of his Solifidianism) that St. James's Epistle is an epistle of straw." *

It would appear that some Moravians in England in emphasizing faith had depreciated the means of grace, and perhaps had referred to this as the consequence of the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Wesley's practical instinct and his love of meeting and organizing believers and seekers into little societies made him impatient of this, and in his impatience he has a fling at Luther which really does injustice to the latter's doctrine of justification, as well as to his position in regard to the Epistle of James. As to the former I shall have a word to say later. Luther never said in the bald way in which he is so often quoted that James's Epistle is an epistle of straw. In the preface to the translation of the New Testament, 1522 and later, he is speaking of the way we can tell the comparative religious value of the books: it is their closeness to the Gospel and their ex-

* *Journal* April 9, 1739, i : 186.

planation of its nature. "From this," he says, "you can rightly judge among all the books, and distinguish which are the best." Among the latter he classes the Gospel of John and his First Epistle, especially the Epistle to the Romans, further those to the Galatians and Ephesians, and finally the First Epistle of Peter. They have the right kernel and mark among the books, for they show forth Christ and everything which it is necessary to know in order to be saved. "Therefore St. James's Epistle is a right strawy epistle, for it has no evangelical way in it," that is, it does not show forth the way of salvation according to the Gospel, as does John and Romans. In his special preface to St. James in this translation of the New Testament (the same series of prefaces to which that to Romans belongs), he praises it that it does not set forth a doctrine of men, but only treats of God's law, and acknowledges James's good intention to ward off a false trust in a faith in which works are wanting (a faith which he also repudiated), but thinks that James in his understanding and in his words was too weak in this cause, so that he desired to attain with emphasis on law what Paul had provided for by incentive to love, and thereby directly contradicted the teaching of Paul concerning justification by faith. Besides, there is lacking a doctrine of Christ, which is the true touchstone for all books, whether they treat of Christ or not. What does not teach Christ is not apostolic, even if Peter or Paul taught it; what preaches Christ is apostolic, even if Judas, Pilate or Annas wrote it. *

We have learned how to reconcile Paul and James; Luther had not. But he did not thereby reject the latter (straw has its uses), but retained it in his Bible for the warning against a false faith, though for the whole doctrine of salvation by faith he held by Paul. It is fair to say, however, that in his later editions of the preface to the New Testament he omitted the reference to the Epistle of James as "right strawy."

(3). "I set out for London, and read ever in the way that celebrated book, Martin Luther's 'Comment on the Epistle to

* See Köstlin, *Martin Luther: Sein Leben und seine Schriften*, 5th ed. by Kawerau, Berl. 1903, i, 566–7.

the Galatians.' I was utterly ashamed. How have I esteemed this book, only because I heard it commended by others; or, at best, because I had read some excellent sentences occasionally quoted from it! But what shall I say, now I judge for myself? Why, not only that the author makes nothing out, clears up not one considerable difficulty: that he is quite shallow in his remarks on many passages, and muddy and confused on almost all; but that he is deeply tinctured with Mysticism throughout, and hence often dangerously wrong. To instance only one or two points: How does he (almost in the words of Tauler) decry reason, right or wrong, as an irreconcilable enemy to the Gospel of Christ! Whereas, what is reason (the faculty socalled) but the power of apprehending, judging and discerning? Which power is to be no more condemned in the gross than seeing, hearing, or feeling. Again, how blasphemously does he speak of good works, and of the law of God; constantly coupling the law with sin, death, hell, and the devil; and teaching that Christ delivers us from them all alike. Whereas it can no more be proved that Christ delivers us from the law of God than that he delivers us from holiness or from heaven. Here (I apprehend) is the grand error of the Moravians. They follow Luther for better, for worse. Hence their 'No works; no law; no commandments.' But who art thou that 'speakest evil of the Law, or judgest the Law.'

"In the evening [of the next day] I came to London and preached on these words (Gal. 6 : 15); 'In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.' After reading Luther's miserable comment upon the text, I thought it my bounden duty openly to warn the congregation against that dangerous treatise; and to retract whatever recommendation I might ignorantly have of it." *

This is a reaction with a vengence! Luther published two Commentaries on Galatians, 1519 and 1535, both founded on his lectures at Wittenberg University, both giving substantially the same teaching, but the latter about three times as large as the former. Outside of Romans this epistle was the great

* *Journal*, June 15, 16, 1741 (i, 315-6.)

favorite of Luther, as he found in it his views as to law, justification, and grace expressed in a concise, uncompromising way. "The Epistle to the Galatians," said Luther, "is my Epistle, to which I have entrusted myself, my Catherine von Bora." And it is in his Commentary on Galatians that we find the best and most exhaustive exposition of his own theology in this fundamental part of it. Melanchthon recommended the first Commentary as the thread of Theseus, by which one could safely find his way through the labyrinth of Biblical science. In his letters to his friends, however, Luther spoke of his own dissatisfaction with it, as he thought the Epistle capable of a clearer and richer interpretation. This he gave with a tremendous swing and emphasis in his edition of 1535. It is one of the greatest as well as most characteristic works of Luther. Every sentence is a sledge-hammer. The whole book is a battle-piece where Luther lays low the Roman Church in both its doctrine and morals, delivers himself as to the Anabaptists, as well as expands and explains and defends his own teaching. "The Biblical content with which Luther here concerns himself, the mighty interest it had for him, the lofty exaltation which came from this, and the mighty concentration of his spirit, brought it about that this Commentary is the most significant literary product of his academic activity, and, if we distinguish between scientific, practical, and churchly-polemical writings, it has became the most significant of his scientific dogmatic works."*

An English translation was published as early as 1575, with a commendatory note by Bishop Edwin Sandys of London, (1570–5), and numerous editions have been published since, the last as late as 1875.

To understand Wesley's reaction we must say a word on his break with the Moravians in the summer of 1740. With the earlier teaching of the Brethren he found no fault, and with the main part he agreed to the end. But in October, 1739, Philip Henry Molther, an Alsatian ordained by Zinzendorf for

* Köstlin, as above, ii, 301. On the 1519 Gal. Com. see the same i, 274–5.

Pennsylvania, came to London, and filled the society with quietistic ideas which were abhorrent both to Wesley's practical sense and his high estimation of the ordinary means of grace, inherited from his Anglican father and Puritan forefathers. Molther taught that there were no degrees in faith, that if one had the least doubt or lacked perfect peace he had no true faith, that in this condition attendance on the means of grace, especially the Lord's supper, was useless if not wrong, that faith must be waited for in stillness, and that the ordinances are not means of grace, but only Christ himself. See Wesley's *Journal* for November and December 1739, where the whole history is given at length.* These ideas were diametrically opposed to Wesley's most cherished convictions as well as to all his instincts as a reformer and pastor of souls, and after numerous attempts at a composition of differences he, with some of his followers, left the united Fetter Lane Society, July 20, 1740, and established himself at the Foundry —the parting of the ways in the history of the British Unitas Fratrum and Methodism.

After this Wesley seemed to cherish suspicion of Luther, whose doctrine of Faith had evidently been alleged as justification for this quietistic Mysticism of some of the Moravians. So that when he comes to read carefully Luther's Galatians he is ready to find no good in it. And it must be confessed that there are passages over which any reader might well stumble, and which, to one of the severe ethical ideas of Wesley and to one of his almost monastic devotion to the following of Christ in godly living and self sacrifice, would appear simply unendurable. Especially would this be true of Luther's strong belief that sin must remain in believers, that this sin does not bring condemnation so long as one has faith, and of his dual conception of the Christian life as consisting as it were of an outer court where the law has an office, and of the inner court, the conscience, where Christ reigns alone, and where the law

*An excellent brief statement of this breach with the Moravians is that by Loofs in the *Real Encyck. f. prot. Theol. u Kirche*, 3 Aufl. 1903, XII, 761–2. The best is in Waner, *The Begiunings of the Brethren's Church in England*, Lord Moravian Pub. of 1901, 72–80.

has no function whatever. I can imagine Wesley reading this passage, for instance, with disapproval amounting almost to horror: "What is this to me, O Law, that thou accusest me, and sayest that thou hast committed many sins? Indeed I grant that I have committed many sins, yea, and yet still do commit sins daily without number. This toucheth me nothing: I am now deaf and cannot hear. Therefore thou talkest to me in vain, for I am dead unto thee. But if thou wilt needs dispute with me as touching my sins, get thee to my flesh and members my servants; teach them, exercise and crucify them; but trouble me not, not my conscience, I say, which am a lady and queen, and have nothing to do with thee; for I am dead to thee, and now I live to Christ, with whom I am under another law, to wit, the law of grace, which ruleth over sin and the law. By what means? By faith in Christ, as Paul declareth hereafter."* Wesley would deny that there is any necessity for the believer to sin daily, except involuntary sins, sins of judgment, or forgetfulness; and he would say that any actual or deliberate sin would bring the doer under condemnation and imperil his salvation. He would say that the conscience is the very place where the law ought to reign as the eternal standard of right, as rebuke, incentive, correction. He would assign to the law a pedagogical function of inestimable value, besides affirming that it is binding on the conscience of every man who knows it.

But let us look at Wesley's criticisms more closely. First, he makes the general charge that the Commentary is in many places shallow and in all places muddy and confused. No doubt Luther lacked Wesley's conciseness and clarity of style, and wonderful analytical quality. But muddy and confused Luther is never, what he saw he saw straight, and he tells what he thinks with perfect frankness and distinctness. Whether he is shallow is a question that will be answered according to the subjective attitude of the critic. If the critic thinks he understands the Epistle better than Luther, then the latter will appear shallow to him. But for Luther's day and for

* *Com. on Galatians* 2 : 19, trans., Lond., 1810, 200.

Luther's purpose his *Galatians* is a piece of work wonderfully vital and strong. Besides, its persistent publications in many editions and languages from 1535 until today is a tribute not paid to a shallow book.

Second, he is deeply tinctured with mysticism. At this early time Wesley by mysticism really means quietism, the still waiting of the soul on God without the means of grace and without actively doing the will of God. The finer and larger meanings of mysticism Wesley came to know later, and explicitly withdrew his earlier condemnations. He translated the hymns of both French and German mystics, Protestant and Catholic, and found a place for their precious contributions to Christian life and faith in his own teachings. But now in his reaction from the quietism of Molther, because Luther does not emphasize Christian works and sacraments and worship in his Commentary, but is always emphasizing justification by faith alone, he takes offense not at the latter but at the omission of the former. As a matter of fact, there is nothing especially mystical in Luther's *Galatians.* Professor Hermann Hering of Halle has shown in an admirable investigation * that everywhere there are traces of the influence of mysticism in Luther, but a great deal of it is only those common Christian ideas which the mystics have with the New Testament, and in the last part of his book he shows how energetically Luther contended for those very things so valuable to Wesley, contended in his great fight with what he considered the degenerate mysticism of the fanatics, as he called them. A good deal of mysticism is only New Testament Christianity; with its pantheism and depreciation of means of grace Luther had no patience.

Third, Luther denies reason. This was Luther's thought: when men on the ground of reason deny justification by faith alone, they are giving to reason an altogether false importance, and by it are depriving themselves of salvation. Reason thus becomes a false witness, an enemy of God and man. This ex-

* *Die Mystik Luthers in Zusammenhange seiner Theologie und in ihrem Verhæltniss zur ælteren Mystik*, Leipsic, *1879*.

plains his severe language concerning reason so offensive to us moderns. A better method would have been to say to the objector: You deny this on the ground of reason? If you look more deeply you will see that this is not contrary to reason at all, but is rather affirmed by it, That is, it is better to inform one's reason, not annihilate it even in religious matters. But outside of that, Luther allowed reason a large scope. If it did not deny God and faith, he allowed it, with Wesley, the "power of apprehending, judging, discoursing."

Fourth, Luther coupled the law with sin, death and the devil, and says that Christ delivers from them all. It is true that Luther does this in his *Galatians*. In his remarks on Gal. 2 : 19 (For I through the law died unto the law, that I might live unto God) he lays himself open to inferences by Antinomians which might lead to the wildest excesses. But they would be false inferences. Luther was really not so far from Wesley in his idea of the moral law. It was still binding on Christian men. External conduct should be regulated by it. The flesh (external relations, man in the lower sphere) is still under the law. Only in the conscience (man in the higher sphere, in relation to God and eternity) grace has come in and freed us from the law, having justified us by faith, so that here we cannot be condemned, but have peace with God. Now the main question is, Does this faith that thus justifies actually renew and save, and thus infallibly secure good works henceforth (barring, of course, the sins which still cling, according to both Catholic and Protestant theology, to the regenerate man as long as he is in this world)? If Luther denies the accusing power of the law in the conscience of the justified, does he yet secure the actual fulfillment of the law in the life of the justified? He does. I have marked many passages even in his *Galatians* where he does this with admirable clearness and emphasis, but it is not necessary to quote them here. Wesley nowhere accuses Luther of Antinomianism, he nowhere accuses him of teaching a false or idle or non-effective faith. He never says that Luther does not guard good works.

Fifth, Luther's comment of Gal. 6 : 15 is a miserable one.

I differ from Wesley here. Negatively the comment on Gal. 6 : 15 is much less objectionable than some others, and positively it is one of the most admirable in the whole book. The main point is that the observance of ceremonies and laws, Jewish and Gentile, do not avail in the matter of salvation, but a new creature. It closes with these golden words:

"Now a new creature, whereby the image of God is renewed, is not made by any colour or counterfeiting of good works ('for in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision'), but by Christ, by whom it was created after the image of God in righteousness and true holiness. When works are done, they bring indeed a new show and outward appearance wherewith the world and the flesh are delighted, but not a new creature; for the heart remaineth wicked as it was before, full of the contempt of God and infidelity. Therefore a new creature is the work of the Holy Ghost, which cleanseth our heart by faith (Acts xv : 9), and worketh the fear of God, love, chastity and other Christian virtues and giveth power to bridle the flesh, and to reject the righteousness and wisdom of the world. Here is no colouring or new outward show, but a thing done indeed. Here is created another sense and another judgment, that is to say, altogether spiritual, which abhorreth those things that before it greatly esteemed. The monkish life and order did so bewitch us in time past, that we thought that there was no other way to salvation. But now we judge of it far otherwise. We are now ashamed of those things which we adored as most heavenly and holy, before we were regenerated into this new creature.

"Wherefore the changing of garments and other outward things, is not a new creature (as the monks dream), but it is the renewing of the mind by the Holy Ghost; after the which followeth a change of the members and senses of the whole body. For when the heart hath conceived a new light, a new judgment, and new motions, through the Gospel, it cometh to pass that the inward senses are also renewed; for the ears desire to hear the Word of God, and not the traditions and dreams of men. The mouth and tongue do not vaunt of their own

works, righteousness and rules; but they set forth the mercy of God only offered to us in Christ. These changes consist not in words, but are effectual and bring a new spirit, a new will, new senses, and new operations of the flesh; so that the eyes, ears, mouth and tongue, do not only see, hear and speak otherwise than they did before, but the mind also approveth, loveth and followeth another thing than it did before. For before being blinded by popish errors and darkness, it imagined God to be a merchant, who would sell unto us his grace for our works and merits. But now, in the light of the Gospel, it assureth us that we are counted righteous by faith only in Christ. Therefore it now rejecteth all will-works, and accomplisheth the works of charity and of our vocation commanded by God. It praiseth and magnifieth God; it rejoiceth and glorieth in the only trust and confidence of God's mercy through Jesus Christ. If it must suffer any trouble or affliction, it endureth the same cheerfully and gladly, although the flesh repine and grudge thereat. This Paul calleth a new creature."

In judging Luther's *Galatians* we must always remember that Luther eliminated law and good works *only in the matter of justification*, which he holds is by faith through the pure mercy of God alone. And it will help us also to remember that this same Commentary on Galatians was a schoolmaster to bring Charles Wesley to Christ, performing in this respect almost the same function as the Preface to the Epistle to the Romans did for John. "May 17, [1738]. Today I first saw Luther on the Galatians, which Mr. Holland had accidentally lit upon. We began and found him nobly full of faith. My friend in hearing him was so affected as to breath out sighs and groans unutterable. I marvelled that we were so sore removed [by High Church and other influences] from him [St. Paul] that called us into the grace of Christ unto another Gospel. Who would believe our Church had been founded upon this important article of justification by faith alone! I am astonished I should ever think this a new doctrine; especially while our articles and homilies stand unrepealed, and the key of knowledge is not yet taken away.

"From this time I endeavored to ground as many friends as came to this fundamental truth—salvation by faith alone: not an idle, dead faith; but a faith which works by love, and is necessarily productive of good works and all holiness.

"I spent some hours this evening in private with Martin Luther, who was greatly blessed to me, especially his conclusion of the second chapter. I labored, waited and prayed to feel, 'who loved *me*, and gave himself for *me*.' The next day he found the assurance and joy of faith.*

(4). "I finished the translation of 'Martin Luther's Life.' Doubtless he was a man highly favored of God, and a blessed instrument in his hand. But O! what pity that he had no faithful friend! None that would at all hazards rebuke him plainly and sharply for his unteachable spirit, and bitter zeal for opinions, so greatly obstructive to the work of God."† This seems to have been Wesley's final judgment; a judgment in which on both its favorable and unfavorable side most Protestants would agree, though with reservation as to what opinions hindered the work. What Life of Luther is referred to we cannot say. Wesley's translation was never published.

(5). "I know likewise that Luther, Melanchthon, and many others (if not all) the Reformers frequently and strongly assert that every believer is conscious of his own acceptance with God; and that by supernatural evidence, which if any choose to term immediate revelation, he may." ‡

Wesley here appeals to the Reformers as bearing him out in his doctrine of assurance. Without affirming that Wesley's doctrine is in all respects like Luther's, what he says here of the Reformers is true. Consolation comes to the conscience of some, says Luther, and "they feel a joyful assurance of his grace."§ Certainty of forgiveness comes through the forgiving grace of God received by faith.|| "We often hear Luther

* Jackson, *Life of Charles Wesley*, Am. ed. 1842, 119, 120.

† *Journal* July 1749 (ii, 142).

‡ *Letters*, let. 550 Feb. 5, 1756, (xii, 469).

§ Köstlin, *Luther's Theologie*, 2 Aufl. 1901, i, 118, where references to his works are given.

|| *Ibid*, i, i 90.

speaking in his Explanations of Scripture and Sermons of a full assurance of faith (Glaubensgewissheit) effected by the Spirit of God and resting upon God's message of grace, an assurance victorious over all attacks."* This certainty of salvation is two-fold, says Luther: (1). Subjective: The Christian receives from God two things, grace and gifts. Grace forgives his sins, creates trust and peace in the conscience, and sets all in the kingdom of the divine mercy. The gift is this, that the Holy Ghost works in man new thoughts, sense, heart, consolation, strength and life, and in consequence of the divine grace and love God himself and Christ make their dwelling with us, and according to I Pet. 1 : 4 we become partakers of the divine nature. (2). Objective; a holding firmly on God's Word, which stands fast forever, and especially that word that through faith God is gracious unto *me* and forgives *me*.† "To those who are justified by faith and whose sins are forgiven, the feeling of the divine mercy coming to them through the Holy Ghost is most deeply impressed upon their soul; in trust upon this their conscience is brought to rest and security; they cry 'Abba, dear Father.' They have him who has lifted them up to freedom and eternal life, they experience that where there is forgiveness of sins there is also life and blessedness."‡ Melanchthon emphasizes the glorious certainty of the believer in life and death as one of the special advantages of the true doctrine of justification by faith.§

(6). "One very considerable article of this truth [the truth as it is in Jesus] is contained in the words above recited, 'This is the name whereof he shall be called, the *Lord our Righteousness*'; a truth this which enters deep into the nature of Christianity, and in a manner supports the whole frame of it. Of this undoubtedly may be affirmed what Luther affirms of truth closely connected with it: It is *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae:* The Christian Church stands or falls with it. It is cer-

* i, 195.
† ii, 180–1.
‡ ii, 201–2.
§ *Apologia*, in *The Book of Concord*, ed. Jacobs, 1882, i, 103.

tainly the pillar and ground of that faith of which alone cometh salvation." *

(7). "Being alone in the coach (near Norwich) I was considering several points of importance. And this much appeared clear as the day:

That a man may be saved who cannot express himself properly concerning imputed righteousness. Therefore to do this is not necessary to salvation.

That a man may be saved who has not clear conceptions concerning it. * * * That a pious Christian who has not had clear conceptions even of justification by faith may be saved. Therefore, clear conceptions even of this are not necessary to salvation.

That a Mystic who denies justification by faith (Mr. Law, for instance) may be saved. But if so what becomes of *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae?* If so, is it not high time for us Projicere ampullas et sesquipedalia verba, † and to return to the plain word, 'He that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him." ‡

(8). [Richard Hill wrote against Wesley, and quotes the two passages above to show that Wesley contradicted himself. In his reply Wesley places the two passages side by side, and adds:] "It is certain there is a seeming contradiction, but it is not a real one. For these two opposite propositions do not speak of the same thing. The latter (that of the *Journal*, 1767 speaks of the justification by faith; the former of trusting in the righteousness or merits of Christ; justification by faith is only mentioned incidentally, in a parenthesis. Now although Mr. Law denied justification by faith he might trust in the merits of Christ. It is this and this only that I affirm (whatever Luther does) to be *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae.*" §

If the Lord our Righteousness is the pillar of that faith by which we are saved, and if the latter is only another name for justifi-

* *Sermons*, serm. 20, Nov. 24, 1765 (v. 235).
† Hor. *Ars Poetica*, 97.
‡ *Journal*, Dec. 1, 1767 (iii, 308).
§ *Remarks on Mr. Hill's Review*, 1772 (x, 391).

cation by faith, as Wesley always taught, then the latter may be fairly called the article of a standing or falling Church. As to opinions saving, Wesley gives here a characteristically liberal judgment. And I suppose the narrowest Reformer would never have said that it was necessary for a peasant to have "clear conceptions" of truth in order to be saved, but that simple faith in Christ would suffice. As to Law trusting in the merits of Christ for salvation and yet denying justification by faith, it is evident that such denial must have been a protest against deifying a theory; for trusting in the merits of Christ for salvation is faith. If he did the former, he implicitly held to the latter.

Wesley was between two fires: (1) The exaggerated Calvinism which emphasized God's part in salvation and the worthlessness of works, and which led in practical consequences to Antinomianism, and (2) the principle of justification by faith alone which was the foundation of his revival. His position was further complicated by (3) the High Church leaven of his early training and predilections of which he was never thoroughly purged, and (4) by his remarkable liberality or catholicity of spirit, which found room in his societies for people of all creeds, which expected to meet the best pagans in heaven, and which was striving to find a standing ground in salvation for pious men who held to the Head which is Christ, even tho finding their way to him by various roads. It is this last which led him to repudiate intellectual orthodoxy as the gate into the kingdom of heaven, as is shown by his entry of 1767.

It was apparently his fearful dread of Antinomianism, and the overdriving of Calvinism on this side among his people, that lead him to issue the celebrated Minute at the Conference of 1770, a Minute that fell like a thunderbolt in the camp of his Calvinistic friends in and out of the Church of England. This Minute was not unnaturally interpreted as a disowning of belief in justification by faith, as though Wesley's old High Church views had at length come back, and in a critical doctrine and in the center of Methodism had cast aside the material principle of Protestantism. Wesley says that "we have

leaned too much toward Calvinism" in not steadily enough asserting (1) that if a man is not 'faithful in the unrighteous mammon, God will not give him true riches'; (2) that we ought to work *for* as well as *from* life (quoting John 6 : 27); and (3) that it is false to say that a man is to do nothing in order to justification, inasmuch as he who desires to find favor with God should cease to do evil and learn to do well. Then he says:

"Once more review the whole affair:

(1). Who of us is now accepted of God?

He who believes in Christ with a loving obedient heart.

(2). But who among those who never heard of Christ?

He that according to the light he has feareth God and worketh righteousness.

(3). Is this the same with, 'he that is sincere'?

Nearly, if not quite.

(4). Is this not salvation by works?

Not by the merit of works, but by works as a condition.

(5). What then have we been disputing about for these thirty years?

I am afraid about words, namely, in some of the foregoing instances.

(6). As to merit itself, of which we have been so dreadfully afraid: We are rewarded according to our works. Yea, by a course of our works. How does this differ from 'for the sake of our works?' And how differs this from 'secundum merita operum?' which is no more than 'as our works deserve.' Can you split this hair? I doubt I cannot"*

I do not wonder that many were scandalized by this Minute. On the surface it looked like a repudiation of the Protestant principle, and it created an excitement among the evangelicals of England which shook the whole Methodist movement from top to bottom. But it is evident that Wesley intended only to keep his people to good works in the spirit of Matt. 25. and Rom. 2 : 6, 7. "We are *rewarded* [not justified or saved] according

* *Minutes* 1770 collected ed. Lond. 1862, i, 95–6, also in *Works* viii, 337–8.

to our works." Over against a careless trust in a past experience, "we are every moment pleasing or displeasing to God," he says in closing the Minute, "according to our works; according to the whole course of our present inward tempers and outward behaviour."

That Wesley is thus to be interpreted is evident to any careful student of his works. Justification by faith alone is absolutely fundamental with him. He says in 1772: "With regard to this, that we are justified merely for the sake of what Christ has done and suffered, I have constantly and earnestly maintained it above four and thirty years * * * The righteousness of Christ is the meritorious cause of our justification: that is its proper place. Faith in him that gave himself for us is the condition of justification: that is its proper place * * * Though I did not see clearly that we are saved by faith till 1738, I then published a sermon on 'Salvatiion by Faith,' every sentence of which I subscribe to now" (x, 388, 390, 403)) This is the echo of his word in 1764:

I have steadily believed and uniformly asserted, as all my writing testify, (1) that the only cause of our present and eternal salvation is what Christ has done and suffered for us; (2.) that we are justified and sanctified by faith alone, faith in him who lived and died for us" (x, 339.)

As to merit, although Wesley held that in a real sense we are "rewarded according to our works," that is, as our works deserve, yet, looking deeply, grace is underneath reward.—For he says: "I still maintain there is no merit, taking the word strictly, but in the blood of Christ; that salvation is not by the merit of works; and that there is nothing we are or have or do which can, strictly speaking, deserve the least thing at God's hand" (x, 302-3.) To a correspondent who said, "Works are not meritorious, unless accompanied by faith," Wesley replied, "No, nor then neither," and asked him not to talk of this "until he knew the difference between meritorious and rewardable."*

I have dwelt upon this because it has been assumed by some

* *Journal*, Dec. 1760. (iii, 30-1).

that there was a fundamental difference between Wesley and Luther on the doctrine of justification. Wesley had fault to find with Luther, but it touched no essential doctrine. Nor have I quoted the Declaration of the Conference of 1771 which would have placed Wesley's harmony with Luther in even stronger light.*

(9). "Is it not then highly probable that God *will* carry on his work in the same manner he has begun? That he will carry it on I cannot doubt, however Luther may affirm that a revival of religion never lasts above a generation,—that is, thirty years (whereas the present revival has already continued above fifty.")† In his *Letters* ‡ and in his *Thoughts upon a Late Phenomenon* (1788, xiii, 263) he refers to Luther as making the same remark, which "has been verified several times in several countries, but will not always hold." He gives a reason for this brief duration (p. 263), in that the awakened ones "retired into distinct churches or religious bodies, and left the world to themselves (itself). Hence the world received no more benefit from them; and by degrees their love waxed cold, till their memorial perishes from the land, or they remained a dry, cold sect."

This philosophy is more ingenious than convincing. As the Roman Church would not receive (except to the stake) those who found the light at the Reformation, what was left to the Reformers but to organize them into Churches? Then notice the difference in the political, as well as the ecclesiastical, situation. Could the Reformation have a free course in a country where it was a criminal offense to avow its principles? But in lands where the revival of the 16th century found a sure footing it lasted more than thirty years. There is still some life in the Lutheran, Presbyterian, and the Reformed Churches!

(10). "When iniquity had overspread the Church as a flood,

*For this Declaration see Stevens, *Hist. of Methodism*, ii, 41, and Smith, *Hist. of Wesleyan Methodism* i, 397-8 (1857).

†*Sermons*, Serm 63, on the General Spread of the Gospel, vi, 282 (no date, but about 1779).

‡Letter 775, Feb. 12, 1779 (xiii, 61.)

the Spirit of the Lord lifted up a standard against it. He raised up a poor Monk, without wealth, without power, and, at that time, without friends, to declare war, as it were, against all the world; against the bishop of Rome and all his adherents. But this little stone being chosen of God soon grew into a great mountain, and increased more and more until it had covered a considerable part of Europe. Yet even before Luther was called home the love of many was waxed cold. Many that had run well turned back from the holy commandment delivered to them; yea, the greater part of those that once experienced the power of faith made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience. The observing this was supposed to be the occasion of that illness (a fit of the stone) whereof Luther died after uttering these melancholy words: 'I have spent my strength for naught! Those who are called by my name are, it is true, reformed in opinions and mode of worship; but in their hearts and lives, in their tempers and practice, they are not a jot better that the papists.'"* In another late sermon he quotes Luther to the same effect, evidently quoting from memory both times: "The people called by my name (though I wish they were called by the name of Christ) are reformed as to their opinions and modes of worship; but their tempers and lives are the same as they were before." †

It is well known that Luther's last days were embittered by the social demoralization of Wittenberg, which, says Kolde, "consumed his life."‡ But I have not been able to verify Wesley's quotation, though it doubtless expresses his feelings wrought up to fever heat by the unbearable state of things in Wittenberg. The nearest I have been able to come to Wesley's quotation is the remark of Luther: "The devil is found among the people to such an extent that under the clear light of the gospel they are more covetous, treacherous, prejudiced, unmerciful, undisciplined, impudent, vexatious than under the

* *Sermons*, serm. 68 (no date, but about 1780), vi, 329.

† Sermon 102, of Former Times, vii, 163.

‡ *Martin Luther: Eine Biographie*, Gotha 1893, ii, 551.

papacy."* While it is undeniable that the Reformation had in many respects bettered the moral condition of Germany—for instance, many of the evangelical cities had entirely suppressed all houses of ill-fame—yet a reaction had set in in some places, and to the awakened, instructed and sensitive conscience of a devout Protestant it appeared that all things were going to the bad. "Half of the city of Wittenberg," says Luther, in 1543 is sunk in adultery, usury, thievery and deceit."† The causes of this moral failure of the Reformation, so far as it existed, are many: the ebbing of the first enthusiasm, the selfishness of some of the princes and magistrates, the utter failure to discipline the towns, the virtual bridling of the preachers by the magistrates, the lack of strict control of members by the Church, the allowing of secret betrothals, and especially the failure to thoroughly Protestantize the Reformation by concerted and wide spread evangelistic effort. It was forgotten that there is no ethically regenerating power in baptism, confirmation, and other ceremonies. But it must be remembered that Germany inherited the harvest of the Middle Ages, while between Luther and Wesley there were in England two centuries of Protestantism. For in the long run there was no moral degeneration in the wake of the Reformation. Luther's words were only the passionate outburst of a prophetic conscience zealous of God and keenly alive to all the immoralities of the age, not a scientific comparison between the papal and Protestant times.

(11). [Arguing against separation from the Church of England:] "'But if all this wickedness was not a sufficient reason for separating from a corrupt Church, why did Calvin and Luther with their followers separate from the Church of Rome?' I answer, They did not properly separate from it, but were violently thrust out of it. They were not suffered to continue therein upon any other terms than subscribing to all

* *Hauspostille* (Walch) xiii, 199 quoted by Rishell in Hurst ii. 521.
† Köstlin, *Martin Luther*, 5 Aufl. ii, 572.

the errors of that Church, and joining in all their superstition and idolatry." *

(12). [Defending himself against attack:] "Meantime, I can only say, as a much greater man said, *Hier stehe ich. Gott hilffe mich*: By his help I have stood these forty years among the children of men, whose tongues are set on fire, who shoot out their arrows, even bitter words, and think they do God service." †

This exhausts Wesley's references to Luther. There is both historic and poetic justice in these last words. Wesley was the child of that "greater man." The assertion of liberal and Catholic writers that the French revolutionists were the sons of Luther is true in a sense that that fierce uprising against political and spiritual exploitation and tyranny was the after-pains of the birth of freedom and conscience in the Reformation. But infinitely deeper is the truth that Luther begat Wesley. The latter took up his great principle of justification by faith alone, and made it for the first time on a large scale a principle of evangelism and social regeneration. He found the light of faith under the influence of his Preface to Romans, his brother Charles found it largely under the influence of his Commentary on Galatians, and as his last testimony he adopts the well known words, Here I stand. God help me! Wesley's depreciating judgment of himself by the side of Luther I shall not discuss. He who first faced the traditions of a thousand years, and re-established Christianity on its Pauline basis against the world, has at least the greatness of a pioneer. But Wesley was a follower not less brave, who carried the standard along the same path and planted it much farther up on the hills of God.

* *Sermons*, serm 104 (no date, but about 1788), vii, 182.
† *Plain Account of Kingswood School*, printed in 1781, xiii, 300.

Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.

ARTICLE II.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAW IN SALVATION.

By Professor Carl Stange, D.D.

(Translated by E. C. Ruby, A.M., B.D.)

In his Commentary on Galatians Luther has designated the doctrine of the Law and the Gospel as the central doctrine of evangelical Christianity. The Law and the Gospel make up the sum total of the entire Christian doctrine. He who has learned how to distinguish rightly between the Law and the Gospel, may thank God, and know that he is a theologian.

He who hears this opinion of Luther, is no doubt astonished that Luther attributes such great importance to a subject which, in the course of history, has seemingly disappeared entirely from the protestant theology. Both the Law and the Gospel speak of the Will of God; therefore in evangelical theology we must expect a consideration of the Law and the Gospel whenever the Will of God is discussed. But as a matter of fact, there is in the evangelical theology much discussion on the absoluteness and the personality of God, but not on the Law and the Gospel. We indeed observe the manifold influence of modern philosophy; but we do not easily obtain a clear conception of the fact that in evangelical theology there is a problem concerning which there was a significant word uttered even in the time of the Reformation.

But nevertheless, the matter which is under consideration has not been lost even in modern theology. The theology of the nineteenth century has a particular preference in searching for the subjects of theology in the states and activities of consciousness. Formerly we used to speak about God, today we speak about the Faith. And consequently we today no longer contrast the Law and the Gospel; instead of that we speak rather of the relation of morality and religion. Now it is certainly a debatable matter, whether it serves as a clarification, if in this question we leave God out of the discussion and keep our view directed exclusively upon the human consciousness.

But even if we do not regard this shifting of the position of the problem as a happy one, yet there exists a connecting line between the present interest and the teaching of the Reformation, and for this reason it will not be regarded as an anachronism even at the present time, if we speak of the Law and the Gospel. If indeed, as Luther says, the Law and the Gospel make up the sum total of the entire Christian doctrine, then we will be obliged to confine ourselves to a view of this doctrine under a fixed visual angle, and for this reason only a section shall be given here, a section whose special content is indicated by the following theme: *The Significance of the Law in Salvation.*

But the problem designated in this theme will not be made intelligible until we go outside of that which is commonly agreed upon, so as to speak of that which causes the views to diverge. For in fact there is a *unanimity* in the collective evangelical theology, when the relation of the Law and the Gospel, and especially the significance of the Law is under discussion. The central significance of this doctrine also becomes manifest in the fact that the diversity of meaning dare not extend itself beyond a fixed boundry line, if the discussion is still to be concerning evangelical Christianity.

If we wish to make clear to ourselves wherein this minimum of evangelical knowledge consists, we must get away from the notion that in the contrasting of the Law and the Gospel we have to do with two conceptions through which the Will of of God is set forth. Consequently the decisive question can only have reference to the relation which each sustains to the other. Does the Will of God find its expression in the Law *as well as* in the Gospel? or does there exist between Law and Gospel an unadjustable contrast in so far as *either* the Law *or* the Gospel only really contains the Will of God? This is the alternative in which the contrast between the Reformation and pre-reformation Christianity is expressed, and the unanimous reply of evangelical Christianity consists in the laying aside of every dualistic conception of the Law and the Gospel, and in the recognizing of the Will of God *in both*, not in either one alone.

The assertion that Law and Gospel express an unadjustable antithesis, leads either to Nomianism or to Anti-nomianism. But by Nomianism we mean those conceptions of religion according to which the relation of man to God is conditioned by the moral achievements of man. By Anti-nomianism we mean those conceptions of religion according to which all moral achievements are *indifferent* and *worthless* for man in his relation to God. According to Nomianism obedience to the Law is the preliminary condition and cause of salvation, while according to the teaching of Anti-nomianism religion abrogates the moral life and makes it superfluous. Both Nomianism and Anti-nomianism accordingly have this in common, that they are enabled to regard God's Will only as one, and they differ from each other only in the fact that they find this one Will of God either in the Law or in the Gospel. Nomianism and Anti-nomianism are both striving to comprehend religion and morality as a unit; but they can only attain their end by allowing the one to become absorbed through the other; according to Nomianism religion arises out of morality, while according to Anti-nomianism morality is displaced by religion.

But in the evangelical theology Nomianism is repudiated just the same as Anti-nomianism. It belongs to the self-evident axioms of evangelical theology that Nomianism and Anti-nomianism are errors. The history of the conflict which the Reformation was carrying on with the Roman Catholics on the one hand and the fanatics on the other, is still so vivid, that for all evangelical theologians it is at least fundamentally established that every dualistic conception of the Law and the Gospel, according to which only the one or the other would always be representing the Will of God, must be laid aside.

And in fact, Nomianism and Anti-nomianism have not understood the *Gospel.* They designate rather, as their names already tell us, a form of religious knowledge which is orientated solely toward the Law. The Law gives to each its name. For as Nomianism looks at the Law as the determining norm of the religious life, so Anti-nomianism means to determine the peculiarity of the religious life through the mere denial of

the Law. According to Nomianism religion is the realization of the Law, according to Anti-nomianism religion is freedom from the Law. The theology of the Reformation on the contrary, calls itself the *evangelical* theology, because for it the Gospel has a positive significance. The Gospel is not simply a new edition of the Law, neither is it simply an abolition of the Law. The evangelical theology rather separates the Law and the Gospel from each other and finds in both the Will of God in a special manner. It places the Gospel along side of the Law. And by doing this, not only is the peculiar characteristic of the Gospel asserted, but at the same time also an understanding is gained for the significance which belongs to the Law.

For evangelical theology accordingly it is a proposition of fundamental significance that the Will of God is expressed in the Law as well as in the Gospel. The Law and the Gospel both represent the Will of God. But with this fundamental proposition the unanimity within evangelical theology is at once terminated. The *difference of the meanings* arises immediately when the explanation of this fundamental proposition is discussed. For if both the Law and the Gospel are expressions of the Will of God, then we shall have to raise the question concerning the ground of the difference between them. Wherein lies the basis, if the Will of God assumes its form in the Law as well as in the Gospel? And how is it altogether possible that the Will of God takes a twofold shape? No matter if evangelical theology is determined that Nomianism and Anti-nomianism must be overthrown, this overthrow will indeed be accomplished only when it can be understood and established that in fact there is only one Will of God, and that this one Will of God is expressed in the Law as well as in the Gospel.

But at this point there now arises the conflict of the meanings. For to the question concerning the ground of the difference between the Law and the Gospel two answers can be given. We can either fix the relation of the Law and the Gospel so that the *Law* appears as the true Will of God and the Gospel as a modification of this true Will of God. Or else the

relation of the Law and the Gospel is so fixed that the *Gospel* appears as the true Will of God and the Law as a modification of the Gospel.

Of these two forms of the conception the one named in the first place exhibits the *popular* (vulgäre) *understanding of the reformation teaching.* According to this popular interpretation of the Reformation God had originally willed that men should attain to salvation through the realization of the Law. Through obedience to the divine command man was to gain the pleasure of God, and thereby secure fellowship with Him. And this obedience to the Law would really have led man to salvation, if sin had not stepped between. But since man replied to the demand of the Law with sin, God's original plan was frustrated. Instead of leading man to God, the Law has in reality erected a partition-wall between God and man, so that now man, having passed under the power of sin, can not find his way to God, even if he wished. But if, in spite of this, he is to come into fellowship with God, then there is need, in addition to the Law, of a new arrangement on the part of God, and this new arrangement, through which the ruin brought about by sin is made good again, is the Gospel. After the realization of the Law had been made impossible through sin, God *added the Gospel,* in order that man might be saved through grace. The Law designates of course the original Will of God; but this original Will of God, since it proved itself incapable of being carried out, is corrected by the Gospel. The Gospel is in a certain measure an amnesty-dispensation to which God saw himself necessitated through sin. The relation of the Law to the Gospel is therefore so fixed that the Gospel appears as a supplementary improvement of the way of salvation which was originally given in the Law, and which had become useless in consequence of sin. The Law sets forth the true Will of God and the Gospel is a modification of it.

In this interpretation of the reformation teaching we have, as said before, to do with the conception predominating in evangelical theology. And in fact, at first glance, it may seem as if this conception gives by all means the simplest solution to the problem under consideration. For no doubt an advance

is gained over Nomianism and Anti-nomianism in so far as the connection (zusammengehörigkeit) of the Law and the Gospel is at least recognized by the representatives of this conception as the principal thing. The attempt is made to construct a formula by which both the Law and the Gospel become the legitimate expression of the Will of God. But while this attempt is made, the theories of Nomianism and Anti-nomianism are at the same time shown to be onesided and insufficient. And the effort to overthrow Nomianism and Anti-nomianism signifies already in itself a going out beyond both, and gives evidence of the fact that primarily the understanding of this central problem of evangelical Christianity is at hand.

But, furthermore, this popular interpretation of the reformation teaching corresponds with the tendencies of the Reformation in so far as in this conception interest in the Gospel as well as in the Law seems to come into prominence. For on the one hand the Gospel is represented as an improvement of the Law, and thereby as a more complete revelation of God, and on the other hand the Law still remains fixed as the expression of the Will of God. To be sure, in Christianity we have advanced beyond the mere legalism of Judaism; but yet even to the Christian there comes again and again the consciousness that the normal way is after all really the way of the Law, and that this way would indeed have been able to lead man to salvation, if man had only remained free from sin. While, therefore, on the one hand the Gospel is recognized as something higher than the Law, on the other hand the Law is indeed firmly retained as the norm established by God.

Nevertheless, these advantages, which the popular conception of the reformation teaching over against the pre-reformation Christianity lays claim to, are in reality indeed only apparent advantages. However clear even in this theory the consciousness is expressed that Nomianism and Anti-nomianism must be overthrown, yet the established foumula does in fact not lead to the overthrow of the same. We are rather obliged to say that in that theory simply a formula has been constructed by means of which both Nomianism and Anti-nomianism are combined with each other. But the combination of two mis-

apprehended standpoints is not capable of making possible a solution of the difficulties at hand, but is only suited to conserve the deficiencies which adhere to those two theories. For it remains that the idea of God is thought in the manner of *Nomianism.* The Law is the true expression of the Will of God, and if, nevertheless, the Law does not designate the way of salvation, then it is only because in human sin an obstacle opposes itself to the Will of God, which God can not overcome, but which is able rather to influence His Will. The abrogation of the Law accordingly follows not out of the inner insufficiency of the Law, but out of its impracticability. The Will of God could not be carried out, but yet the Law fundamentally designates the relation of man to God. That the Law is not the way of salvation does not follow from a deeper recognition of the being of God, but from the unsuitableness of the Law, while the conception concerning the being of God corresponds to the conception of Nomianism.

But at the same time this popular interpretation of the reformation doctrine leads also to a belittling of the Gospel. For the Gospel is then represented as a concession which God in a compulsory manner had to make. He is compelled by sin to depart from the strict rule. He had to satisfy himself with an expedient. But in the fact that the power of sin shows itself as stronger than the Will of God, the point is yielded to Anti-nomianism. For if God does not overcome sin, but yields to it, then his wrath toward sin can not be as great as the Law wishes to have us believe. And consequently also the significance of grace is weakened in the same way as in Anti-nomianism. For the grace of which the Gospel speaks consists then solely in an act of pardon. But if grace is understood solely in the sense of pardon, then it simply means the reparation of the ruin brought about by the severity of the Law, so that therefore its work is simply negative. But thereby the significance of grace is doubtless reduced. It then represents not the real nature of God, but an entirely secondary element, an incidental concession, to which God adapts himself because it would not work otherwise. It is in reality indeed not something higher than the Law, but only a substi-

tute for the Law. And in this belittling of grace over against the Law there is again made manifest the combination of Nomainism with Anti-nomianism, so far as the conception of grace as pardon makes the Gospel a part of what belongs to an administration of justice. For pardon, as jurists say, is itself a function of the administration of justice, a function which is exercised by the possessor of legal power, in order to mitigate the undesired severity of the Law.

For this reason we can indeed not be persuaded that this combination of Nomianism with Anti-nomianism is able to lead to a satisfactory solution of the problem. On the contrary, out of this theory result the most doubtful consequences. Even if, for example, we entirely ignore the maintaining of those pre-reformation methods of consideration, yet it can not be denied that by this theory the Christian conception of God is endangered to the highest degree. For how is it to be reconciled with the Christian conception of God, if God on account of sin is not in a position to carry out his Will? And how is it to be reconciled with the Christian conception of God, if God is ready to compromise with sin? Such thoughts can only have as a result a lack of confidence in the power and wisdom of God, and an uncertainity about His holiness. But God's Will is indeed not like the human will. God does not set for Himself a goal, as is the case among men, of whose unattainableness He is afterwards convinced. Neither can his Will be thought of as an empty wish, but the Will of God is always accomplished, and whatever He wills also comes to pass. But least of all can sin effect any change in it. For then indeed sin would be a stronger power than God. It could then not be said that God overpowers sin and becomes its master. And consequently the renouncing of sin would not be absolute, and therefore the holiness of God would also be a meaningless word.

But if, therefore, the first way is impassable, then there remains nothing further but to take the *other of the two ways.* If the Gospel can not be regarded as a modification of the Law, yet there still remains the other possibility: that the Law may be a modification of the Gospel. The true Will of

God is expressed in the Gospel, and the Law is simply a modification of this true Will of God, and indeed a modification of the same wrought by sin.

This conception, in the first place, has this in common with the former, viz., they both consider the Law and the Gospel as expressions of God's Will and they refer the difference which exists between Law and Gospel to sin. But in spite of this agreement there still exists between this and the former conception a very essential difference. For it is now no longer said of sin that it is able to work a change in the Divine Will. The significance of sin consists rather in its injury to the *understanding* of the Divine Will. The contrast between the Law and the Gospel indicates not a difference in the constitution of the Divine Will, but a difference in understanding it on the part of man. In the Law as well as in the Gospel the Will of God, one and the same Will of God, is expressed; but while the Law is the Will of God as the *natural* man understands it, the Gospel is the Will of God as correctly understood.

The characteristic of the Law consists in its approaching man as a *demand.* The *imperative* form is of essential significance for the idea of the Law. But this imperative form of the Law has its basis in the character of the natural man, and it is always only the natural man to whom the Will of God appears as a demand which he is to fulfill.

The character of the natural man is expressed in the fact that he always wishes to be something and to be worth something. As soon, therefore, as the Will of God approaches the natural man, then it is self-evident that for him to be something and to be worth something can only depend upon the Law. The importance of his own Self makes it appear to him as self-evident that God wishes to have something from man. And thus his inner nature leads man to a false estimation of the Divine Will. The natural man looks at the Divine Will as a demanding one, and therefore it does not occur to him that it is pride to suppose that God could demand anything from man. The natural man does not notice at all that it is undue exaltation and conceit to suppose that man *can* fulfill God's

Will, and that he *shall* fulfill it: as if, in the main, man could and should give something to God, and as if man were in a position to render something unto God; as if it were not much more self-evident that only God himself can ever fulfill the Will of God, man never.

All morality of the natural man has accordingly its root in pride. In supposing that he is to fulfill the Law man makes himself equal with God, and in striving to fulfill the Law he only serves himself and his own will.

And this is by no means simply the case where the illustration of the Pharisee comes in with naive distinctness. Much more also does the so called *humane* ethics bear its name properly and does not deny its origin. Only the form in which the natural pride is coined is finer and less obtrusive. But even the so-called humane ethics stands fundamentally upon the same basis with the morals of the Pharisee. For it is indeed only another form of self-glorification, if the humane ethics expects man to attain to a higher grade of perfection through ethical conduct. Because it speaks of man attaining to a perfection of himself through his moral conduct; because it regards the ethical as an ennobling of the natural man; because it seeks in man's virtuousness his nobility of character and worth, it always expresses only the one thought, that striving to be something and to be worth something is to be the motive of morality, and that the Law is here simply for the purpose of strengthening the false notion which the natural man has concerning himself. And this error into which the natural man falls by reason of his estimation of the Divine Will, is so much the worse, since it does not rest merely upon an occasional illusion from which one may easily be able to emancipate himself when it is once apprehended. This false estimation of the Divine Will has its basis in the natural constitution of man. And for this reason it presents itself whether we wish it or not. We need only to recall at this place that every so-called good deed is rewarded by the feeling of self-satisfaction. This feeling of self-satisfaction concerning the good deed we have even if we do not wish it, and yet this feeling of satisfaction is only a form of natural self-confidence.

But the wisdom of God is then revealed in the fact that He allows the false notion of man to be of service in making him fit for His purposes. And in so far, then, the Law in fact shows itself as the Will of God. Although the natural mind hinders man from rightly understanding God's Will, yet the Will of God is not hindered by man's misunderstanding from reaching the end which it wishes to reach. The natural man's misunderstanding becomes rather itself a means through which God makes him free from his natural character. Although the Law is a feeble representation o God's Will, yet it is at the same time God's way by which He leads man to grace. And for this reason it does not depend upon abolishing the Law; everything rather depends upon recognizing its significance, and thereby making possible for it the attainment of its end.

First of all the effect of the Law is certainly to make sin abound. For to the natural man it seems to be something easy to accomplish the Will of God. The Will of God comes to him in individual demands, and the individual demand is complied with through the individual act. And thus arises the appearance as if it depends merely on the acting, and as if the act were already the fulfilling of the Law. But in the individual act man can easily accommodate himself to God's Will. For the individual act is only something external,—it is not necessarily an evidence of the Will; the external act can rather be made to correspond to the Will of God without the will of man subjecting itself to the Will of God. If the will actually subjects itself, yet the individual act occupies only a moment, and the will can indeed subject itself to another for a moment. And for this reason the fulfilling of the Law is easy and convenient according to the conception of the natural man, because the natural man thinks that the Law refers simply to the external relation, or indeed only occasionally lays claim to the will of man. And so the first effect of the Law is this—that it strengthens the wantonness of man, since it leads him at the same time to be contented with the mere appearance of good.

But this strengthening of the natural vanity of man is not the only effect of the Law. Just as soon as the Will of God becomes known to man as a demand, then man can not wholly exclude from himself the knowledge that his own self-glorification is indeed only a phantom, and that the Will of God has indeed an entirely different purpose than it seemed to have.

If the Will of God is expressed in individual demands, these demands are surely numberless as the sand at the sea. They do not come to man simply today and tomorrow or here and there, but they meet him on every hand. Man is never done with God. Since the individual demand is always only a momentary utterance of the Divine Will, therefore the Will of God never exhausts itself in the individual demand. It is rather an endless task before which man is placed; for demands are proceeding from the Will of God continually. Though the fulfilling of the individual demands may seem easy to man, the inconceivable series of commandments gives him a different opinion. Even the recollection of the accomplished performances can not comfort him in the painful situation in which he finds himself, since it must ever remain doubtful whether finally the fulfilled or the unfulfilled demands shall show a surplus.

But the more man reaches the knowledge that the Will of God can not be satisfied by individual performances, the more will it become clear to him that the Will of God can not be directed to these individual performances. As the Will of God never exhausts itself in the individual demands, so also obedience to the Will of God can not exhaust itself in individual acts. As the Will of God possesses an endless possibility of demands, so also man can only fulfill God's Will, if there be given to him an endless possibility of moral performances. And consequently obedience to the Divine Will can only then be spoken of, when the assurance has been given that each new demand of God will find its fulfillment. The Will of God would thus only then have attained its end, when it would meet not merely with individual *acts* of obedience in man, but the *will* for obedience. It does not depend upon the individual acts, but upon the will. Man is not simply to *render* obe-

dience now and then, but he is to *be* obedient. The Will of God is not to be merely *occasionally* regulative for his conduct, but the direction of his will is to correspond to the Law.

But measured by this rule the task which man is to accomplish presents itself as one entirely incapable of being fulfilled. For how shall man's will obtain a different direction? That is something which man can never gain by a mere resolution. For the direction of the will a single act of the will signifies no more than the single wave for the tide.

The Law accordingly shows itself, in proportion as the moral judgment is deepened, as pointing toward that which man does *not* have. In the fact that the "Thou shalt" is referred to the direction of the will, it becomes undoubtedly certain that the demand containing the "Thou shalt" only intended to make man's inability distinct. The purpose of the Law consists in showing to man the chasm which lies between him and God. It is to bring to man's consciousness again and again the fact that the direction of the human will stands in opposition to the Will of God. It is to remind him continually that he is entirely incapable of willing that upon which the Will of God is directed.

But thus understood the Law seems to man as an instrument of torture. Since the Law makes man conscious only of the weakness of his will without helping him to make possible the fulfilling of the Divine Will, it gives rise to the appearance as though God had given the Law sportively. It appears as if it gave Him pleasure to behold how man exerts himself in vain. Man gets the impression that God is a cruel God, who has His sport with man, and delights himself in the purposeless affliction into which He brings man.

And thus therefore in fact there is a direct line from the wanton over-estimation of self to doubt and hatred of God. The more seriously man takes hold of the moral demands, the more is he estranged from God. The deeper the knowledge of the Law becomes, the greater does the enmity of man against God become. However much the conscience may convince us of the existence of God, that God of whom the conscience speaks man can only hate. The conscience does

not lead us to God. It rather establishes a chasm between God and man. The Law expresses only the opposition in which man stands toward God.

But even this effect of the Law whereby man is led to a doubt and a hatred of God, has its basis only in the natural constitution of man. It has its basis in the fact that man himself, when the Law shows him his extreme weakness, still imagines that this weakness is something abnormal. Experience indeed shows him that it is a false conclusion, if he derives the "Thou canst" from the "Thou shalt." But he does not perceive that the error which lies in this conclusion is contained already in the *premise.* Since it is so self-evident to the natural man that for him, as over against God, it can only depend upon being something or being worth something, he thinks that he must be allowed to take the "Thou shalt" as a safe startingpoint in order, in contradiction to reality, repeatedly to derive the "Thou canst." Instead of holding himself to that which is incontestably certain, namely, the "Thou canst not," in order to draw the conclusion that God will have nothing to do with the "Thou shalt"; instead of allowing himself to be taught by God, man thinks he finds in the Law an ideal picture of his own Self and at least is able in this idea to be something and to be worth something. When the natural man can no longer give himself up to an illusion concerning his *real* nature, then he erects an altar to his *ideal* Self, for the purpose at least thus to hold fast to the glorification of Self as the true purpose of life.

But from the doubt to which the Law leads the Gospel rescues, since it explains the Law and teaches how to know the Will of God rightly. The Gospel does indeed not exhaust itself in the explanation of the Law; though it is engaged in making the meaning of the Law comprehensible, yet the Gospel comes into consideration only so far as it teaches how to recognize the Will of God in the Law, and thereby indicates the significance of the Law in salvation.

The significance of the Gospel as an interpreter is this: That it reveals the *actual* result of the divine activity as the result *willed by God.* The end toward which the divine Will of

God is aimed is quite different from the one which the natural man supposes. For while the natural man thinks that the condition of weakness which the Law shows him is a condition which God hates, this condition is rather one which God desires to have. While the natural man imagines that he is to be like God, and that on this account his will is to be like the Will of God, God rather desires man to be what he is, and to acknowledge God to be what He is. Man is to understand that God is God and that man is His creature. Confession of human weakness is at the same time a testimony to the majesty of God. And therefore the recognition of human weakness is the preliminary condition for bringing about the relation between God and man. God can only be to man what He is, when man has also become to God what he is.

The Gospel has accordingly, so far as it is the interpreter of the Law, the task of giving to God the honor which belongs to Him. The natural man measures the Will of God by the measure of his own self-glory, and since the Will of God contains a purpose which is unknown to him, so the natural man obtains only a distorted conception of God. The Will of God must appear to him either as an impotent will, since it is unable to carry out the demands which it makes upon man, or else it appears to him as a cruel will, which only playfully puts forth demands for whose fulfilment man lacks every capability. But the Gospel solves the difficulty which the natural man introduces into the Will of God. It leads to faith in God, since it destroys the wrong conception as if God's Will could be aimed at anything else than what it effects. It frees the idea of God from all humanization, since it shows that in God's Will there can be no difference between the fixed end and the attained result. The Gospel furnishes an explanation and an elucidation of the Law, since it teaches us to regard the knowledge of human weakness not as a sign of God's *remoteness*, but as a sign of God's *nearness*.

Thus the Gospel in its explanation of the Law does not change anything in the effect which the Law presents. The difference between the Law and the Gospel consists only in the fact that by the one man wrongly understands the Will of

God, while by the other this wrong understanding is removed. But that in spite of this the very same Will of God is considered in both cases, follows clearly from the fact that in both cases the result is the same. For in both cases the end which God attains consists in man becoming little and God great, and the contrast between the lowliness of man and the loftiness of God being brought into the light. Therefore the Law brings a curse only because the will of man resists the Will of God, in that man will not acknowledge his own impotence and God's omnipotence. The need which the Law brings upon man has its basis simply in the fact that man will not acknowledge the effect which the Law actually produces as the effect willed by God, and that he will not believe that God really wishes to effect what He does effect. But since the Gospel convinces that God does not show us our weakness in order that we should go to ruin, but rather in order that we should acknowledge His majesty, the Gospel helps us out of the despair. It shows us that God, who seems to thrust us away from himself, in reality draws us to himself. It shows us that God is not our enemy, but that the ground and cause of our need is only our natural disposition from which God wishes to free us by means of the Law. And in so far the Gospel is then in fact that which it is intended to be—a joyous message. God's Will is not a demanding Will, but it is always a creating, operating, bestowing Will. He does not want us to do something for Him, but He wants to do something for us. The foolish desire to be more than we are, to outstrip ourselves and become like Him, He certainly drives out of us. But since He leads us to humility, He leads us one step forward toward salvation. Since He makes us little by means of the Law, His grace becomes effective in us. God roots out the untruth and creates the truth. He tears down our pride and leads us to see that we are not great lords, but that we live by His grace, and by His grace shall be led to the goal which He has set for us.

The most important thing which we can say about the Gospel, so far as it explains the Law, is this: that it completes in us the work which God has begun in the Law. Consequently,

if we would only abide by the salvation-significance of the Law, we would not fall into despair, but even in our humiliation recognize the grace of God. But the natural constitution of man causes an inconsequence to be joined to the error. And surely there is a difference in meaning, whether *man* seeks salvation through the Law, or whether *God* does it. For although the Law has a salvation-significance not only according to the error of man, but also according to the wisdow of God, yet the salvation in both cases is very different. The natural man presumes to find salvation by changing the relation which exists between him and God; the Gospel, on the contrary, shows us God as He is, by showing us at the same time ourselves as we are. And thus the Gospel is the source of the true recognition of God, and of Self at the same time. The Law gives rise to what seems as if man, at least in his ideal, were to be like God, and this very conception is the means of widely separating man from God. The Gospel then discloses the chasm which lies between God and man, and in this very way it brings man and God together. The natural man views the Law as the way of salvation and thus falls into despair; the Gospel shows us that in being brought to despair by the Law we are on the way to salvation.

But if the most important thing is now said which we can say concerning the Gospel so far as it explains the Law, we shall still be able to add in conclusion that the knowledge which we thus obtain through the Gospel proves itself full of significance in many respects. And indeed we shall still have to show, in addition to the deeper knowledge of God obtained through the Gospel, that at the same time definite conclusions are furnished concerning the moral life.

First, it is certainly clear that from the standpoint of the Gospel, the *moral ideal* is different than from the standpoint of the natural man. The natural man sees sin in the *failing* to fulfill the Law, the Gospel makes it clear that real sin is not the *failing*, but the *striving* to fulfill the Law. It is sin when we are contrary to the Will of God, but it is double sin when we presume to do the Will of God, and thereby interfere with God's prerogative. The inadequateness of our obedience is

not to spur us on to arouse strength and thereby seek to give potency to our Self; our incapacity for fulfilling the Law is rather to make us free from striving to fulfill the Law and spur us on to seek grace. We must give up wishing to give or render something to God. The Gospel makes it evident that God is and wants to be the Giver. The ideal of the natural man consists in his virtue and ability, the ideal of the Gospel consists in the susceptibility of man and willingness to let God give to him. According to the conception of the natural man religion consists in the offering which man presents to God; according to the Gospel religion is essentially *God presenting an offering to man.*

But this changed conception of our relation to God can not exist without an influence in behalf of the conception of our relation to our fellowman. For if we learn that in our relation to God it does not depend upon ability to render, but upon susceptibility, then we shall also learn that we do not attain to personal fellowship with our fellowmen through what we *do* or *are* toward them, but through what we *receive* from them. The moral ideal of Christianity differs from the moral ideal of the natural man in the fact that fundamentally it does not seek moral worth in the action or performance of man, but in his capability to accept from others and to allow himself to be the recipient. While the natural man thinks of being of some service to another, we learn that personal fellowship depends upon the capability and willingness to receive.

But this knowledge we can gain only from our relation to God. For the peculiarity of all life of human fellowship on earth consists in the fact that the relation which one man sustains to another is always a relation of *reciprocal* giving and receiving. Consequently no rule has yet been given in the moral relation itself by which man may determine whether giving or receiving is really valuable. But if our relation to God is the highest form of personal fellowship, and if in our relation to God it does not depend upon giving, but upon receiving, then we have hereby obtained a rule which we seek in vain in the sphere of morality. For then even in the sphere of the moral life the result will be that we do not grow in the

same measure as we introduce our Self or our will into the life of another, but in the same measure as we permit the Self of another and the will of another to have influence in our life.

And next to this transformation of the moral ideal comes this: That *the significance of the moral life* can now be rightly determined. According to the conception of the natural man the Will of God is aimed at our fulfilling the moral demands. Morality is thus the *purpose* of God. We are thus drawn away from God by the moral demands and led out beyond God Himself. But in that morality is represented as the purpose of God, it seems to be something higher than God. According to the conception of Christianity on the contrary the moral demand is intended to lead to God. The moral life does not mean that through it a content would first be given to our fellowship with God. The moral life means rather to bring us to the consciousness that we in our mere creaturely existence can never obtain a full content for our life, that we rather have need of a content and that we can obtain this content only in fellowship with the living God.

But at the same time it becomes evident that the moral references have only a passing significanee. Man must of course emphasize the absolute character of the moral demands in the strongest possible way. But this absolute character of the moral demands only expresses the fact that in the moral demands the Will of *God* makes itself valuable, so that the moral life is seen to be an instrument of *God.* But it is indeed only an *instrument* by which God draws man to Himself. On the other hand the absolute character of the moral demands can never mean to make morality the end or highest purpose of all existence. The highest end of all being and life is always only the person of the living God.

And thus then the Gospel is an interpreter of the Law in so far as it gives a new presentation of God, a new moral ideal and a new conception concerning the meaning of life. But this new conception the natural man is never able to reach. And therefore there is no need of specially emphasizing the fact that a direct line of development does not lead from a wrong conception of the Law to a right one. Or, in other

words, man does not become a Christian by attaining a true understanding of the Law, but the reverse—if man has become a Christian, then he also obtains the correct understanding of the Law. The Gospel is not merely an interpretation of the Law. And therefore the proposition which makes regeneration not the result, but the presupposition for the understanding of the Law, is valid.

ARTICLE III.

WHAT IS THE LUTHERAN DOCTRINE ON PREDESTINATION.

By Rev. F. Kuegele.

In the Epitome the authors of the *Formula of Concord* assign their reason for inserting an article on "God's foreknowledge and election" in these words:

"Concerning this article no public dissension has occurred among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession. But since it is a consolatory article, if treated properly, and by this means the introduction in the future of a controversy likely to cause offense may be avoided, it is also explained in this writing."

What the authors of the *Form of Concord* sought to prevent nevertheless occurred three centuries later. The first complete edition of the Book of Concord was published in 1580, and in 1880 the great controversy on election and predestination arose in the American Lutheran Church, and this lamentable dissension has now continued for more than a quarter century. On the part of the Synodical Conference this controversy was carried on mainly in the German language, and therefore the position which that body occupies is not so generally known among English speaking Lutherans as it deserves to be. Pursuant to the request of the honorable Editors of The Lutheran Quarterly the writer will attempt to present a summary statement of what he and his brethren in the Synodical Conference hold to be the true and therefore the alone Lutheran doctrine

on this subject. To put it in a lucid form the leading points may be comprized in the following six paragraphs.

EXTENT OF GOD'S PREDESTINATION.

"The eternal election of God or predestination, that is God's ordination to salvation, does not extend both over the pious and the wicked, but alone over the children of God who are chosen and ordained unto eternal life before the foundation of the world was laid." Form of Con. Art. XI. Decl. 95.

Predestination extends alone over God's elect children, those who are saved, and it does not comprize all men. God predestinates His children unto eternal life, but He predestinates no man unto eternal death. There is an election of grace unto life, but no election of wrath unto death. There is a predestination unto salvation, but no predestination unto damnation. Those that are saved are predestinated to the end which they reach; those that are lost are not predestinated to the end which they reach. God swears by His own life; "As I live, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked." Ezk. 33 : 11. God has predestined no man to eternal death. There is only a single election unto life, and no double election both unto life and unto death.

This "election of grace" mentioned Rom. 11 : 5, saves and does not condemn. It is a cause of salvation, but never a cause of damnation in any way, shape or form. Not a single soul is lost, because God so predestinated it or passed it by in His election. The grace of God saves and can never be a cause of damnation. Why should God ever have made a decree foredooming men to destruction. All the world is going that way, and this is the will of God to rescue men from destruction. Therefore He has an election of grace, but no election of wrath.

In this point John Calvin states our position fairly well when he writes: "Many, as if they wished to avert odium from God, admit election in such a way as to deny that any one is reprobated. But this is puerile and absurd, because election itself

could not exist without being opposed to reprobation." Institutes Book III, Chap. XXIII, § 1.

What Calvin here calls "puerile and absurd" is our position. We "admit election in such a way as to deny that any one is reprobated." We admit election, but not rejection, and from this position we can not recede, though men pronounce it puerile and absurd. Teaching a single election of grace the Form of Concord holds the mean between Calvinism and Arminianism.

II. BASIS OF ELECTION.

"Our election unto eternal life is not founded on our piety or virtue, but alone on the merits of Christ and the gracious will of His Father." Decl. Art. XI, § 75.

Because it is an election of grace it can have no other foundation, no other source from which it flows than the merits of Jesus Christ. This becomes very evident to the mind from the following consideration: Justice and mercy are essential attributes of God, both immutable. According to His mercy God desired the salvation of our fallen race, but according to His justice sin must be punished. How then could fallen man be united with God? Could God simply condone his guilt and ordain man to eternal life without punishing sin? Certainly not, because this would have involved a violation or a setting aside of His own justice. Before, and independent of atonement for sin, not a single sinner could have been ordained unto eternal life, because divine justice would have raised everlasting protest saying: He is a sinner and "the wages of sin is death." It was an inexorable demand of divine justice that the law must be fulfilled and due punishment for sin must be inflicted before there could be salvation for sinners; for of the law the Lord says: "Verily, I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled." Matt. 5 : 18.

By His infinite wisdom God found a way how to extend mercy to sinners without setting aside justice, The Word was made flesh to make atonement for the sins of Adam and his

children. When about to enter on the public exercise of His mission He said to John: "It becometh us to fulfill all righteousness," and when about to die on the cross He exclaimed: "It is finished," i. e. all righteousness is fulfilled, sin is atoned for, all the demands of divine justice are complied with, and God the Father ratified this by raising Him from the dead. In Christ justice and mercy are united. Justice can no more oppose mercy, it must rather say: I have received what was due me, and mercy can now freely be extended to man. By His work on earth Jesus Christ earned grace for sinners and without His atoning sacrifice there would be no grace for any man.

Here is the fonndation of the electiou of grace. The universality of the redemption in Christ is the source from which it flows, because in Him there is grace for every man.

It is very evident that this doctrine of the Form of Concord is in primo principio, fundamentally, radically different from that of John Calvin. Contemplating God in His sovereignty, Calvin bases his doctrine of election on the divine attributes of justice and mercy, and teaches that God determined to glorify His justice by creating and foreordaining so many men and angels to everlasting destruction, and to glorify His mercy by creating and predestinating so many men and angels to everlasting bliss. See Westminster Confes. chap. III. To Calvin predestination was the starting point of theology, and because he taught that God's absolute decree secured the salvation of the elect, Jesus Christ becomes a very subordinate figure in his system. Not only did he restrict redemption to the elect alone, he also consistently taught that the elect would nevertheless have been saved though Christ had not appeared in the flesh. In Calvin's system Jesus Christ might have been dispensed with.

But to the authors of the Form of Concord Jesus Christ is all in all. They say: "Accordingly this eternal eleetion of God must be considered in Christ, and not apart from or without Christ;" for "in Christ," testifies the holy apostle Paul, "we are chosen before the foundation of the world," as it is

written: "He hath made us accepted in the beloved." Decl. § 65. Without Christ no grace, no election, no salvation.

Here a difference in the use of the word "*grace*" should be noted. When the Calvinist uses the word grace, in relation to predestination, he means the mere, absolute, sovereign good pleasure of God. When the Lutheran uses the word in the same relation he means the good and merciful will of God toward us sinners which is earned by Jesus Christ. When Lutheran and Calvinist use the same word it does not follow that they are saying the same thing, and to note this is important in order to avoid misapprehension.

For the sake of clearness we here subjoin the three different doctrines of predestination with their respective bases:

1. The essential attributes or the absolute will of God.
2. The grace of God merited by Jesus Christ.
3. The foresight or foreknowledge of God.

The first is Calvin's teaching, and is Theocentric. The second is Lutheran doctrine teaching an election of grace alone, and is Christocentric. The third is the doctrine of those who seek a cause of election in man, and is therefore Anthropocentric.

CAUSES OF ELECTION.

"We accordingly reject the following errors:

4. That not God's mercy and Christ's most holy merit alone, but also in us is a cause of God's election, on account of which He has chosen us unto eternal life." Epitome § 20.

We hold that there are these two causes of election: God's mercy and Christ's merit. Moved by His own mercy and on account of Christ's merit God elected men unto salvation. Our position is therefore radically different from that of Calvinism, which allows no cause of election at all, unless the absolute will of God be called a cause. On the passage Rom. 9 : 18: "God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth," Calvin says: "You see how he attributes both to the mere will of God. If, therefore, we can assign no reason why he grants mercy to his people but because such is

his pleasure, neither shall we find any other cause but his will for the reprobation of others. For when God is said to harden or show mercy to whom he pleases, men are taught by this declaration to seek no cause beside his will." Inst. Book III. Chap. 22. § 11. Calvinism renders election absolutely without a cause; we hold that there are two causes of election, and without these there could have been no election unto life.

But just so decidedly do we hold that there are *only* two causes of election, and there is no third cause, no cause of election in man. Here it might seem as though in this point we held the same position with Calvin, but this can appear so only to a cursory reader who will not go to the trouble of examining both doctrines; for also in this point our position differs radically from that of Calvin. Why does Calvin teach that there is no cause of election in man? Very simply, because God had no regard of man at all. Whether man is sinful or sinless did, according to Calvin, not enter into consideration with God, because He exclusively regarded His own pleasure. But why do we hold that there is no cause of election in man? Very simply because "Adam begat a son in his own likeness, after his image." Gen. 5 : 3. There can be no cause of election in man, because man is altogether corrupt. If God would have looked to see, if there was any thing in any man rendering him worthy and eligible unto eternal life He could not have elected a single one; for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God.

Here it becomes necessary to say, how we regard the expression "intuitu fidei," election in view of persevering faith, and what we hold as to the mode of presenting this doctrine which is found with the dogmaticians of the seventeenth century. Quoting one of them will be sufficient for our present purpose.

John Andrew Quenstedt says: "Praedestinatio est actio divinae voluntatis, qua Deus ante jacta mundi fundamenta, non secundum opera nostra, sed ex mera miserecordia secundum propositum et beneplacitum suum, quod proposuit in se intuitu meriti Christi, fide apprehendendi ad vitam aeternam ordinavit

homines virtute Spiritus S. per Evangelii praedicationem in Christum perseveranter et finaliter credituros in laudem gloriae gratiae suae.

Reprobatio est actio liberrimae voluntatis Dei Unitrini, qua is ante jacta mundi fundamenta, ex justo judicio vindicativo, ob praevisum meriti Christi finale repudium, quosdam sua culpa ad interitum aptatos, in aeternum damnare constituit, in laudem gloriosae justitiae suae." Theol. Didactico Polemica, Parte III. Art. de Praed.

"Predestination is an act of the divine will, by which God, before the foundations of the world were laid, not according to our works, but from mere compassion, according to His purpose and good pleasure, which He purposed in Himself, in view of Christ's merit, to be apprehended by faith, ordained unto eternal life men who by the power of the Holy Ghost through the preaching of the Gospel would perseveringly and finally believe in Christ, unto the praise of His glorious grace.

"Reprobation is an act of the most free will of the Triune God by which He, before the foundations of the world were laid, from righteous vindictive justice on account of foreseen final rejection of Christ's merit determined to damn to eternity, those who by their own fault are fitted to destruction, to the praise of His glorious justice."

This reads very much like John Calvin's decrees, but is an altogether different doctrine, because it builds on the foreknowledge of God, whereas Calvin builds on the sovereignty of God; but in this definition the expression "in view of faith" is so limited as to exclude all and every suspicion of Synergistic teaching, and when so used the expression does not of itself involve any heretical doctrine and therefore may be pronounced admissible. We do not condemn a man's teaching simply and only because he uses the expression election in view of faith. We do not accuse the dogmaticians of teaching false doctrine in this article, but we do not agree with the way, mode and manner in which they present it. When we study their doctrine, when we sift it down to its actual value, when we ask, what does it amount to? we will arrive at the conclusion that

virtually it is placing the judgment of the last day before the creation of the world. At the judgment of the last day God will see what has come to pass, who have fallen asleep in Jesus and who have died in unbelief, and He will separate the sheep from the goats and will pronounce sentence on both. Even so, according to the dogmaticians, God, before the foundation of the world, foresaw what would come to pass, that A would die in faith and B in unbelief, and He decreed that A should be saved and B should be condemned. There is in this teaching no heresy and it may be defended by the argument that with God there is no time and to Him both past and future are alike present.

But to us this is the question: Is this the election of grace which is taught in the Scriptures, and is it in harmony with the XI. Art. of the Form of Concord? Here we answer: no, it is neither the one nor the other. The object of this writing is not to bring proof for our position, but simply to say where we stand. Still it may be permitted to mention several points in which there is a manifest discrepancy between the dogmaticians and the Confessions.

The quotation from Quenstedt, given before, shows that he builds his teaching on the forevision or foreknowledge of God, and, therefore, teaches a double election and predestination of some unto life others unto death. He makes predestination extend over all men both good and bad. But the Formula of Concord distinguishes sharply between foreknowledge and election, and says that the foreknowledge of God extends alike over all, both good and bad, but His election or predestination does not extend over all, but alone over His beloved children who are ordained unto eternal life. See our former quot. Here is certainly a marked difference between Quenstedt and the Confession. In vain do we look in the Formula of Concord for language like that in Quenstedt's decree of reprobation. The Formula knows of no such a decree.

Quenstedt's definition of election moreover represents God as looking forward to see what will come to pass and then decreeing that those whom He foresees dying in faith shall be

saved, and those whom He foresees dying in unbelief shall be lost. That is a predestination which does not predestinate. It works nothing and effects nothing. It is not a cause either of salvation or of damnation. It simply takes cognizance of what will be and pronounces sentence accordingly. But the Formula of Concord says: "But the eternal election of God does not only foresee and foreknow the salvation of the elect, but by the gracious will and good pleasure of God in Jesus Christ it is also a cause which works, effects, helps and promotes our salvation and what belongs to it, in which also our salvation is so grounded that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, as it is written: "My sheep shall no man pluck out of my hand." Declaration § 8.

Here an election is taught which is a cause of salvation, which works effectually and brings about those things which are necessary for the obtaining of salvation. And need we say that this teaching of the Confession is in the most perfect harmony with St. Paul! In the eleventh chapter of Rom. he tells of Elias who thought himself the only worshiper of the Lord left in Israel, but the Lord said unto him: "I have reserved to myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal." By what did God reserve that remnant in Israel unto Himself but by His grace working effectually in them? From this fact the apostle concludes: "Even so then at this present time also there is a remnant according to the election of grace." The election of grace preserves a remnant unto the Lord. It is not a mere resolution or decree of God impending over the heads of people, it is a power which effectually works unto salvation. "By grace are ye saved through faith." Can the grace of God be idle and ineffectual? Is it not a divine power working the salvation of men? Even so little can the election of grace be a mere resolution or decree once passed and then to lay idle till to the day of judgment. It is a living, active power which draws men out of darkness unto the light of Christ, and draws them closer and closer to heaven, and so the election of grace in every generation of men preserves a remnant unto the Lord. The election of grace saves.

It is a divine power drawing the souls of men out of the common destruction.

Here it certainly becomes very clear that the election of grace has not and can not have a corresponding election of wrath running along parallel with it, else would the same God by His grace be working the salvation and by His wrath be working the damnation of men. The very statement is sufficient to demonstrate the impossibility thereof. In His election God looks alone to His own grace and the merit of Christ. Moved by these two He elects men, and these two, His grace and the merit of Christ, never move Him to elect and predestinate a man to destruction.

IV. CALLING AS RELATED TO ELECTION.

"That many are called and few chosen, is not caused by the call of God which is made through the Word, as though God declared: 'Externally through the Word I do indeed call you all to my kingdom to whom I give my Word, but in my heart I intend it not for all, but only for some few; for it is my will that the greater part of those whom I call through the Word should not be enlightened or converted, but should be and remain condemned, although in the call through the Word I declare myself otherwise to them.' For this would be ascribing contradictory wills to God. That is, in this manner it would be taught that God who is the everlasting truth contradicts Himself, when at the same time God rebukes this levity even in men when a person declares one thing and means and intends another in his heart." Declaration § 34.

Probably this paragraph was inserted in the Confession with reference to Calvin's teaching, and it is only on account of his doctrine that this point must be mentioned here. To reduce his doctrine to a reasonable system Calvin of necessity had to teach two calls of God, the one effectual the other ineffectual. He writes: "There are two kinds of calling. For there is a universal call, by which God, in the external preaching of the Word, invites all, indiscriminately, to come to him, even those to whom he intends it as a savour of death, and an occasion of

heavier condemnation. There is also a special call, with which he, for the most part, favors only believers, when, by the inward illumination of his Spirit, he causes the Word preached to sink into their hearts. Yet sometimes he also communicates it to those whom he only enlightens for a season, and afterwards forsakes on account of their ingratitude and strikes with greater blindness." Inst. Book III, chap. XXIV, § 8. According to Calvin the Gospel must be preached to the multitude, yet not with the intention that all should come, but alone that the elect in that multitude may come; for he writes: "When the doctrine of salvation is offered to all for their effectual benefit, it is a corrupt prostitution of that which is declared to be reserved particularly for the children of the church." chap. XXII, § 10.

Our doctrine is embodied in the paragraph quoted from the Form of Concord. There is only *one* God and He has only *one* call which in the Gospel He extends to all those who hear it. As he has created all men unto eternal life and has redeemed all in Jesus Christ, so He also seriously, earnestly and effectually calls all men unto Christ. We do of course not mean to say that God does not frequently grant greater grace to some than to others, according to the word: "Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound," Rom. 5 : 20. God treats all alike in that He offers to each one the grace needed to believe and be saved. We are also cognizant of the fact that many thousands hear the preaching of the Gospel to their own greater damnation, Matt. 11 : 20-24, but this is not owing to any difference in the call of God, as though it had not been effectual. When men resist the calling of God and put the word from them they deprive themselves of salvation, but this is no proof that the call which came to them was ineffectual. God is not a hypocrite that He would call men with an ineffectual calling. The call which comes to men through the Gospel is a divine call and is always effectual, yet God does not so call men as to deprive them of the power to resist His Spirit.

Why is it then that some hearers believe and are saved, others believe not and are lost? John Calvin casts up this

question in the following form: "The same sermon is addressed to a hundred persons; twenty receive it with the obedience of faith; the others despise, or ridicule, or reject, or condemn it. If it be replied, that the difference proceeds from their wickedness and perverseness, this will afford no satisfaction; because the minds of others would have been influenced by the same wickedness, but for the correction of Divine goodness," B. III chap. XXXIV, § 12. Here Calvin, only in a somewhat different relation, touches on that same mystery which, at another place, he pronounces "puerile and absurd." As he here says so it truly is. The eighty believe not *purely by their own wickedness*, and the twenty believe *purely by the operation of divine grace in them.* But this gives no satisfaction to Calvin. He wants the matter explained and he solves it in this way: The eighty are predestinated to destruction, are not redeemed and are called only with the external call through the word, and therefore they *can not* believe; the twenty are predestinated unto life and are called with the internal calling of the Spirit and therefore they *must* believe. Yes, that solves the mystery; that makes it plain to reason and does away with all difficulty. But this solution does not take with the people now-a-days. We twentieth century folk do not at all fancy the idea of being a sort of chattel or toy of inexorable decrees. The opposite way of solving this mystery is now in vogue. It runs in this wise: Those eighty are so incomprehensibly wicked that they refuse the grace of God; the twenty excell in the possession of some virtue, or in the performing or omitting of some act, or in holding themselves passive and so rendering it possible for the Spirit of God to have His work in them. Yes, this too solves the mystery, removes the difficulty and makes the matter plain to reason. And this solution has this prerogative to commend it to people that it leaves a free agency to man to decide for himself both ways, or at least in some way or in some measure to promote his own salvation, and therefore it is so pleasing to us moderns. But where will the word remain: "By grace are ye saved,

through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, LEST ANY MAN SHOULD BOAST." Eph. 2, 8.

And how do we explain the difference in the result of that sermon? Many a struggle did it cost us in years gone by to prevent our own reason from diving in and attempting a solution of that mystery, but by the grace of God we have, as we hope permanently, become settled to let that mystery alone. We hold the position which Calvin in the last quotation from his Institutes pronounces unsatisfactory. We therefore insist on these four things: 1. The same call comes to them all; 2. The same depravity is in them all; 3. The eighty remain unbelieving alone by their own perverseness; 4. The twenty are no better; of themselves they would do the same, "but," using Calvin's words, "for the correction of Divine goodness."

Salvation is purely of God and not at all of man; destruction is purely of man and not at all of God. Let them stand side by side and attempt no bridge building. In the light of glory we shall know.

V. PERSEVERANCE IN FAITH.

"Here are condemned such as teach, that those who have once been justified can not fall again." Augsburg Conf. Art. 12.

This point also must be here mentioned only on account of Calvin's doctrine that the elect, when once converted, can never again fall from grace. In conversion the stamp of adoption is fixed on them indelibly, and though it may be obscured temporarily it can never be effaced totally. As they are absolutely elected and absolutely called, so they are absolutely secured against falling away. Hence the Calvinistic maxim: "Once in grace, always in grace." And though the elect fall into sin and for a time continue therein, yet the stamp of adoption remains on them. Calvin writes: "Nor is it to be doubted, that when Christ intercedes for the elect, he prays for them the same as for Peter, that their faith may never fail. Hence we conclude, that they are beyond all danger of falling away, because the intercessions of the Son of God for their perseverance in piety have not been

rejected. What did Christ intend we should learn from this, but confidence in our perpetual security, since we have once been introduced into the number of his people?" Book III, chap. XXIV, § 6.

While we also hold that God's elect children will all be saved and none of them will be finally lost, we reject the idea of an indelible mark being fixed on the soul in conversion and that the elect, when once converted could never fall. They may fall away temporarily, and when they do they cease to be the children of God and become children of wrath until they are converted again like David and Peter. We moreover hold that those who believe for a time and then fall away and are lost are true believers, heirs to all the riches of Christ as long as they believe, and their falling away is not owing to their having been called with a deceitful call, but alone to the blandishments of Satan, the world and their own flesh.

VI. CERTAINTY OF ELECTION AND SALVATION.

"In order that the hearts of men may possess comfort and hope which are real and infallible we refer them, as Paul does, to the divine promises of grace in Christ, teaching them that they must believe that God grants them eternal life, not on account of our works or the fulfillment of the law, but for Christ's sake. Apology Art. III.

May we Christians be sure that we are God's elect children and shall be saved? May we be so positively certain that we shall not perish, but have everlasting life as to live cheerfully in this world and look forward to eternity with joy and gladness? This question enters deeply into the life of a Christian; for if we could not be certain of our election and salvation we must be like a reed swayed by every breeze and must look forward to death and eternity with apprehension and fear. It is very manifest that any doctrine which does not direct Christians to an immoveable foundation and an infallible hope can not be "according to godliness." 1. Tim. 6, 3.

To set forth what position we occupy on this point we must again mention the three distinct systems of doctrine: Syner-

gism, Lutheranism, Calvinism. Under the first we comprise all those who ascribe a free agency to man, or who teach that man must do his part toward his salvation, be it more or less. This is the common opinion of our age and finds expression in the saying: Do your part and God will do His part. Is that teaching of such a character that it could give full and undoubting assurance of their eternal salvation to the souls of men? How could it? What man can know whether he will always do his part in the future? Man is fallible and ready to halt, and because Synergism introduces a *human* element into the Christian's faith it must necessarily deprive him of complete assurance, and leave him to be swayed to and fro between hope and fear.

To what the Confessions of our Church direct the Christian is clear from the quotation given. They direct men to the foundation of the apostles and prophets in which Jesus Christ is the chief cornerstone, and teaching men to build on this immutable foundation they direct them to an infallible hope and complete certainty of grace and salvation; "for alone the faith of the heart looks to God's promises, and alone faith is the certainty on which the heart safely rests," says the Apology, Art, III, § 27. Our Confessions teach a certainty of faith, that faith which rests on an infallible foundation and is itself infallible. This is of course not teaching a certainty which could never be lost. When the Christian lets the word of promise go and discards Christ he can see only certain destruction before him, but as long and as far as the Christian holds the word of promise he has an infallible certainty which cannot deceive and cannot fail.

Teaching an absolute election and an absolute calling John Calvin consistently also teaches an absolute certainty of election and salvation. At first hearing this sounds like godly teaching, but when we come to examine Calvin's absolute certainty of grace and salvation it soon resolves itself into a very uncertain, fallible and delusive certainty. After speaking of common faith, as he styles it, Calvin goes on to say: "But very different is the meaning of 'full assurance,' (πληροφοριας,)

which is always attributed to faith in the Scriptures; and which places the goodness of God, that is clearly revealed to us, beyond all doubt. But this cannot take place, unless we have a real sense and experience of its sweetness in ourselves." Inst. Book III, chap. II, § 15. Calvin teaches people to judge of their election and salvation by "a real sense and experience of the sweetness of God's goodness," i. e. by the sensations which they experience in their own hearts. Can the emotions and sensations of the heart afford an immutable and infallible foundation? May they not be deceptive! May not nervous excitement produce peculiar sensations? Are not a man's feelings more changeable than the weather? Surely this is teaching men to build their certainty of salvation on a foundation of sand, and this sandy foundation Calvin himself converts into veritable quicksand when he writes: "Experience shows, that the reprobate are sometimes affected with emotions very similar to those of the elect, so that, in their own opinion, they in no respect differ from the elect." l. c. § 11. If this be so who then can know whether the sensation of sweetness which he experiences is not deceptive? Thus Calvin's absolute certainty reduces itself to a very uncertain, fallible and delusive certainty which may satisfy fanatics and enthusiasts, but not sober minded Christians who want an immutable and infallible foundation on which to build their hopes.

We are satisfied with the certainty of our soul's salvation which the word of our God affords. "For ever, O Lord, thy word is settled in heaven." Ps. 119, 89.

ARTICLE IV.

THE ERROR OF MISSOURI CONCERNING PREDESTINATION AND CONVERSION. HISTORICAL SKETCH.

By Rev. George J. Fritschel, A.M.

In 1868 Dr. C. F. W. Walther, the leader of the Missouri Synod, began to come forward with doctrinal views concerning predestination or election that were not at all in harmony with the traditional Lutheran teaching. Prof. Gottfried Fritschel of the German Iowa Synod most emphatically defended the teaching of the Lutheran Church as handed down by the great dogmaticians against the assertion that it was synergistic. Dr. Walther dropped the matter until 1877 when he came forward again. The controversy broke out in public in 1879, the Anti-Missourians being represented especially by F. A. Schmidt (a former assistant of Walther), Stellhorn, Loy, Allwardt and the brothers Fritschel. The Ohio Synod withdrew from the Synodical Conference, the Wisconsin and Minnesota Synods wavered, but finally in a joint session decided for Missouri; Missouri adopted 13 Theses of Walther without discussion; the Norwegians finally split after years of struggle.

Walther at first undertook to persuade his adherents that he represented the historical view and only rejected a false term "*intuitu fidei*," but his opponents finally proved that this was historically untrue. So the Missourians, who up to that time had proved all their doctrinal eccentricities by appeals to the "fathers," claimed that they maintained the Scripture doctrine against a sophisma of the "fathers." Prof. Stoeckhardt, who had come over from Germany, undertook in 1880 to prove the correctness exegetically. The opponents of Missouri followed two lines of argument: Iowa on the one hand especially emphasized that the grace of God is universal and would save all unless man prevented his salvation by malicious repugnance or self-hardening; and this is also the cause that not all are elected; Ohio on the other hand followed the positive line using the phraseology of the "fathers:" God has chosen the

elect "*intuitu fidei.*" Iowa and Ohio though fighting the error separately always recognized each other. Both went on record most clearly that salvation and especially faith is wholly and entirely (*in solidum*) a work of grace alone; and both most energetically rejected all forms of synergism attributed to them by their opponents.

Missouri, especially Dr. F. Pieper, has drawn the controversy very adroitly to the question of conversion, as there the matter could be construed to greater disadvantage for the opponents—especially for Ohio. The representation given by Missouri up to this date has been rejected as a myth. It does not require very great learning to recognize the doctrine ascribed by Missouri to its opponents as crude heresy; the leaders of Missouri have made it exceedingly easy for themselves to rout their (imaginary) opponents—evading the real questions at issue. Protesting against any and all conclusions from their own doctrine they draw an endless number of conclusions from the statements of Iowa and Ohio—conclusions that are mere fallacies and have always been rejected by their "*should-be*" authors.

The recent Intersynodical Conferences have brought the question into discussion for a third time, but on a new basis. The question in the first combat was: Is the Lutheran doctrine "*intuitu fidei*" synergistic or not? (Walther finally admitted that it is not). In the second one the question was: Is the "*intuitu fidi*" a Lutheran doctrine or not? (Missouri finally admitted: It has been such for 300 years). In the present controversy we have to settle the question: Is Missouri's doctrine scriptural or not? Not very much has thus far been written as to the question at issue; the matter was hardly opened at the Ft. Wayne meeting. (Dr. Stockhardt has an interesting article in Oct. "*Lehre und Wehre*"). An exegetical explanation of all main passages by the author is to be published soon by the author of this article. In order to save its interpretation of the respective passages Missouri has abandoned the old Lutheran rule that all explanation and interpretation must be in harmony with the other Scripture doctrine (analogy of faith, Detroit). An explanation in contradiction to other Scrip-

ture doctrine has been considered false until this day in the Lutheran Church.

II. THE CONTROVERSY CONCERNING PREDESTINATION.

It may be advisable to follow the historical development inversely: 1. The Scripture doctrine; 2. The Lutheran doctrine; 3. Is this Synergism?

I. THE SCRIPTURE DOCTRINE.

The main Scripture passages on which this doctrine is fully founded, are, according to the Formula of Concord (14): Rom. 8 : 33 ff, Eph 1 : 3 ff, Matth. 22. The doctrine is referred to also in other passages as 2 Thess. 2 : 13. 2 Tim. 1 : 9. 1 Pet. 1 : 1. 2 : 10. Act. 13 : 48. Joh. 10 : 28. 1 Thess. 1 : 4. Rom. 9–11. But the Confessions (and their authors) also unmistakably assert that election is revealed to us in such passages as Joh. 3 : 16; 6 : 40. Mark 1 : 15—that is, in universal grace and mercy. In presenting what we find to be scriptural doctrine I do not consider it necessary to name the individual passages, as they are well known. I briefly sum up thus:

God in His infinite mercy from eternity decreed that he would not condemn mankind as they would deserve, but would have mercy upon them and send his Only Son to become the Mediator and the propitiation for all. He furthermore decreed that He would offer the merit of Christ through the Word and sacraments. He also decreed that he would efficiently work repentance and faith in all that do not resist maliciously. Thus far the decree is universal and refers to all the world and precedes all consideration of human action.) But God further decreed that he would receive into grace and accept as his children each and every one and all believers. He further decreed that he would sanctify each and every and all believers: that he would protect, guide, pardon and sustain each and every and all believers: that he would continue to work through the means of grace, increase his gifts and bring to a glorious outcome what he had begun in each, every and all believers, provided only that they would continue to use the means of grace through which alone he works and would faithfully use the gifts bestowed upon

them. He lastly decreed that he would at the end receive into His eternal glory each and every and all dying in that faith which He himself has worked, continued and kept in them. This is the sum and substance contained in the Scripture concerning predestination. And this doctrine considered as a Divine decree established in eternity preceding all human action to be executed in time is the Scripture doctrine concerning election. It is the message of the universal gospel, yet this gospel is considered in a special way: 1. As a Divine decree now revealed in the Word; 2. Considered not simply as a purpose but taken as actually realized in its limitation to and in reference to the believers.

The same will of God is however also revealed to us in another way in the Word. The prophecies of Christ and his apostles show what will take place when this time of grace has expired. What is the full and final consummation of the way of salvation? On the great day of judgment there will be two herds—one at the right, and one at the left hand of Christ. And to one each human being will be assigned. The rule according to which that assignment will take place, will not be time, age, race, education, wealth, manners, or merit, &c., &c. The great judge will consider only one thing: the relation to the Savior in which the person departed from life—whether "*in Christ*" or *without Christ.* This may be briefly expressed thus: In view of final faith found by Christ the one will be assigned to the herd at the right—in view of final infidelity the other will be assigned to that at the left. And this judgment at the last day is merely the publication of what takes place in the hour of death. The effect or non-effect of universal grace (faith or infidelity) is the rule according to which Scripture says all human beings are to be divided for eternity. The cause and source of this saving faith in the elect of that day is solely and wholly the universal grace now extant and offered universally in the means of grace (and not an imaginary special grace invented by the predestinarians). The cause and source of infidelity is not some limitation or lack or fault or inefficiency, &c., &c., of grace, but solely and wholly man's malicious rejection of the very same grace

which saves all believers and which also would have saved these enemies of God. The blessed receive the unmerited, free, universal grace and mercy of God; the damned receive the punishment for rejecting this very same undeserved mercy and grace of Him who has done and does all to save ALSO THEM. The very last cause of damnation in these rebels is their malicious repugnance against God, their Savior.

It is clear that both doctrines are one and the same gospel of universal salvation. In the first way the whole doctrine is viewed from the position of a believer who investigates the cause and source of his salvation (God's eternal love); in the second way it is considered in its historical completion or frustration. The one answers the question: Am I an elect and shall I be saved? (Answer: God has planned and prepared your present, past and future salvation from eternity),—the other: Why are some saved whilst others are damned? (Answer: Faith makes the difference). Both questions have absolute Scripture authority and are in absolute harmony without a trace of contradiction. The doctrine of election (to use an expression of Selneccer's) is the same as that of justification, only that election is considered as the eternal decree of God once hidden but now revealed as such; justification is considered as the actual execution of that decree. Or to quote a modern author (K. Mueller): "Belief in election is the necessary expression of justifying faith. Justification and election do not exclude each other in the gospel of Paul, but demand and supplement each other." It is true the doctrine of election is not that of rejection, and we must consider them separately. But it is not true that the two are contradictory. You can never place the reverse side of this page upon the side you are reading now; yet the two pages make the one sheet: you cannot separate them. Salvation and damnation are the two sides.

Considered in its scriptural simplicity the doctrine is as great and unfathomable a mystery as is the doctrine of God's adorable universal grace and mercy, in itself it is now no more a mystery than the gospel (being revealed). Election as taught by the Scripture is no less and no more than the uni-

versal gospel applied to each and every believer. We have ONE source—God's universal love to fallen mankind; the ONE mediator: Christ; the ONE condition: through faith and by faith; the ONE means: word and sacraments; the ONE object in realization: all believers; the ONE prevention: unbelief; the ONE end: faith in time and salvation in eternity. Scripture knows nothing of the theory that God saves only a few *PRE*-selected ones ON the general way ot salvation—so to say a special track on the general highway to salvation (or a hand in the glove of the gospel—F. Pieper). Scripture knows nothing of a mysterious decree designating and appointing ONLY a few in preference to others (*alii prae aliis*) for salvation, in consequence of which mysterious decree these, all these and only these, can be and are and must be saved as sure as God is God. These declarations of Missouri's theology are not drawn from the clear fountain of all Christian knowledge, but from the lagoons of philosophy (human thought) for which (as is generally the case) AFTERWARDS Scripture authority has been sought (Chemnitz). These foundation stones of Missourian doctrine are based on the quicksands of human imagination, and not on the eternal rock of salvation.

II. THE LUTHERAN DOCTRINE OF ELECTION.

Luther and many of his colaborers came from the school of Augustine. They did not at once (so Luther states himself) cast off all unsound elements of the Augustinian theology, but only gradually in consequence of understanding the Scriptures more thoroughly. It is a much debated question whether Luther ever was a strict predestinarian. Outside of Missouri there are few who claim that he remained one. The principles which he again and again lays down for all thoughts concerning God's will or decrees, will lead us anywhere EXCEPT into the predestinarian camp. One cannot accept these and remain an Augustinian. That great successor of Luther, Chemnitz, followed these principles as also that pupil of Brenz who joined him in the composition of Article IX in the Form of Concord. We can plainly see the beneficial influence of that symbolum in the publications following its adoption: some authors RE-

construe the theological method (Heerbrand, Wigand). The declarations of article XI made an end to all unsound doctrine in regard to predestination in the Lutheran Church.

In that article we find the definition 15–23; this is further developed 23–33 resp. 65–77. It is also shown that those who are not chosen are rejected, not in consequence of any lack of God's love, but in consequence of THEIR disobedience 34–42; 78–86.

To explain what is confessed in that article would be simply a repetition of what I have declared to be the Scripture doctrine. This doctrine confessed here, is scientifically developed more fully in the writings of its authors and of some of the original signers, Chemnitz, Selneccer, Chytraeus and Heerbrand, Hafenreffer, Francisci, Vogel.

This presentation of the doctrine concerning election is generally called the FIRST mode or *tropus*. It differs from Augustine's presentation in developing the doctrine not *a priori* but *a posteriori* as demanded by Luther. The term "*elect*" is here taken in a wider sense than by Augustine, Calvin and Walther. Each and every Christian is called an "elect," BECAUSE AS LONG as he is a believer, he is on the safe road to salvation. In case one ceases to believe he is no longer an "elect," as he has left that road. Here the term (as in the Bible) is a synonym for "saint." The authors using this tropus furnish sufficient proof of this. I will quote only a few (for more cf. Iowa Kirchl-Zeitschrift, 1905, No. 3–4.)

We call all believers and all who are extant by faith as children of God "elect" according to the doctrine of Paul (1 Thess. 1 : 4, Col. 3 : 12) and 2 Pet. 1 : 10. As long as a man retains faith and in this manner is by faith among the children and heirs of God, so long he must be reckoned among the elect. As soon as he loses faith he turns from an elect to be a reprobate and from a child of God a child of wrath. If he returns by repentance and faith to grace, he again becomes an elect from a reprobate. But those who remain steadfast in faith, they retain by faith the grace of election and remain in the number of the elect children and heirs of God. From this it is evident that also the those who believe only for a time may be called elect correctly during the time of their faith. But the steadfast ones are adorned principally and more approximately with this designation. So say the representative theologians of Wuertemberg against Huber.

The Strasburg Concordia of 1563 (the first official declaration on election by Andreae): "The eternal decree of God has been already revealed in the word of God, as the whole human generation is

subject by sin to the wrath of God, so likewise as many as believe in Christ shall receive the grace of God and eternal life."

Joh. Wigand 1585: "For the gospel is the revelation of the decree of God, whom he has predestined to eternal life (viz: all) for what reason (viz: on account of the merit of Christ and by grace) and how (viz: if they believe and remain in faith.")

Francisci in his Compend: "The gospel is the revelation of divine predestination or election, since God has revealed his entire counsel concerning our salvation by the Son. The doctrine of the gospel concerning predestination is contained in the following passages: Hez. 33 : 1-11 ; Joh. 3 : 16 ; 5 : 24 ; 6 : 40."

The official Apology of the Form of Concord, 1583: "We are not ignorant of the fact that all who truly have repentance are elect, and that such people certainly should draw the conclusion that they are elect and children of God in and by Christ, in whom they believe. For to whom God gives eternal life through faith in his Son (Joh. 3 : 36) he must indeed be elect and God's dear child."

Andreae in his Theses of 1586: "God's word teaches us concerning the revealed God—that in Christ as many as believe are elect."

Selneccer: "Every one who has been called to the doctrine of the gospel and subjects himself to the word of God, has been predestined and elected unto eternal salvation. Whosoever believeth in the Son has life eternal, that is, he is elect." "It is sufficient for us to know in which we are justified by God, absolved from sin, received as children, that is, are predestined and elected unto eternal life and salvation." "The predestination and general promises are limited to those who believe in the word and to be referred to the order made by God himself, namely, all penitent and truly believing in Christ Jesus."

Matthaeus Vogel heads a paragraph in which he treats of predestination with the words in boldfaced type: "All believers are God's elect."

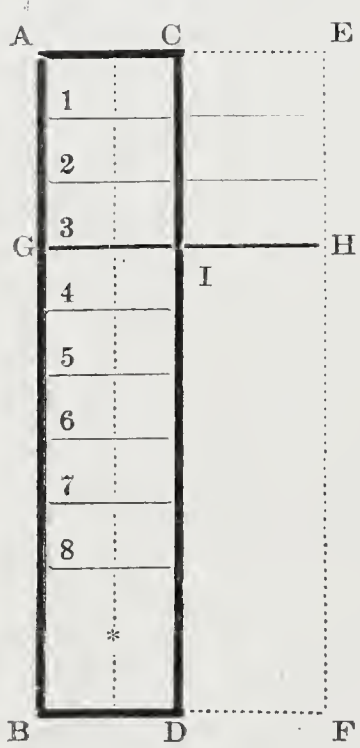
It is typical for Paul's and Luther's doctrine concerning predestination that it is not the foundation or cornerstone (as in the Reformed system), but the KEYSTONE. Paul discusses the doctrine of election (as Luther emphasizes) not in the first, but in the last chapter, of the doctrinal discussion AFTER the great doctrines of sin, salvation, justification. Chemnitz had planned a special article on predestination in his *Loci* but it would not have been placed in the first parts (they were finished). In the Symbolical Books it is likewise the keystone and not the cornerstone of the doctrine. And this is the proper place for it as the resume and comprehension of the whole doctrine of soteriology. It comprehends (as the Form of Concord correctly states) the whole counsel, decree, will and purpose of God concerning our redemption, call, conversion, justification, sanctification and final salvation. (Dr. Jacobs very correctly assigns it the proper place at the end in his summary—as I note from a Review).

The SECOND trope—Aegidius Hunnius of Marburg in his controversies with the Reformed and later on with Huber brought about a change of terms and theological presentation. Being in constant conflict with the Reformed, who were gradually intruding into Hessia, he manfully fought them until the end. And in order to do so more successfully he accepted THEIR terms in THEIR restriction, also THEIR development of doctrine *a priori* and proved that each and every state-

ment made by them was wrong. He proved that Scripture does not know their two-fold predestination, but only a predestination for life; that this predestination is not absolute, disregarding entirely whether man believes in consequence of God's grace or not, but that God indeed considers whether man believes or not: only those who persevere to the end are to be saved; that God does not work irresistibly, &c. By predestination he does not understand merely the saving will or the counsel of God from which salvation flows, but rather the final decree which makes the difference between those who are saved and those who are lost in the judgment day.

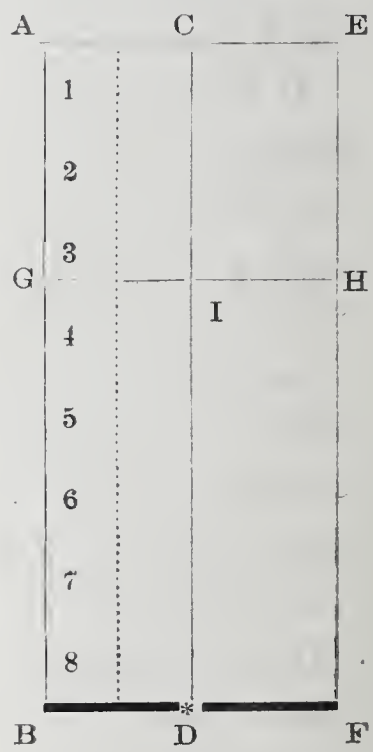
That this description and development of doctrine differs formally but not at all materially from that of the Form of Concord and is least of all synergistic is fully established by the fact that the surviving author of the Form of Concord (Chytraeus) did not object, that a great many of the first subscribers who had used the first tropus accepted also the second, that others who continued to use only the first recognized Hunnius as orthodox. Space forbids a detailed comparison of the two modes. A graphical representation will be interesting for those who desire a further insight into this comparison.

TROPE 1.



A E G H—Universal grace over all.
A C G I—Same over believers.
C I E H—Same over unbelievers.
G I—Justification.
G I B D—God's work in believers.
B D—Final glorification.
D F—Final damnation.
A B C D—1st trope=election.
B D—2nd trope=election.
D F—Reprobation,
*=Point of view.
····· (dotted line)=the individual.
Numbers refer to F. C. § 14–22.
C I D—"Faith makes the difference."

TROPE 2.



III. IS THE INTUITU FIDEI SYNERGISTIC?

This was the claim against which Prof. Gottfried Fritschel protested in 1871 and against which the doctrine had to be defended later on. The continuous cry of Missouri has been to this day that Iowa and Ohio defend the error of Synergism on its Latermanian type. Of late it has been admitted (what was formerly denied) that Ohio and Iowa in the defense FULLY represented the declarations of the "fathers." No doubt the phrase *intuitu fidei* may be, has been, and is today, used in a wrong sense to express heretic doctrines. The old Greek and Latin fathets used it in synergistic sense; the Arminians use it so today, most of the modern German theologians are synergistic and are further away from Scripture truth than Augustine. But the old Lutheran doctrine which finds its expression in the phrase *intuitu fidei* is not in any way synergistic but strictly "ENergistic," to use a new phrase. For the fathers teach with unabated zeal that faith in all its component parts and consistent parts, yea, all preparation preceding faith, is wholly and entirely a work of grace, which is not CO-efficient with human energy but PREcedes it, causes and produced ALL human energy for good. And any one who accuses Iowa or Ohio, who represent this doctrine, of heresy, must either have fallen away himself from fundamental doctrines of the Reformation or does not know what Iowa and Ohio teach.

It is an ABSOLUTELY false and incorrect charge which Missouri has made that they do teach synergism. We will not deny that some phrases used MIGHT be construed in such a sense; but the authors and synods have time and again denounced such construction as false. They have left no doubt that they adhere to divine grace as the ONE and ONLY source of ALL that is good in man not only in conversion but also after conversion. By the *intuitu fidei* as used by them no more and no less is to be expressed than the WHOLE doctrine as held for 300 years by the Lutheran Church: that salvation is the result and effect of divine grace alone, and, that damnation comes from man's malicious repugnance against this very same saving grace frustrating the efficiency of universal grace—and lastly, that these two are not

contradictory, but the one and same doctrine in its realization, or frustration. In THIS sense Iowa has always approved the line of argument by Ohio, even though it did not use the same development or phrases, but formulated it from the negative point of view.

It is only a modification of synergism which Laterman (the pretended patron of Missouri's opponents) held, that God works the POSSIBILITY of self-decision in man; but man uninfluenced by God must decide either for or against grace. This decision is imagined by Laterman to be done by man with his OWN strength, i. e., NOT God works also the very act of will FOR God. Also this error, which is indeed widespread in modern theology, has been rejected by Iowa and Missouri. And all declarations assigning THIS doctrine to their opponents are without foundation.

III. THE CONTROVERSY CONCERNING CONVERSION.

I. Close Connection of the Two Doctrines.

Conversion is the doctrine concerning man's removal from the state of sin and damnation to the state of grace and salvation. No one can thoroughly understand the doctrine as taught by the Scriptures without considering the facts contained in the doctrine of predestination. Predestination is conceded by all to be an eternal act of God. It is also conceded that this eternal decree is executed by God exactly as it has been decreed from eternity. Whenever one has a wrong view of one doctrine this will show itself in the other one. The two must fit together as the ring and the finger, or glove and hand. Hence in all controversies the two questions have been closely connected.

Extreme Augustinism (Calvinism) assumes a twofold predestination: God has destined some unto damnation (and these are damned) and some unto salvation (and these must be saved). None of the lost have ever been really called, converted or saved. Modified Augustinism assumes only a predestination for life and merely a preterition or non-election of the others (whether this is declared or not). The elect ARE saved; they must be saved as sure as God is God; God will cease to

be God if one of the elect were lost. The others work out their own damnation. Why God has not elected all—why God has elected the one in preference to the other (*alii prae aliis*) is a typical question peculiar to Augustinism in which the *proton pseudos* (the principle of error) is expressed. The question: *Cur alii prae aliis?* contains the error itself as an assumed fact. Hence also a contradiction between election and universal grace is found—which the Augustinians hope to solve in eternity, BUT NOT before, whilst Lutheranism denies all this.

Walther's doctrine is a type of Augustinism: it assumes an absolute predestination of some individuals in preference to others, which CAN not and MUST not be harmonized with universal grace. It is absolute, for it not only precedes all human action (which is correct), but also disregards all human relation towards converting grace in the processes of conversion (especially the malicious repugnance). It converts and saves the pre-select in preference to others with an actually irrisistible though not compulsory grace (although the term is condemned). The damned work out their own damnation. God might and could have elected also them all, if he only wanted to. Why he did not do so, this is the mystery of predestination. The typical and distinctive doctrine of Lutheranism concerning natural and malicious repugnance is denounced as synergism. It is denied that malicious repugnance in the historical sense is the last cause of damnation.

II. THE DOCTRINE CONCERNING CONVERSION.

The Form of Concord distinguishes four conditions of man: 1. Before the fall; 2. Natural state (after the fall, before conversion); 3. In grace (after conversion, before death); 4. In glory (after death). We consider only the second and third state. It has been customary to consider first, the second, and then the third; let us reverse this order so as to proceed from the certain to the disputed parts.

A. AFTER CONVERSION.

After conversion we consider man in a double respect: in as far as he is regenerate and in as far as he is the old man. Our

catechism knows nothing of absolute perfection in this life but teaches that baptism signifies " that the old Adam in us should by daily sorrow and repentance be drowned and die, with all sins and evil lust and again a new man daily come forth and arise, who shall live before God in righteousness and purity forever." We find a continuous struggle going on between the old man and the new man. Wherever this struggle ceases there new life ceases. Christian perfection consists in the continuous supremacy of the new over the old. The will has been renewed in converted man and a Christian has the will to do good and the good only. But the danger is not excluded that the old may once more become supreme, that human will may again become captive under old Adam and drive out the new. Man living in the Spirit may die again. Now the question is: WHENCE has converted man the power to will and to do good. It is false to assume even AFTER conversion such a synergism that man does the good by some inherent or implanted power of his own; neither are there two CO-efficient causes: God and man. There is NEVER such synergism. As long as we live in this life it must always be as Augustine prays: '*Da mihi quod jubes.*' We must recognize also after conversion God's " EN-ergism " in us. GOD must cause us to will the good and WE then have the will; GOD must cause us to do and then WE do the good. A christian's continual prayer is that God would not leave him alone, because he knows that THEN his new life must cease. Yet God's ENergism also after conversion is not irresistible. Luther correctly says that God can not be resisted working with revealed power as he does in nature, but (and this is *very poor* Augustinism ") that he can be resisted and his work CAN be frustrated when he is working with hidden power through the means of grace. Scripture teaches us that some DO resist the Spirit that dwells within them and drive him from their hearts. How is this possible that frail human will can drive out the Spirit of God? How should we understand that? The working of the Spirit within us is a mystery to us; but not the fact. In each and every case where a regenerate man falls from grace, we know THAT it is entirely his own

fault. We know the fact; we do not know the process. We know that (but not how) he drives the Spirit of God away by malicious, obstinate repugnance and destroys God's saving work. Not every sin at once makes a man fall from grace, but when sin gains supremacy within him, THEN he is no longer a child of God, but he has become a prodigal son, who is lost unless he return again. There is a decision for God in the continuous strife within man, for every victor over sin and its endeavors is such a decision. But there may be also a decision against God: The former in consequence and by virtue of God's ever continued operation, the latter by his own strength against God's operation. The clearer we comprehend this duplicity within man after conversion and the better we keep this in view, the better will we be able to understand conversion in its scriptural truth. Augustinism corrupts also the doctrine of the state after conversion (sanctification). ONLY those who have been elected (chosen) can and will remain steadfast until the end, ONLY that mysterious number chosen in preference to others can and will reach the end. All others, each and every one of the others (not chosen) will (and must) fall by the wayside sooner or later. How the promise of God to his children can be harmonized with Augustin's pre-predestination is and will remain a mystery for this life. Likewise for the Waltherian theologians.

B. IN CONVERSION.

Man's state before conversion may be subdivided into two subdivisions (*a*) before God's converting grace approaches him (F. C., Müller, 594, § 24, *ante quam homo illuminatur, convertitur, regeneratur et trahitur;* observe the present tense). (*b*) When he has been brought under the influence of converting grace (*in ipsa conversione, cum Deus eum resuscitat, illuminat atque renovat, quando inchoavit opus suum regenerationis et renovationis*). This is no intermediate state (against Laterman). The Lutheran confessions frequently use the phrase to "begin and perfect conversion" (*inchoare et efficere.* This is (according to the authority of Chemnitz) a short expression for the development given by Augustine by which the two doctrines are here retained: the total depravity of man and the sole ef-

ficiency or "ENergism" of God withont any SYNergism by natural powers. Synergism abandons both; Augustinism teaches both—yet incorrectly; Lutheranism retains both in their scriptural form. By teaching the "EN-ergism" of God but not in an irresistible form it has what is true in Augustinism and avoids what is erroneous; it finds the true and safe passage between the Scylla of Synergism and the Charybdis of an absolute predestination.

Man is totally corrupt in all spiritual things and has but one choice: to do what is evil before God. In external affairs he has to some extent the freedom of choice, that is: he can go to church or not, he can sit listening to the preaching of God's word, store it in his memory, meditate upon it, talk about it, or not. But everything truly spiritual even the faintest desire for salvation and longing is above him and hence beyond his reach. Here his socalled "free-will" which is a will enslaved by his corrupt nature must resist, because *free-will* always is and must be in harmony with the condition of man. An unconverted man can and MUST resist what is of God, because he is not of God. But by the insignificant outward means God commences to work upon and to draw man. The Word in its dual capacity as law and gospel becomes efficient within man. The Spirit of God inspires thoughts, emotions, propositions that are of God, not of man. New thoughts, new emotions are introduced by the spirit of God into man's heart. These may be very, very feeble; but they are the very first beginnings of conversion (primitia conversionis). Man's natural depravity compels him to resist these new emotions, &c., as soon as he becomes conscious of them and immediately that strife begins which we have observed to continue also after conversion. The flesh commences the strife against the spirit. But through the continuous use of the means of grace the Holy Spirit continues to work upon man's spirit. His efficiency is that of the Almighty but not irresistible. By the continued influence of God man's resistance becomes less and less until he becomes non-resistant, for God works upon the will itself. The change which THUS gradually takes place within man includes all faculties: God il-

luminates the intellect so that man CAN see and understand what is good, also the will so that he CAN resolve to do God's bidding, the emotions so that he CAN love. This change may take place in a moment; as a rule it is a process, a gradual development.

We distinguish contrition and faith in conversion, the negative and positive side. In contrition there are movements of the intellect, of the will, of the feelings (knowledge, hatred and fear). In true faith similar emotions take place. From the very feeblest beginning until completion of conversion we must distinguish between the action of God (impelling) and the resultant action of man (impelled). The very first and least emotions of intellect, will and feeling have their origin and source absolutely and solely outside of man (in God) and are introduced into his personality. God is the *subjectum agens* and man is the *subjectum patiens quoad receptionem.* God's influence extends not only to the possibility but also to the actual execution of what God gives. God also here is not simply SYN-ergetic but EN-ergetic in man. Man receives repentance and faith; passive as he is as to receiving the same he is active as to the execution. But how? He is *subjection agens poenitentiam quod exercitum sed per recens acceptas facultates supernaturales non-naturales;* Or as Chemnitz expresses it: *quando in conversione primitia dona et operationes s. s. accepimus sc. sanatas cogitationes, bonum propositum tunc nos aliquid boni posse cogitare.* The scriptural doctrine of EN-ergism does not make a mechanical distinction: thus far God is active and then man's activity is substituted. As Chemnitz repeatedly remarks: there is an activity of man AS SOON AS God has commenced to work within him, and it extends just as far as God's influence has obtained the supremacy: God works that man CAN do, and man works what God has made possible and to what God impels him. Augustine very appropriately expresses this thus: *Nos ergo volumus, sed Deus in nobis operatur et velle; nos ergo operamur, sed Deus in nobis operatur et operari.*

Yet, and here is the difference between Augustinism and Lutheranism, the converting and saving grace is

not an irresistible one. A conflict of the new and old commences with the very first effect of grace and continues until the last breath. As soon as we do receive the very first gifts of the Holy Spirit so soon we CAN and DO think, desire, propose and will something good by virtue of these new gifts and in proportion to these gifts. There is also the opposite possibility: we CAN, MAY and MUST also resist by virtue of our corrupt nature. And we do resist; else there would not be that "*lucta carnis et spiritus*" which at once takes place in conversion and continues ever after conversion. The stronger the new thoughts, desires, &c., grow through the continued efficiency of God (crescunt conando, lunctando, quaerendo, petendo, pulsando) the more noticeable this conflict may be, but the weaker the strength the of natural man. Yet by virtue of his corrupt nature man may and can make an end of this strife; he may and can HARDEN himself against the coming change; he may cease to hear the Word, he may blot it from the surface of his memory, he may suppress the new thoughts when they arise: he may and can CRUSH the new which has been implanted within. He can harden himself against all that is of the Spirit. And THIS malicious, ruthless, self-hardening resistance against the saving grace of God which he knows and has partly experienced AS SUCH may take place at any moment from the very first beginning until the very last breath. It will be easier to destroy the work of God within him in the beginning than it will be when God has converted man. Scripture shows us in examples and warnings that this is the LAST cause of non-conversion or defection. For instance Felix, if he had continued to listen to Paul, would have been converted as surely as Paulus; Agrippa, if he had attended to the gospel of Paul would have become a Christian as surely as Nicodemus. If man did not thus resist maliciously and frustrate all endeavors of God tending towards his conversion and salvation, the grace of God would convert all who come under the influence of the means of grace; but those who do resist maliciously are damned and the condemning sin is this malicious repugnance.

Much as the word "*Entscheidung für Gott*" (decision for God) has been abused it may also be used in a correct sense. For there is no conversion without such decision, whether man is conscious of it or not. Conversion itself in its final completion is a decision for God; and Christian life is the continuous decision for God. When God's grace first approaches man it finds him going in direct opposition to God. But God draws him until he is at a point when he will say: "Yes, I DO WILL to be God's." This decision is the crisis of conversion, it is the "razoredge" beyond which is the kingdom of God. Man is drawn by God and brought to a point where he must say: "yes," or "no." But—and here is the test-point of sound doctrine—but this very "yes" is not the product of a good remnant however feeble (pelagianism, synergism,) nor merely a possibility created by God to be utilized by man alone (Laterman), but this "yes" is the result of God's "ENergism" in man. By virtue of the continuing influence of God, who has drawn him so far and draws him further, and will draw him to the end man can and man does say "yes." This "yes" is God's work and it is man's own "yes" for God has worked the same within man. But the drawing is not irresistible; also at this point as before and afterwards it is possible for man to say "no." But this decision against God must never be ascribed to predestination as Augustinism really does (alii prae aliis) or in any way ascribed to any causality in God or his means of grace or his efficiency through these. It is wholly and solely a criminal act of man which has its cause absolutely and entirely in his innate corruption.

THE MYSTERY.

Here we have reached the limit of revelation; we can go no further. Here many questions have been raised and many more can be raised, but there is no answer. A few such questions are: Why did God choose this way of saving man, leaving the possibility of such repugnance? how does it come about that not all do decide for God? what is the process in man? how, when and where does this malicious resistance take

its origin? These questions are only a few of a whole class which will come up at different points in theology and which we can not answer because the depth of sin and of human and divine personality are hidden to our sight. The Spirit of God searches the depths of human hearts, but not we. We may ask: HOW could Adam sin? HOW can a converted person be again drawn from God? In which way does the influence of one personality upon the other take place? in which way the influence of God upon a human person? We know these facts to be sure; but how? when? or why? where?—God alone knows. We know so little of spiritual life that we need not be ashamed to confess our ignorance beyond the facts established by God's revelation. We know the *οτι* but not the *πως*? the fact but not the whole process. We can make some statements that tend to exclude errors that have been made here. We DO know that it is in NO manner or way a defect on the side of God, much less God's will that it should be so. We know that it is NOT in consequence of a greater or lesser disposition for or against God in man. It is also false to state that the two are in contradiction and can not be harmonized.

In this way the Lutheran theology has avoided the extremes and remains on the safe middle way of truth as revealed to us by God. It accepts His solution and does not imagine a contradiction. The distinction made by Scripture and confessions between natural and malicious resistance solves the difficulty as far as it can be solved by us avoiding the errors both of predestination and of synergism.

THE ERROR OF MISSOURI.

Missouri formerly had taught this Lutheran doctrine concerning conversion exactly as here shown. But when it adopted the doctrine of predestination in its Augustinian form (imagining that some are converted in preference to others because they have been elected in preference to others) it had to cast this distinction between natural and malicious repugnance over-board. If God elects

only certain individuals and elects these in preference to others unto conversion and salvation, then this particular and limited predestination IS the cause not only of the salvation of some, but also of the non-conversion of the others; then the distinction between natural and malicious repugnance is superfluous; then the converting grace is irresistible in fact with the "elect," and resistible with the non-elect. The two truths that God works the good and man the evil may then be maintained, but are contradictory for human intellect. For if God did work with the non-elect in the same manner they would also be converted (Huegli.) Why God does not do so is the mystery of predestination (Grossberger.) It is easier for predestinarians to defend their ideas if they describe conversion not as a process (as the Form of Concord and Chemnitz), but as a momentary occurrence; it is a mysterious, sudden transformation which takes place in almost no time. So Missouri now uses this mode. The fact that grace is universal, but predestination and conversion particular, must—according to Missouri—not be harmonized as is done by the Lutheran doctrine of malicious repugnance. A student at St. Louis who only thinks of harmonizing the two facts would be "flunked," on that account (Pres. F. Pieper.) It is one of the fundamental axioms of Missourianism that there is indeed a middle way—but that this way MUST remain a mystery for us until eternity will solve all questions.

Having renounced and denounced the Lutheran doctrine of predestination it is but natural that Missouri also renounces the Lutheran doctrine of conversion. Yea, the present indications are that Missouri has long ago also abandoned the doctrine of justification as taught by the Lutheran Church, and teaches not only an atonement for, but also a justification, not of the believer by faith, but of the whole sinful world WITHOUT faith, and PREceding faith, which justification however can only be received and accepted by faith. The reason that only few do actually become partakers of this saving justification by faith will THEN also be found in the predestination of only a few unto faith in prefer-

ence to others. In course of time the whole Lutheran system is liable to be "*reformed*" in consequence of the rejection of the scriptural doctrine of predestination. And their doctrine of predestination will be the central doctrine of Missourian theology.

ARTICLE V.

A ROMAN CATHOLIC VIEW OF LUTHER.

By Professor Karl Josef Grimm, Ph.D.

Since the appearance of Janssen's *History of the German People* no other work on the Reformation has produced such a sensation among Catholics and Protestants alike as *Luther and Lutheranism in the first Period of Development* by Father Denifle, one of the most learned scholars in the Roman Church. *

Friedrich Heinrich Suso Denifle was born in 1844 at Imst, Tyrol. In 1861 he became a Dominican friar, and five years later was consecrated priest. After a residence of several years at Rome and Marseilles he was appointed professor of theology in the monastery of the order at Gratz, Austria. He devoted himself with great zeal to the study of medieval scholasticism and mysticism, and published the results in a number of learned and enlightening works. † In 1880 Denifle was called by Pope Leo XIII to Rome where he was to engage in editing the works of St. Thomas Aquinas. Three years afterward he was appointed to the responsible position of keeper of the papal archives. A learned work on *The Universities in the Middle Ages to 1400* (1885) and many contributions to the *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, of which he was co-editor, were among the fruits of his scholarly labors. All

* *Luther und Luthertum in der ersten Entwickelung.* Quellenmässig dargestellt von P. Heinrich Denifle, O. P. Mainz, 1903.

† *Das geistliche Leben, eine Blumenlese aus den deutschen Mystikern des 14 Jahrhunderts* (3d ed. 1880); *Zu Susos urspringlichem Briefbuch* (1875); *Das Buch von geistlicher Armut* (1877); *Taulers Bekehrung* (1879) and others.

his publications displayed an immense capacity for work, great sagacity and critical acumen, and won for him the reputation of a scholar of first rank, of an authority in his field of investigation. Learned societies and academies elected him to membership. He died, quite suddenly, the 10th of June, 1905, on his way to the University of Cambridge, England, where he was to receive the honorary doctorate.

When it became known that Father Denifle was writing a book about Luther, Protestant scholars were in great expectation that new materials from the Vatican archives would be brought to light, and problems, hitherto obscure, in the life and development of Luther, would thus be elucitated. It was thought that we would also get more insight into what was done at the center of the Church to organize the fight against him. And was it not "a sign of the times" that such a theologian as Denifle devoted himself to the study of Luther? And would not the interpreter and friend of the pious mystics, of a Suso and of a Tauler, be able to enter into and appreciate the deep poetry of Luther, and point out the relation of the reformer to these representatives of a religious Catholicism? But what a surprise and disappointment when the first volume —a ponderous tome of 860 pages—appeared! The work was felt to be not an impartial presentation of historical facts, but a *Streitschrift*, a polemical treatise, a bill of indictment against Luther and Lutheranism, against the Luther scholars and Protestant theologians in general. The challenge was at once taken up. Harnack, Haussleiter, Kawerau, Kolde, Köhler, Losche, Seeberg, Walther, Johannes Bauer, Fester, Hausrath, and others entered into the arena. From the Catholic side Professor Spahn of the University of Strassburg expressed himself against Denifle. But the great bulk of the Roman press praised the work in the highest terms, commending it as irrefutable. Within five months the entire edition was exhausted, and a second "revised" edition began to appear, the first division of which bears the date of the 30th of April, 1904.

Denifle claims that his *Lutherstudie*—which must not be taken to mean a *vita Lutheri*—is based upon a truly scientific

thorough study of the sources: the works of Luther and his contemporaries, the teachers and writers of the Middle Age, the Fathers, and the Bible. Let us see first what picture of Luther and the beginnings of the Reformation is thus presented to us, and then examine whether the claim made for it can be sustained.

I.

During the 15th century the life of a large part of the clergy, at least in France and Germany, bore the stamp of decadence. Both monks and priests were characterized by a lack of spirituality and moral endeavor. *I cannot resist* was their actual confession. The law was felt as a burden. Especially the commandment *non concupisces* was considered impossible of being fulfilled. These maxims, however, did not assume doctrinal form. There was no rebellion against the teachings of Christ and his Church. Arising not out of any principle but from the weakness of human nature they found their expression in daily life. No resistance was offered to the temptations of indolence. Practical Christianity, *i. e.*, prayer, meditation, and other spiritual exercises, were neglected, and as a natural consequence the flesh obtained the mastery over man. Self denial, self-control came to be words without a meaning.

This, however, bad as it was, was not the worst stage of the decline. The priest or monk of that period still retained an outward connection with his ecclesiastical authority. He might neglect to say mass, or say it ever so thoughtlessly, he did not reject the mass. He might slight his breviary, but he was conscious of thereby committing a sin. He might have one or more concubines for whom and whose children he cared and provided in his will, but remorse would often seize him. And where the voice of conscience can still be heard not all hope is lost, the sinful relations may be severed. Inspite, however, of the efforts towards reform the tide could not be checked. In a work bearing the name of Berthold von Chiemsee and entitled *Onus Ecclesiae* we read of the conditions in Germany during the first two decades of the 16th century: "Our whole inclina-

tion is directed toward vanity; whatever evil may come into one's mind that he dares to do with impunity." Not all indeed were bad, but corruption had reached such a depth that the worst might be expected to happen—and it did happen. In the third decade of the 16th century the current of decadence divides, in Germany at least, into two branches: the one retaining the character of the 15th century, the other, far broader and more like a sewer, offering a new peculiar physiognomy. We meet crowds of monks and priests that have cast aside everything sacred to the Christian: have broken their oath of fealty to God and His Church; have left monasteries, churches and altars; heap insult upon the Mother Church, mass, breviary, confession, fasting, in short upon every ecclesiastical institution; expose the faithful and godly clergy to scorn, and proclaim the Pope to be the Antichrist. Celibacy is declared to be against nature and the Word of God. Concubinage is no more concubinage, but legitimate matrimony before God. The clergy is called upon to get married, and in blasphemous manner Scripture is appealed to for breaking the vow of chastity. Complete emancipation of the flesh is the motto of this new group. We have the philosophy of the flesh.

How did men arrive at such horrid doctrines? For those who had belonged to the current of decline—*and they form the large majority*—it was but a step to sink to this deepest depth of moral depravity. But how about a few who had formerly been preaching against the increasing corruption—how did they come to fall into this very cess-pool? It happened as it always happens: first carelessness, especially on dangerous occasions, and then the fall. By gradually giving up practical Christianity, *i. e.*, by neglecting prayer and meditation, confession and the whole spiritual life became a burden to them and, being without stay and support, they fell into the lowest pit. No wonder that the concupiscence of the flesh caused them such troubles. "I glow in the lust of the flesh whilst I ought to glow in the spirit; I burn with the flame of untamed flesh and sit here in idleness and laziness neglecting prayer" we hear out of the mouth of their spokesman. This burning of the

flesh is to these wicked monks and priests the beckoning of God to take unto themselves a wife. They disregard their solemn vow, abusing the word of St. Paul "*melius est nubere quam uri.*" The worst one among this whole crowd went even so far as to write a letter to an archbishop, inciting him to marriage in words over which even the most wicked specimen of fifteenth century corruption would have shaken his head. The passage in Scripture, "my just one lives by faith" has the secret meaning "my just one lives with a woman." "For God will not have it without marriage," *i. e.*, everybody ought to marry.

Some—these form a *third* group—who had been expecting that their leader would bring about the much desired reform saw that they had reached Sodom instead, and therefore either returned to Holy Mother Church or went their own ways. But others—a *fourth* group—rationalists and freethinkers, for the most part laymen, remained in spite of the abominations. They were willing to put up with anything if only they were rid of the Church. From this group came the "*famose*" confession of faith of the crowd.

These runaway monks and apostate priests who had destroyed in themselves and others all discipline, modesty, and decency dared to present themselves as preachers of evangelical morality, covering their own shame by malicious exaggerations of the evils in the Church. Their speech was so vile and filthy as had never been heard during the most demoralized period of the Schism, and perhaps could be heard only from the monks of the very lowest outcasts of society. Not satisfied with breaking their own vows they seduced God-dedicated virgins by smuggling their writings into the convents; and, after having robbed the minds of virginity, they carried the nuns out of the sacred precincts and put them up for sale to be married. The indissolubility of the marriage-tie was attacked. Adultery was no longer a shameful sin. Thence it was but a short step to polygamy, which was actually entered into by some of these apostles of the flesh. Their spokesman

and leader counted polygamy among the highest things of Christian liberty.

When they had wallowed enough in the mire of sensuality they appeared as being most worthy of forgiveness of sins. For sins had to be *sins*. But how obtain forgiveness? Through confession? Oh no, Catholic confession, repentance, the resolution to emend one's life, had no meaning for such men. They had found a much simpler means, *viz.*, Confidence in Christ. "Be a sinner and sin bravely but trust so much the more and rejoice in Christ who is a conqueror of sin and death and the world." Where religion is thus condensed to mere confidence and the ethical task is neglected, yea, forbidden, the result can only be the complete ruin of morality. For what indeed can more encourage to sin than the proclamation that we are unable to fulfill the commandments of God, but that Christ has fulfilled them for us, and that, if we but trust within, we are without sins like Christ. Can these men who preached that true piety before God does not lie in our own works, but that sleeping and doing nothing is the work of the Christian, and who ridiculed, yea, condemned, the pious priests, monks, and laymen because they did good works—can these men be called Christians? No, they are the refuse of society. And they dare to proclaim themselves Saints! "We are all Saints and cursed be he who does not call himself a Saint and glories therein. Such glorying is not pride but humility and gratitude. For if you believe these words: I ascend to my Father and to your Father, you are just as well a Saint as St. Peter and all other Saints. Reason: Christ will not tell a lie when he says: and to *your* Father and God." In this *your* every one of those dissolute priests and monks felt himself included. * * *

Could matters get worse? No. The leader himself confesses the dire results. "Our people are seven times worse than they had been before. We steal, lie, deceive, are gluttons and drunkards and addicted to all sorts of vices." What is the concubinage of the 15th and 16th centuries with all its abominations when compared with these conditions?

The new movement is further characterised by the union of its elements. These men form a regular society controlled by the same ideas. Now since anonymous societies did not exist at that time this society must have had a name. In the beginning it was called the Lutheran sect and soon Lutheranism. A Lutheran sect without a Luther is impossible. That great Mendicant Friar and scholar who in 1515-1516 enounced maxims which sprang from the very opposite tendency, namely, that of the reform, could surely not have furnished a name for such a set! And yet it is a fact. 'Twas he who was their spokesman and leader; his word was their gospel; according to his teachings they preached and lived. All those awful doctrines are from him; they are taken from his writings. His teachings led the decadence to the lowest pit. He could not deny it. Facts cried too loudly. His explanations are nothing but ridiculous sophisms. Not one house he could make godly by the preaching of his gospel. He was able to experience in his own life what he once said: "When all the great and best ones begin to fall they become the worst."

And, indeed, Luther had not always been thus. He was a gifted man, in some respects very gifted. He had also some very estimable natural qualities. There was a time when he earnestly sought a renovation of the Church and zealously preached against those whom he was now leading. He led, like many of his contemporaries, the life of a good monk, at least outwardly. How did he get into the opposite current? How did it happen that he became the inspirer and guiding spirit of the worst branch of the decline? Where is the point whence we can understand Luther, that which slowly carried him into the decadence? This is the problem which Denifle intends to solve. He wishes to present the psychological development of Luther's soul.

Denifle diverts his attention to Luther's relation to the true teaching of the Church, and begins with an analysis of *De votis monasticis iudicium* (1521.) He finds that Luther not only makes mistakes concerning the Church's teaching, but consciously misrepresents and falsifies it, even tells positive lies.

Up to 1520 Luther had expressed and preached the correct view of the monastic life. In that year, the year of his apostasy, when he was already in the clutches of the syphilitic Hutten and the incendiary Sickingen, he began his war against the religious orders. His hatred against the Church drove him into the fight against her most efficient soldiers, the monks. Every means is good enough for this struggle. He misrepresents, against his own better knowledge, the words of St. Bernard, making him say that he rejected monasticism. He perverts the teaching of the great abbot of Clairvaux in regard to the dispensation from observing the rule. He tells a conscious falsehood, when he says: *Ego vovi totam Augustini regulam.* He deceives his readers when he claims the novitiate to be intended as a time of probation with reference to living a chaste life. He distorts the words of St. Francis making him identify his Rule with the Gospel. He deludes his readers in regard to the aim of the monastic life and the vows. The Church never taught that it was the purpose of monasticism to obtain forgiveness of sin, and that the vows procure justification. This "most wicked of all bipeds" deceived the people most shockingly when he produced a formula of absolution, alleged to be used by the monks, as a proof of his assertion that the monks wished to be absolved only upon the ground of their good works.

In Luther's mendacity, then, we have one of the keys to an understanding of him. His argumentation is marked by cunning, deceit, and sophistry. He begins by bringing forward, as one of the premises needing no proof, an alleged antichristian proposition, and he does it with such boldness that the reader or hearer must suppress any doubt that may arise against the truth of the premise. The conclusion, correctly drawn from the premises, is then so much the more accepted. But Luther is not satisfied with his argumentative accomplishments; he seduces the followers to turn hypocrites, advising them to make use of the *restrictio mentalis* in its worst sense, that of dissimulation and deceit. He tells them that every vow is a conditional vow, that is, made with the presupposition of the possi-

bility of its being fulfilled. As soon as the fulfillment becomes an impossibility you are free. This applies especially to the vow of chastity. But are not these the solemn words of the vow: I promise to live in chastity *usque ad mortem?* The breaking of the vow is the greatest sacrilege. Of course, Luther quotes Scripture. He is a master in the perversion of the Word of God.

Luther's whole discussion of the *consilia evangelica* is full of the most flagrant contradictions and fallicies. Never in his life a theologically trained and disciplined mind he got, after his apostasy, altogether out of bounds. He knew, moreover, that his victims, the dissolute monks, paid no attention to the contradictions, fallacies, and perversions; all they desired was that their throwing away of all checks be made plausible. Luther himself did not notice his contradictions and fallacies. He tells us how he was burning with fleshly lust when he wrote his work in the Wartburg, and nothing is more corruptible and leading to error than the *libido sexualis. Concupiscence is irresistible* he proclaims. Here we have the point of departure. This tells and explains everything. By degrees Luther reached a condition of the soul in which there was no resistance any more against the temptations and desires of the flesh, but compliance followed as soon as the carnal desire arose. He came thus to think, speak and write under the pressure of lust, and the results are writings of such a character as we find only among the most depraved wretches—and even there rarely.

The divine Savior teaches us that watchfulness and persevering prayer are the means against temptation. But Luther was no man of prayer. He was completely engrosssd in his scientific and other work. The inner conversation with God never had a strong hold on him; gradually it ceased altogether, and his heart grew cold. Grace left him; his judgment was dimmed; his conscience lulled to sleep. The requirements of monastic rule became a burden; lust seized him and pleased him. Luther has given us a picture of the state of his soul during the years 1519–20. Read his *sermo de conjugio.* His carnal mindedness was nourished by his laziness, intemperance

and gluttony. He was often "tipsy" and intoxicated. To spite the devil, he tells us, we may eat and drink to excess and commit any sin—even with our neighbor's wife.

There is but one remedy to get out of the dire condition—woman. Prayer to God that he deliver us from falling into temptation is spurned as buffoonry.

To provide himself and his followers with the necessary remedy Luther needed the nuns. In the most shameless way he tried to induce them to break their sacred vows. He succeeded with the monks and priests—he also succeeded with the nuns. From their leader these dissolute monks and corrupted nuns hear the word, "Be a sinner and sin bravely, but still more bravely trust in Christ, the conqueror over sin." Instead of rebuking them for their corrupt lives and setting an example of piety, Luther himself took a runaway nun that had been put up for sale and called her his wife.

But is matrimony an effective remedy against the flesh? No, it is like driving out the devil by Beelzebub.

Who does not know of the bigamy of Philip, of Hessia, that lewd tryant whom they dare to call the "Magnanimous?" Who does not know Luther's conduct in this scandalous affair? Here he again revealed how little regard he had for truth. He recommends deceit and positive lying. For the sake of the welfare of the Christian (*i. e.* Lutheran) Church we can tell a good strong lie. Indeed Luther was ever a master of lying—and a cynic and buffoon in addition, full of obscenity, unbridled and mean in his criticisms of others, showering calumnies upon his former brethren, now calling them gluttons, lewd and lazy fellows, and then again upraiding them for too much prayer, fasting and singing and trying thus to reconcile their just Judge. Luther shrewdly perverts the Catholic doctrine concerning Christian perfection and the ideal of life. He knew that according to the teaching of the Church every Christian, be he monk, priest, or layman, is to strive toward perfection. He knew that this perfection consists in the love to God and love to man. He knew that the only difference between the life in the monastery and the life in the world is one of the ways to

attain the goal: A shorter and easier way and a slower and more difficult way. Perfection does not consist in the *consilia evangelica*, but in fulfilling the commandment of love. The *consilia evangelicà* to which the monk binds himself are only means the more easily to attain the perfection of love. This has always been the teaching of the Church. From St. Chrysostom to Luther himself before his apostasy we find the same Catholic tradition. But the hatred against the Church makes Luther blind. To further his aims he perverts her teaching, and as a master sophist defends his view, not shrinking even from positive fabrications. He proclaims that the vows had universally been divided into essential vows (poverty, chastity, obedience) and accidental vows; that the Christian life was divided by the Church into the state of perfection and the state of imperfection, or even into the perfect and imperfect state; that chastity (*i. e.*, continence) was the highest perfection. And the first freethinker of Protestantism. Melanchthon displays his customary ignorance by accepting all these perversions, fabrications and lies of Luther and inserting them into the Confession of Protestantism, the Augustana. Upon these assertions of Luther and the *textus receptus* of the confession all the expositions of modern Protestant theologians are based. Catholic doctrines and Catholic institutions are thus systematically distorted. Blindly they follow the spiteful "Reformer."

The same holds true of Luther's statements concerning the "monk's baptism." The only way in which Luther could forge an argument from baptism against "monkery" was by lying. Not the Church, he degraded the dignity and value of baptism. For according to him baptism does not blot out sin in regeneration, since original sin remains even after baptism. Moreover, if Luther had been a consistent thinker he would have noticed that baptism had no place whatever in his system.

The "Reformer" further scandalously calumniates when he says that the Pope had forbidden, and later also that he had condemned, conjugal life as sinful and unchaste. In order to cover up his own contradictions and lies he charged the Church with lying and contradiction in declaring matrimony a sacra-

ment and at the same time requiring of her servants celibacy. Luther's argumentation is ridiculous sophistry. Luther the apostate is caught, here as elsewhere, in the trap of Luther the monk. In his earlier writings he gives the lie to his later expectorations. The practice and tradition of the Church in the celebration of matrimony refute his calumnies. The Church did not forbid marriage; she did not condemn wedlock as sinful; she did not demand, much less command, leaving the world and public life. On the contrary she dignified and hallowed matrimony. It is a sacrament. It was Luther who degraded conjugal life. He taught that there could be no conjugal duty without sin, and that there was no material difference between wedlock and fornication, if God did not wink at it; they are the same—sin. The "reformer's" principles consistently followed out lead to the rejection and condemnation of matrimony as being sinful. Luther's God is a hypocrite of the worst type. He institutes matrimony; He commands it; He blesses it; He demands the conjugal act in spite of its being a sin; and in order that it may not become manifest that we cannot fulfill a commandment of His without commtting sin He takes refuge in cunning, and quickly and nicely covers up the sin.

And in the face of this humbug Protestants dare to assert that Luther stood up for the full honor of wedded life; that he placed it in a new light! Yes, he placed it in a new light —by robbing it of its honor. According to him matrimony had but one aim and purpose, namely, the satisfaction of the irrisistible sexual desire. The consequence of his principles was the demoralization of youth, an unchaste and adulterous life, and a contempt of woman who is degraded to the position of a mere tool. Luther, and not the Middle Ages, had low views of womanhood. He himself was a moral weakling, who, it may be assumed, had fallen even before he called Katharina Bora his wife. By breaking his solemn oath to God and causing others to break it, by his teaching of salvation through faith alone and of the futility of works, by his cynical talk and direct insinuations he laid the basis for the breaking of the marriage-tie which became so prevalent. That blind eulogist of Luther,

Mathesius, had to admit the scandalous life of many. Luther authorized divorce and desertions. Even the marriage between brother and sister he declared allowable.

Such, then, is the monstrous teaching of the "father of the evangelical reformation," and such are its natural consequences. The orderly family life at the present time also found among Protestants is not due to Luther's principles, but partly to the interpretation of the secular authority and partly to the return more or less to Catholic principles. The same return is noticeable also in other directions, *e. g.*, in the matter of the *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae.* And it cannot be otherwise. The soul is by nature Catholic. The Lutheran doctrine is unnatural and unreasonable.

The gospel of Luther that man is justified through faith alone led theoretically and practically to the conclusion: *ergo* good works and everything that we may do ourselves is useless for salvation. The whole Christian life, therefore, and especially the monastic life, had to be condemned.

How did Luther arrive at such an idea? The Protestant legend finds the answer in Luther's experience of the terrors of monasticism. Luther became a monk in order to reconcile the righteous Judge and to get a gracious God. He tried all kinds of ascetic exercises, he fasted and prayed, he mortified his body. No work of the Church he left untried. But he did not find what he was so anxiously longing for. On the contrary his solitude became more terrible, he felt forsaken by God—he was on the verge of despair. But is this all true? No! All that Luther says about the terrors of his life as a monk and the purpose of his asceticism is a fable, a romance. His statement about the time and manner of his illumination are, likewise, untrue. He tells us how he had learned that God revealed his wrath and penal justice in the gospel. Thus teachers, he asserts, up to his time, explained Romans 1, 17. Suddenly through the illumination of the Holy Ghost he had come to the joyful knowledge that the righteousness spoken of was the righteousness through which the merciful God justifies us. Here we have hidden a big lie. Of sixty teachers of the

Latin church—several of whom Luther knew—not one gives the interpretation alleged by Luther. All of them understand righteousness in the sense of God's undeserved justifying grace. Nor is it true that the Church bases our reconciliation and justification upon the merits of man alone and not upon the work of God and the merits of Christ, as Luther and with him all Protestant theologians assert to this day. Here again the earlier Luther gives the lie to the later Luther. Not even this is true that in the period before he received the light of the gospel he had known God only as a righteous Judge, not as a gracious Father. He who examines the missal and breviary will discover that from the first Sunday of Advent to the last Sunday after Pentecost the Church, almost without exception, points the believer to the gracious merciful God in whom alone he is to put his confidence. There is scarcely any mention of the righteous Judge. The very opposite, therefore, of Luther's assertion is the truth. Oh, how many lies Luther had to commit "for the sake of his Church," so as to commend his gospel of justification by faith alone (dead faith) as the only thing needful!

And what was Luther's ideal of the blessed life? The enviable hog. Indeed, the wish to be a hog was preserved solely and alone for Luther, the inventor of the *Heilsgewissheit.*

Can any sane person believe that the Spirit of Christ had its dwelling in this depraved monk, filled with diabolical hatred? No, Luther, there is nothing divine in you! Let us look at his pictures! His face is like his writings. His earlier portraits present the type of an embittered, stubborn, passionate, restless monk; his later pictures show arrogance, craftiness, dishonesty, sensuality, effeminacy, coarseness, no noble trait whatsoever. He bears the stamp of sin everywhere on his face. And God should have sent this meanest and most spiteful of all men to be the reformer of his Church? No! Luther was not the "great reformer," he was the great corrupter. Lutheranism was conceived in corruption, born in corruption, and nursed in corruption.

TO BE CONTINUED.

ARTICLE VI.

THE SCANDINAVIANS AND THE BOOK OF CONCORD.

By Professor John O. Evjen, Ph.D.

The Lutherans in America have their confessional antecedents in Germany and in the Scandinavian countries. The praises of Lutheranism have been sung for centuries by the quartette of Northern Europe: Dana, Nora, Svea, and Germania. In our land of religious liberty we should expect to hear the same strains, but purer, more beautiful and harmonious than in the countries of the territorial Church. Reality, however, is quite often not on par with expectation. The Lutheranism of Europe is as yet far in advance of that of America, in tolerance as well as in theological thoroughness and productiveness. We must for a long while be content to listen to the voices of Lutheran Europe, not only to those of the past, but also to those of the present. We must learn to appreciate the Lutheran movement from the historical point of view.

It cannot be denied that our American Lutheran press at times strikes a didactic chord and assumes a self-sufficient, almost haughty, air when it discusses European theology, a German theological professor, or a "modern" doctrine. As a rule it falls back upon the Book of Concord as its infallible doctrinal guide and upon the dogmatic tomes of the seventeenth century as its protection. Those, it is claimed, are the ripe and wholesome fruits of Lutheran theology, which Germany is turning away from, but which America has stored and preserved, and offers to apostate peoples. We will not invite mirth by discussing the merits of fruits in storage and fruits preserved. Suffice to say that they are not the fruits of our labor. In congratulating ourselves upon our Lutheran legacy, and condoling our neighbors across the ocean for the loss of it, we somewhat resemble the ever green Christmas tree laden with varied and beautiful fruits, always ripe—always loaned.

The Book of Concord is becoming more and more the shibboleth of American Lutheranism. It is advocated by all the general bodies excepting the General Synod.* One is tempted to ask if the need of so many symbols is due to our lack of originality, or to our lack of historical sense. For our originality is not marked, and our historical sense appears imperfectly developed when measured by European standards. But there is another factor which has contributed much to the ascendency of the Book of Concord in America: the immigration of the Germans.

Our general bodies owe their existence to the Germans who came for the most part from territories having accepted *nolens volens* the Formula of Concord. At times the laxity of Confessionalism was quite marked. But a reaction set in, called forth by the cold waves of Rationalism and the maneuvers of Prussia to unite the Lutherans and the Reformed into one Church. And when the theological pendulum, brought so far to the left by the hypotheses of a Baur and the fancies of a Strauss, swung back to the right, it landed many a promising theologian into the savage orthodoxy of the Missourian type. Many pastors, educated in our land, were taught to shun, *a priori* condemn, the theological products of modern Germany, and to panegyrize the Book of Concord and its maidservant, the dogmatics of the seventeenth century.

The Lutheran Church of America thus bears distinctly national pathological marks. But the Lutheran Church is not a suffering Church in the sense that she need to be bandaged with all the documents contained in the Book of Concord. Nor is she a clannish Church, for she is universal in her aim. Her existence is guaranteed by the conservation of essentially religious elements, which are not to be confounded with national elements. She is true to her program when she Lutheranizes in the broad sense of the term, she is untrue when she nationalizes. This, however, seems to be ignored by many advocates of the Book of Concord. When they make a plea for

*See: The Distinctive Doctrines and Usages of the General Bodies of the Evangelical Luth. Church in the United States, pp. 34–61.

this symbol as the basis for the consolidation of the various Lutheran Church bodies in America, they overlook or ignore the just protest of such ancient Lutheran lands as Denmark and Norway, where the Book of Concord was never accepted, and Sweden, where its binding force is at least doubted. "Hinter dem Berge sind auch Leute," and their sons and daughters constitute a large percentage of the Lutherans in America, and thus have a right to get beyond the *con bocca chuisa* parts alloted to them by those who assume the role of soloists in confessional orthodoxy. They have a right to be heard.

In Lutheran Protestantism there are three legitimate factors of which generally one, according to the prominence given to it, determines the type of Lutheranism found in the different Lutheran Churches. These are (1) Scripture, (2) the religious peculiarities of Luther, (3) the confession of the Church. Prof. Müller of Erlangen makes the interesting and doubtless correct statement that in Würtemberg and in the German territories of the Protestant Union, it is the first factor in conjunction with the second which determines the type of Church life. In Bavaria the third factor in conjunction with the first is the most prominent. Several of the Free Churches cultivate, above all, the third factor. Müller further states that the three factors are perhaps most equally proportionated in the Scandinavian Churches, and, though not to the same extent, in the territorial Church of Saxony. *

It will thus be seen that even from this view-point the history of the Scandinavian Churches is especially deserving of our attention. Much more when it is ascertained what fate the Lutheran symbols met with in the Protestant countries of the North.

I. DENMARK publicly accepted the Reformation at the Diet of Copenhagen in 1536. † The ecclesiastical order of Christian III. (1537) sets forth as the only norm of faith "God's

* Karl Müller, *Symbolik*, pp. 244, 245. (Erlangen 1896).

† Fr. Nielsen, *Ledetraad i Kirkens Historie*, II. pp. 26, 27. (Copenhagen 1899).

pure Word, which is Law and Gospel," no symbol being mentioned.* The Augsburg Confession was subsequently accepted. It had been translated into Danish as early as 1533.† The controversies raging among the Lutheran theologians in Germany were fortunately not transplanted to Denmark. The Danish Church, therefore, with good reason, refused to accept the Book of Concord. When Frederick II. (†1588) received the Book of Torgau from his relative, Elector August of Saxony, he refused to lay it before his theologians. It was his opinion that the confessions that had already been accepted were sufficient.‡ He feared that if he should accede to the request of the Elector, divisions would arise among the Danish theologians, thus disturbing that peace and unity which he by the of grace God could say he had been able to maintain.§ When the Book of Concord came from the German press, he, it is said, threw the beautifully bound copy sent to him from Saxony into the fire. We know for certain that he prohibited the sale of the book in Denmark, and threatened to depose all ministers in whose possession the work should be found.‖ His reason was: "The book evidently contains a doctrine which is new and strange to us and our churches; on this account the unity, which to the praise of God has been maintained in this kingdom, is liable to be destroyed" if the book is made use of.¶ This is not the place to trace and map out the motives which combined to make him look with disfavor upon the Book of Concord. Theologically he was influenced by the noted Danish theologian Nils Hemmingsen who to some extent favored Calvinism. Politically his negotiations with the Duchies Schleswig and Holstein, which rejected the Book of Concord,

* Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyklopædie*, IV. p. 422. (Leipzig).

† Caspari-Johnson, *Konkordiebogen*, p. 20. (2 Ed. Christiania, 1882).

‡ The theological faculty at Wittenberg, with Luther at the head, decided in 1533 that the ministers should preach the evangelical doctrine as laid down in the three oecumenical symbols and the Augsburg Confession, l. c.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

‖ Nielsen, *Ledetraad*, etc., II. p. 48.

¶ *Caspari-Johnson*, Konkordiebogen, p. 39.

and with Elizabeth of England and Henry of Navarre, taught him to reject every measure which could cause an open breach between the Lutheran and the Reformed congregations. * The policy of this king was not due to short-sightedness. It would have been well if his relatives in Germany had been equally considerate. The power of royalty in Denmark was established by the Reformation. The wealth of the crown and the nobles increased proportionally to the decrease of the power and wealth of the hierarchy. But the nobility became, as time went on, all powerful; and the king's authority, shamelessly disgraced, was re-established by the revolution of 1660, when the clergy, coöperating with the citizens, crushed the nobility and changed the elective monarchy into a hereditary monarchy having at its head an autocrat. This change necessitated a new constitution, which appeared in the celebrated *lex regia* of 1665, the classical state document of the seventeenth century. It obliges the king and his descendants to "worship God in conformity with the Bible and the unaltered Augsburg Confession." † In the code of laws that the new government issued, the "Danish Law of Christian V." (1683) we read: "No other religion shall be permitted in the kingdoms and lands of the king than that which conforms with the Word of God, the three œcumenical symbols, the Augsburg Confession, and Luther's shorter catechism. These symbols form to this day the objective doctrinal basis in the Danish Church. To these and Holy Writ her ministers must bind themselves by a solemn pledge at ordination. ‡

Denmark thus accepts no symbol framed after the year 1530. She has never wavered in this, has been true to historical continuity. Denmark is a terra incognita to many of us, but nevertheless is, as Björnstjerne Björnson has said, the most cultured country in Europe.

In no other European country is education so universal, is

* Ibid., pp. 39, 40.

† J. O. Evjen, Die Staatsumwälzung in Dänemark i. J. 1660, pp. 144-146. (Leipzig, 1903).

‡ Herzog-Hauck, Realencykl V. p. 422.

wealth so evenly distributed, are so many foreign books translated, is so much read per capita as in Denmark.* Her university is one of the foremost in Europe, her royal library is the fifth largest and most important in the world. A land that has produced philologists like Rask,† Madvig,‡ and Jespersen; § philosophers and psychologists like Kierkegaard || (1855†) and Höffding; ¶ theologians like Hemmingsen * (†1600), Brochmand † (†1652), Pontoppidan ‡ (†1764), Mynster § (†1854), Martensen || (†1884), Madsen,* Scharling,* Fr. Nielsen,* Skat-Pedersen,(†)* Fr. Buhl;* church leaders like Gruntvig¶ (†1872)

* Prof. Gustav Storm of the University of Christiania writes in "*Norges, Sveriges og Danmarks Historie*," p. 156 (4 ed. 1892), "Es giebt kein Land in Europa, wo geistige Bildung und Wohlstand so algemein ausgebreitet ist wie dort" (Dänemark). Ambassador Andrew D. White in his *Autobiography, 1905, II.* (*p. 452*) makes a somewhat similar claim for the other two Scandinavian countries. "Sweden and Norway struck me as possessing, in some respects, the most satisfactory civilization of modern times. With a monarchial figurehead, they are really a republic. Here is no overbearing plutocracy, no squalid poverty, an excellent system of education, liberal and practical, from the local school to the university, a population, to all appearance, healthy, thrifty, and comfortable."

† Rask (†1832) was professor of Oriental languages, one of the greatest linguistic geniuses in modern times, familiar with fifty-five tongues.

‡ Madvig, born in 1804, was an eminent authority in classical languages.

§ Jespersen is one of the greatest authorities on English Phonetics; he addressed the Congress of Sciences at St. Louis, in 1904.

|| Herzog-Hauck, *Realencykl.* X. p. 278 ff.

¶ Prof. Höffding's "Psychology," "History of Modern Philosophy," "Ethics," "Philosophy of Religion," are noted works, translated into different languages. He too addressed the Congress of Sciences at St. Louis.

* Herzog-Hauck, Realencykl. VII. 659 ff.

† Brochmand defended the Formula of Concord, (Ibid., III. 412 ff.) but attacked the idea of sending missionaries to the heathen (Warneck, *Gesch. der prot. Mission* p. 27, 7 ed., Berlin, 1901).

‡ Herzog-Hauck Realencykl. XV. pp. 551 ff.

§ Ibid., XIII. pp. 608 ff.

|| Ibid., XII pp. 373 ff.

¶ Herzog-Hauck, Realencykl. VII. pp. 206 ff.

* Madsen is professor of Dogmatics. Prof. Scharling has written with much ability on Christian Ethics. Prof. Nielsen (now Bishop) has famous works on Church history. His "History of the Church to the Reformation," 1024 pages, (1902), is the most readable compact general Church History that we have in any language. It is a strictly up-to-date scientific

and Beck * (†), a missionary like Börresen † (†), can afford to smile at our attempts to rally round an anachronism. Denmark has kept her forces well together without the Book of Concord, 98½ per cent of her population 2,447,000 (Census 1901) belong to the Lutheran Church. Last, not least, must be mentioned that Denmark was the first Lutheran country to begin missionary work among the heathen, in 1705, when the orthodox dogmaticians of the seventeenth century, even a John Gerhard, had argued *from* Scripture that the sending out of missionaries was *contrary to* Scripture.‡ Denmark was also the first country to abolish the slave trade (1802).

* * * * *

II. NORWAY has, according to the census of 1900, 2,239,-880 inhabitants, of which over 97 per cent. belongs to the Established Lutheran Church.§ The union of Denmark and Norway (1536-1814) made the religion of the former also the religion of the latter. The ecclesiastical laws were much the same for both countries, and the Norwegian ministers received their education as a rule at the University of Copenhagen till 1811, when the University of Christiania was established. In 1814 Norway entered into a loose though entangling union with Sweden. The internal affairs and especially those of the

* Ibid., IV. pp. 423 ff.

† Ibid., IV. pp. 424 f.

‡ Warneck, *Gesch der prot. mission*, p. 29. Few things show how unhistorical the seventeenth century was as the attitude of its leading Lutheran theologians towards foreign missions. The nineteenth century is historical, the century of missions. If it be considered a breach in historical continuity to stand aloof from the Book of Concord as the only correct and perfect basis of confessional subscription, the Lutheran Church should have remained standing aloof from the missions and consistently preserved the historical continuity also on this score.

§ Herzog-Hauck, *Realencykl.*, XIV. 216.

---

work. A translation of it (and the expected second part covering modern times) is much to be desired. Skat-Pedersen ranked high as a N. T. Exegete. Buhl was Prof. of O. T. Exegesis at Leipzig, is now Prof. of Oriental languages at Copenhagen. His commentaries on Isaiah and the Psalms together with his lexicographical work have given him an international reputation.

Church underwent no change. The Church of Norway remained, and is to this day, the Church of the Augsburg Confession, Luther's shorter catechism, and the three oecumenical symbols.* The Church life in Norway has been richly blessed in the nineteenth century, which opened with a great religious revival, at the head of which was the lay preacher Hauge† †1824. After that, three other revival waves have visited the country. The Faculty of the University of Christiania was thoroughly Lutheran, and its foremost scholars, Gisle Johnson and Carl Paul Caspari, gave the revival movements a hearty support by preaching and teaching a true living Christianity. As a consequence, Norway has a clergy of high order, spiritually as well as intellectually. The Church history of Norway really begins with the Hauge movement, and its great names belong to the nineteenth century. Caspari‡ 1892† was one of Europe's greatest theologians in the last century, and his colleague Johnson§ 1894† is known as one of Scandinavia's ablest teachers of theology. To read their biography is an inspiration, their attitude to revivals is especially worth noting. They were rigidly orthodox and very learned; but what savored of the hierarch or tended to make the ordained priesthood a clan met with their disfavor. The translation of the Book of Concord into Norwegian was their work (first ed. 1868). They saw in the Book of Concord "a rich treasure of evangelical-Lutheran instruction," though they did not accept it as a symbol (Preface). Of other able theologians must be mentioned Jacob Sverdrup,† Fr. Pettersen,† Jensen, Bang. As preachers of deep originality Heuch, Jensen, and Klaveness have many followers. As missionaries Skrefsrud in Santhal, India, a second Rask in linguistic ability, and Dahle—who spent much time at Madagascar, author of "Life after Death," one of the most famous contributions of modern times to eschatology—tower above their colleagues in learning.

* R. T. Nissen, *Kirkehistorie*, p. 96. (6 ed. Christiania 1885).
† Herzog-Hauck, *Realencykl.*, VII. 478 ff.
‡ Herzog-Hauck, *Realencykl.*, III. 737 ff.
§ Ibid., IX. 334 ff.

If Denmark was the first Lutheran country to lay hold of foreign missions, Norway, considering the number of her inhabitants, stands in the first rank as a contributor to the support of foreign missions. She has a number of missionary societies. The largest and oldest is the "Norwegian Missionary Society," having for its field of labor Zululand, Natal, and Madagascar, with 62,000 Christians, 48,000 school children, 80 missionaries. The Santhal mission in India, to the support of which also Denmark contributes, numbers 10,000 converts.

Norway has a younger generation of theologians which promises much for the future.

* * * * *

III. SWEDEN accepted the Lutheran Reformation at the Diet of Westeraas (1544) though many reforms had already been introduced in the two foregoing decades. The King and the Diet pledged themselves never to depart from the "Lutheran doctrine," no mention being made of any symbol.* The public documents subsequently issued, for many years avoided as far as possible to mention Luther's name. First in 1593 the Augsburg Confession was adopted—however, under a political pressure.† King John III. (1568–92), influenced by his wife, a Polish princess, had attempted to restore a modified Catholicism by introducing a new liturgy (Red Book). The numerous Catholic usages that still existed afforded a stepping stone to his undertaking. He failed to accomplish his purpose. The Swedes, at the death of John, fearing a repetition of the experiment, eventually the re-establishment of Catholicism in Sweden, took measures accordingly. Sigismund, Catholic king of Poland, was the legitimate heir, being John's son, to the crown of Swedcn. The famous "Upsala möte," 1593, decreed that Sigsmund, before he received the Swedish crown, should promise to maintain Protestantism in Sweden. It was now that the Swedish Church adopted the three oecumenical symbols and the Augsburg Confession.‡ This ecclesiastical

* Nissen, *Kirkehistorie*, p. 91 f.

† *Ibid*, p. 92.

‡ Ibid., 92. Ranke, *Die roemischen Paepste*, vol. II. 246 ff. (Leipzig 1900) Cornelius, in his Swedish Church History, p. 212. Cfr. Billing, *Lutherska Kyrkans Bekænnelse* Häfte 1. (Lund 1876).

assembly sealed the victory of the Reformation in Sweden. For the Swedish Church the "Upsala möte" stands as a great event, whose centenary she rightly celebrates. The Book of Concord was not mentioned. In 1647, at a Diet, the Swedish clergy asked that the Formula of Concord be adopted as a symbol in order that the secret Calvinists who professed the Augsburg Confession should meet with proper refutation.* This move, directed especially against Bishop Johannes Mathiae, who showed his unionistic tendencies in his "Idea boni ordinis in ecclesia Christi" (1644) realized its purpose, August 14, 1663. On that date the government issued a placard which enjoined that the "whole Book of Concord is to be symbolically binding in the Swedish Church." The order was confirmed at the Diet in the next year.

Not 1593, then, but 1663† is the year in which Sweden adopted the Book of Concord, which, seventy years previous, when she was concentrating all her forces against Catholicism, would have been a superfluous article. Sweden's Greatest, the Savior of Protestantism Gustavus Adolphus, never lived to see the day when his country for fear of Calvinism—took a step, the expediency of which he would have questioned.

The resolution of 1663 was made a part of the Swedish Church law,‡ 1686, but in such a way that the Augsburg Confession in light of subsequent alterations in this law appears as the fundamental confession, and the other Lutheran confessions as the proximately correct explanation of it. The oath prescribed in this law for the ordination of the clergy was changed in 1829. In the oath, as changed, and in the "Form of Government," 1809, (Constitution) referring to the King's confession of religion, mention is made only of the Augsburg Confession and the decree of the "Upsala möte"—nothing is said about the Book of Concord.§ The change in the oath

* Cornelius, p. 284.

† So Nissen; Cornelius; Caspari and Johnson in *Konkordiebogen*, p. 39.

‡ Revised, with additions, edited by A. J. Ryden, (Göteborg 1864).

§ Caspari-Johnson *Konkordiebogen*, p. 39.

was made perhaps to conform with the "Form of Government" given by the Diet of Stockholm, 1809. This Diet was held just after the deposition of King Gustavus IV., whose uncle Duke Charles had been made regent. He was now elected King (Charles XIII.) Prince Christian August, whom he had adopted, was appointed heir to the throne, mainly for the reason that it was believed that Norway, yet with Denmark, would go over to him.* For the same reason, it seems to me, did the "Form of Government" mention the Augsburg Confession alone, omitting the other Lutheran symbols. It was evident that the prospective future king of a dual monarchy could not as *summus episcopus* be compelled to adhere to the Book of Concord in one country (Sweden) and to the Augsburg Confession in the other (Norway); for that the two works were not considered on the same level of Lutheranism had been sufficiently demonstrated by the rash act of the Danish King, Frederick II., and the calm history of seven generations following.

It was clear that if the *summus episcopus* had been given free hands with respect to the Book of Concord then the bishops and the lower clergy should be given the same liberty. This liberty is implied as granted in the oath of 1829.

It may be asked if the changes made were legal. For they do not harmonize with the law of 1686. The historian and the jurist may differ on this score. But since the course of the world is less subject to the paragraphs of jurists—and there are many conundrums in Swedish law†—than to the law of historical development we do not hesitate to claim for Sweden the *status quo ante* 1663. As mentioned above, the Swedes themselves are divided on the question. Dilemmas are not

* G. Storm, *Norges, Sveriges og Danmarks historie*, p. 140.

† Cfr. Kurtz's *Church History*, II. p. 343. (1893): Although the constitution of 1809 guarantees freedom of worship, nevertheless the old rigid laws still exist in full authority and power, according to which the secession of subjects from the Lutheran established church is punished with imprisonment and exile, with the loss of a civil reputation and the right of inheriting * * * Even in 1858 six women who were converted to Roman Catholicism were mercilessly banished from the country.

strange things in the State churches, where such an infamous principle as *cujus regio, illius religio* is tolerated and practised.

Sweden has a population of 5,175,000. Her common school system is the best in the world, and her University in Upsala is famous. Sweden possesses a high culture. She is, however, the most aristocratic of the Scandinavian countries, as her clergy is the most hierarchical. This accounts for her strong high-church tendencies. She has not taken so kindly to the revival movement as have the Churches of Denmark and Norway, where the State is much less identified with the Church. She is now paying the penalty for her confessional severity. A great number of Swedes, both in the Old World and in the New, affiliate with the Waldenströmians, the Baptists, and the Methodists. The religious freedom proclaimed by law in 1869, and the admission to all offices granted to the Dissenters in 1870 only served to help the exodus. There is much party spirit in the Swedish Church, causing bitter feeling and schisms. She numbers, however, brilliant theologians of the right wing of the modern school and many fervent ministers, who know where Duty's path lies with or without the Book of Concord.

* * * * *

Let us now direct our attention to the Lutheran Scandinavians in the New World. What is their attitude to the Lutheran confessions?

The Swedish Lutherans in America all belong to the General Council. They constitute the largest synod in that body: the Augustana Synod. The General Council has 1371 pastors, 2213 congregations, 386,129 communicants, of which 501 pastors, 956 congregations, 131,999 communicants, are members of the Augustana Synod.* The General Council obligates the pastor to all the Lutheran confessions, but layman only to the Augsburg Confession and the Smaller Catechism.† The Swedes have thus not succeeded in removing the confessional ambiguity that rests upon their fathers in Sweden. The question, "Are the Swedes supporters of the Book of Concord?" remains unanswered. The distinction here made between laity

* Herzog-Hauck, *Realencykl.*, XIV., 208.

† *Doctrines and Usages of the Ev. Lutheran Church, p. 107.*

and ministry involves a dualistic principle which does not do justice to the congregation. The Swedes possess excellent colleges and parochial schools, are very active in Church work. The move on foot two years ago to withdraw from the General Council was favored especially by the Minnesota Conference, was, however, defeated. The rigidness of the State Church of Sweden has left its impress also upon her children in America. If, on the one hand, the Augustana Synod takes a more decided stand against secret societies, than do the other synods of the General Council, it, on the other, preserves a simplicity of worship and a high standard of gospel preaching, strong and vigorous, free from flowery oratory, but effective.

The Norwegian Lutherans, with the exception of one body, follow the Church of Norway, accepting the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Smaller Catechism. So does the largest body of Norwegian American Lutherans "The United Norwegian Lutheran Church,"* numbering 150000 communicants. Likewise the "Hauge's Synod" with 12540 communicants, and the "Free Church" with 38000 communicants. The Norwegian Missourians (67000), however, accept as is natural the whole Book of Concord.

The first of these bodies, organized in 1890, is too young to warrant any definite statement as to what its distinctive program is beyond that of territorial expansion. At present it is negotiating with the "Hauge's Synod" and with the Norwegian Missourians with respect to uniting in one body. The negotiation will likely be useless, and any attempt to make the Book of Concord or even Formula of Concord a part of the confessional basis will fall "upon the rocky places."

The "Hauge's Synod" is decidedly averse to tightening the confessional bonds. This body which stands for the Pietism of Hauge, emphasizing the lay element against "priest" and high church ritualism, forbidding its ministers to chant or to wear the gown, will not go beyond the Augsburg Confession and the Catechism.

* *Alterbog*, Anhang, (Minneapolis 1902).

The "Free Church," the left wing of the former "Conference," emphasizes the rights of the congregation, purity in life, simplicity in doctrine. She protests against dead orthodoxy, hierarchical rule, and cumbersome ritualism. Her basis of organization is broad and liberal, admitting any Norwegian Lutheran to her annual meetings as a participant and voter regardless of his connection with other bodies. The "Free Church" rallies around the Augsburg Seminary, a true home of the evangelical Lutheran spirit, the oldest Norwegian Lutheran theological school in America of which Prof. G. Sverdrup is the president, perhaps the foremost scholar among living Norwegian theologians on either side of the water. The "Free Church" is a historical church which lays stress on historical development and denies most emphatically that theological development reached its zenith in 1580.

The Missourians' never ceasing refrain is "Pure Doctrine" as contained in all the symbols of the Lutheran Church. The Norwegian Missourians having received their training from their German-American colleagues are one with them in exclusiveness and severity in their attitude to and condemnation of their countrymen who hold other views—demonstrating "*einen in völlige Barbarei hineinführenden Fonatismus*," as the German Church historian Nippold * says.

The Danish Lutherans in America are comparatively few in number. "The United Danish Evangelical Luth. Church" (9000) adheres to the symbols of the Danish State Church. "The Danish Evang. Luth. Church" is an older body, but very liberal in confessional matters, many of her ministers being Grundtvigans.

* * * * *

In view of the above we are not justified to ask that the Lutheran Church, in order to be confessionally Lutheran and thus to establish concord, shall rally around the Book of Concord. The theology of the Scandinavian countries has thrived without this symbol, which was read and discussed but never

* Nippold, *Amerikanische Kirchengeschichte*, p. 146. (Berlin 1901).

en masse subscribed to. And the American Lutheran theology has not been benefited any by the fact that the Book of Concord is endorsed by an American majority. There is much difference between the elasticity of the interpretation given to the Book of Concord by the German Iowa Synod, and the criterion assumed by the General Council. A still greater difference is noted when the Missourians take the floor. *

Much better it is to accept the Confession of 1530 and as commentary to it the objective verdict of history. To embrace the Book of Concord, because of its unquestioned high dogmatic value and pacifying influence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not more commendable or serviceable than was the "assaying" of David to go with Saul's armour, the best armour in Israel, or the advocacy of the Humanists to revive Greek warfare because it was classical.

The amount that the Book of Concord draws on orthodoxy may be theoretically justifiable, but it is too large for practical purposes. A million dollar note will avail but little in a community where it cannot be cashed. If we can believe Europe, our theological mint is scarce, so scarce indeed that it appears presumptous to ask of the candidate for the ministry that he shall at this early stage of his education be qualified to pass an unbiased and unerring judgment on the accuracy of symbols on which those differ who have authority to speak.

Such decisions must come from the forum of Church History, especially the branches History of Dogma and Symbolics. That the Book of Concord is far from satisfactory is seen from such instances as the following:

Prof. Kawerau claims that the Formula of Concord abandons Luther's conception of faith. † Prof. Loofs claims that Art. III. of Formula of Concord differs from the Apology with respect to the doctrines of justification and regeneration. ‡ Prof. Cremer is inclined to call in question the identity of the views of sanc-

* *Doctrines and Usages*, pp. 62 ff, 87 ff, 119 ff.

† Quoted in *Seeberg's Dogmengeschichte* II. 371. (Erlangen and Leipzig 1898).

‡ Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte*, p. 452. (3d ed. Halle 1893).

tification set forth in C. F. III. 28 and in Luther's larger Catechism II. 3, 27. * Many other instances may be mentioned. But we may sum up what is to be said by quoting summaries on the "Concord," from the purely historical view.

Says Kawerau: The juristico-dogmatic trend of Protestantism was sealed or attained the ascendency: a new scholastic system of dogma overgrew the old simple evangelical confession of the community. †

Loofs: To dispute that the Formula Concord's manner of viewing things is narrow does honor to the Christian zeal of the one who makes the attempt, but not to his historical insight. The Formula of Concord is the conclusion of the doctrinal petrefaction of the Reformation idea. * * * The Church has again, a *lex fidei* in her symbols. In spite of the genuine Protestant concessions in them (570, 1, 2, 7, 8) they hold a rank—as *normae interpretandi*—higher than Scripture. ‡

R. Seeberg: "When compared with the entire scope of Luther's religious theologidal ideas the decision must be that the Formula of Concord was not in a position to rescue from neglect and recoin all the valuable truth—the whole historical material—which Luther had given to the Church. The contribution which Luther brought to the Church still furnishes material for earnest study. Evangelical theology must continue to seek and seeking shall yet find, in the marvellous intuitions of the Reformer's ideas, viewpoints, inspiration, energy, and a renewal of strength"§ * * * "The judgment on the Formula of Concord is naturally to some extent dependent on the dogmatic standpoint of the critics. However different the standpoints be, one thing is generally understood: that the Formula of Concord does not, can not, speak the last word on Lutheran theology."||

* Herzog-Hauck, *Realencykl.*, VII. 574 f.

† Moeller-Kawerau. *History of the Christian Church*, III. 295. (London 1900).

‡ Loofs, *Dogmengesch.*, pp. 454 f.

§ Seeberg, *Dogmengesch.* II. p. 379. (American translation).

|| Herzog-Hauck, *Realencykl.*, X. 744.

These verdicts of three eminent German theologians, I trust, will not be superfluous if added as a conclusion to the verdict of the three Lutheran countries of Northern Europe.

Not by reading the pages of "Concord" can confessional unity be attained, but by studying the pages of Ecclesiastical History, not by subscribing to the former, but by ascribing to the latter—its due.

ARTICLE VII.

"A SUMMARY OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH."

By Henry Eyster Jacobs, D.D., LL.D. Norton Professor of Systematic Theology, Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia. General Council Publishing House, 1522 Arch Street, Philadelphia, 1905. Octavo. Pp. IX and 637. Price $3.00.

By Professor J. W. Richard, D.D., LL.D.

We have read this book through continuously from the first word of the title-page to the last word on page 580: *Ideo sum excusatus.* The remaining pages are occupied with *Appendix on the Spiritual Priesthood of Believers.* By Dr. Philip J. Spener (A. D. 1677); by *Analysis* and by two *Indexes.*

Our interest in reading the book through continuously was sustained by our desire to ascertain how it would "restate the doctrines of the Christian faith upon the basis of the Lutheran Confessions." We find that it is not so much a *restatement*, as it is a *statement* of the doctrines of the Christian faith according to the Lutheran Confessions; or, to speak more accurately, according to the conceptions and expressions of the Form of Concord, and according to the conceptions and expressions of the so-called Dogmaticians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The type of theology is distinctively that of the Form of Concord, which is quoted fifty-five times, and is made the standard for the interpretation and application of the earlier Lutheran Confessions, on the ground, seemingly, that the Form of Concord is the logical conclusion of the earlier Confessions, and that they all together are "in the perfect harmony of one

and the same Scriptural faith." That the Dogmaticians, who, it is well-known, rigorously developed the premises of the Form of Concord to their logical conclusion, also have furnished much material for the book, and have helped to determine its characteristic features, will at once pass with the saying when it is known that Baier is quoted eleven times; Brentz, five times; Chemnitz, twenty times; Gerhard, twenty nine times; Hallaz, nine times; Hutter, six times; Quenstedt, five times; and other less prominent Dogmaticians one or more times. And as many of the quotations are lengthy, it may be said truthfully that if all the quotations from Luther and Melanchthon, from the Symbolical Books, and from the Dogmaticians, were abstracted, the size of the book would be most materially reduced, and the remainder would be in many parts and in many respects almost unintelligible, because left so disjointed and fragmentary.

Hence the book, which must be interpreted as a whole from the standpoint of its chief authorities, so liberally used and so implicitly accepted, may be characterized essentially as a statement, in the English language, of the Lutheran faith according to the prevalent concepts of three hundred years ago, with the Form of Concord as the central and normating factor, the *exegesis* of Scripture being almost completely postponed. Such a characterization leads, of course, to the inference that the book gives little or no attention to the present living issues of theology and of the Christian Religion. Such is in fact the case. Searcely a living question of theology and of the Christian Religion on its philosophical, scientific and historical side, is discussed or elucidated in all the book's 580 pages, and modern theologians find but scant recognition. Dorner is quoted once; Harless, once; Kahnis, six times; Luthardt, five times; Martensen, once; Meyer, once; Julius Mueller, once; von Oettingen, twice; Philippi (a John Gerhard redivivus), five times; Thomasius, once—all quoted briefly. Frank, von Hofmann, Zöckler, Cremer, and the living representatives of confessional Lutheranism in Germany, Seeberg, Kunze, Stange, Grützmacher, and others are completely ignored. And of

American non-Lutheran theologians, Shedd, Henry B. Smith, Stearns and Strong are named, but not quoted. The two Hodges are not so much as named. And of the modern Biblical, Exegetical and Theological sciences in their present status and conclusions, there are but few traces indeed. Hence the value of the book is *chiefly* historical. It furnishes very little material for the preacher who thinks according to the conceptions of today and speaks in the language of today. Its proper classification therefore is with Schmid's *Dogmatic*, Hase's *Hutterus Redivivus* and Rohnert's *Dogmatic* (1902), which is already quite forgotten in the land of its birth.

As to form our book is *a catechism*—that is, it is composed of questions and answers. The questions are, generally, specific, and as a rule, well stated. The answers are dogmatic and categorical, reminding one of the *sic et non* method, and are given deductively, rather than inductively, and are often divided and subdivided after the manner of Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa*, or of John William Baier in his *Compendium*—anatomically and scholastically. Unlike Thomasius' *Person und Werk*, Frank's *System der Christ. Wahrheit* and Luthardt's *Glaubenslehre*, there is in our book scarcely any Exegesis of the Scriptures. After the answers to the questions, and following the definitions, passages are quoted alike from the Old Testament and from the New without any regard to their difference as representing different stages of Revelation, and at least without proper regard for the conclusions of Textual Criticism, as is shown by the fact that Mark 16 : 16 is fully accredited (p. 321); whereas it is well-known that the New Testament Critics have long since rejected the last twelve verses of Mark's Gospel (*Textus Receptus*) as not genuine.

Of course our book is *Lutheran* and its contents are *Lutheran*. But *Lutheran* in the sense in which Baier's Compend is Lutheran. Its Lutheranism is one-sided and anacronistic. Seldom does it indicate that there is, or that there ever has been, another *Lutheran* way of looking at some of these Lutheran doctrines which it defines. Its way, one would infer, is the only way. Nor are we informed that its own standards and

tests of doctrines, viz., the Form of Concord, and the Dogmaticians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have not always received unqualified endorsement from all who had formerly, and from all who now have, undoubted right to call themselves and to be called Lutherans, for the reason that the authors of the Form of Concord and the Dogmaticians were also men of their times, and were, from the very circumstances of their times, severely afflicted by aggravated conditions of personal equation. Hence as a logical result of the method by which the material is handled our book must bear a definitive, a particularistic, a historical, and not a catholic, a generic, a practical character. It must, to be consistent with itself, represent and contain a Lutheran theology that corresponds to the age and to the character of its chief parts, the so-called "Lutheran orthodoxy"—a theology wrought out under the scholasticizing influence of the Form of Concord, and of a traditional interpretation, and at a time when Scientific Exegesis and the Science of Biblical Theology were yet unknown. Hence it is not the theology of the original Lutheranism, and of the Augsburg Confession, and of the progressive interpretation of the Divine Word according to the two fundamental principles of the Lutheran Reformation practically applied. And surely, if we may predict for the future by means of the experience of the past, we may conclude that it does not contain a type and a form of Lutheran theology that are calculated to "change controversy from mere wrangling concerning the terminology of dogmas to an earnest, serious, modest, chastened inquiry into the truth which underlies them" (Preface); and that for the reason that this theology is itself the child of controversy, and its entire history is a history of controversy; and as a matter of fact it has generated all or nearly all of the alienating and schismaticizing controversies that have distracted and divided Lutherans in America during the last sixty or seventy years. And it is simply undeniable that when two Lutherans, or two Lutheran bodies, begin to dispute about a Lutheran doctrine, one or the other (and often both) rushes to the Form of Concord, and, putting down the finger on some passage,

says: "*Do you believe this?*"—which generally means, Do you believe it as I interpret it? If the other says *No.* Then he hears accusations of Zwinglianism, Calvinism, Pelagianism, Synergism, Rationalism, and what not? And where is the Lutheran general body among us, which has adopted the Form of Concord "as its own confession," and as "of necessity pure and scriptural," that has been able to abide in peace with its Lutheran neighbors, and to hold its own component parts in organic union? To answer this question the reader has only to run his eye over the history of the Lutheran Church in America for the last half century, and to acquaint himself with existing phenomena. Can we then expect that peace and unification will result from the endorsement, and from the inculcation of "a summary of the Christian faith," which in its essential features instaurates the Form of Concord, and quotes it as authoritative and final in the interpretation of the Divine Word, and in the application of the Lutheran fundamental principles? Not if history repeats itself, and if like causes produce like results.

The Lutheran fundamental principles will, we believe, abide forever. But a standard Lutheran *Dogmatic* has not yet appeared in the English Language. What the Lutheran Church needs today is a systematic presentation of the Lutheran doctrines that shall embody the latest conclusions of the best and sanest Christian Scholarship, and that shall testify of the ever-growing Christian experience, and that shall speak the language of the present hour—*positive*, *scriptural*, *modern*, *inductive*, based on scientific exegesis, and ruled by that genetic principle which Luther declared to be Christianity itself. It must be made, and it can be made, superior to the old Dogmatic, since the Dogmaticians of three hundred years ago did not do and could not do the Lutheran thinking for all coming ages.

Hence very excellently has Grützmacher of Rostock, one of the most influential and scholarly of the present generation of Lutheran theologians, said: "We have accustomed ourselves to bestow on the Dogmatic of the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries the honorable distinction of being 'orthodox.' Consequently every deviation from it seems necessarily to be in conflict with orthodoxy. Many a time that is in reality the case. But whoever supposes that it must be so in any fundamental sense, is greatly mistaken. One can indeed deviate even from the old Dogmatic, because we are more orthodox than it is, that is, *more biblical, more Lutheran, more positive, more supranaturalistic.* That in may points we have a better understanding of the Scriptures, and of Luther, everybody knows. But even in fundamental questions we have become manifoldly more postive. In holding that reason is endowed with natural knowledge of God; in assuming that there is an inborn natural moral law that embraces in itself already the entire revelation of the Decalogue; in employing the ancient cardinal virtues as appropriate forms of expression even for Christian ethics—in all these and in still other points there sticks in the old Dogmatic a powerful element of Rationalism that is contradictory to the positive revelation, and which must be eliminated before we can come to a real orthodoxy. The modern positive theology must make progress not only on its modern, but also on its positive side. Hence from the standpoint of the biblical and churchly gospel no objection must be raised against the correctly interpreted demand for a modern positive theology." *

Modern and *positive* and *orthodox* are not contradictory. They are not even inconsistent with each other. In many particulars theology must be modernized in order to be orthodox. The errors of the Dogmaticians must be corrected. The new light that has been made to shine out of God's Word must be utilized. Many German and Scandinavian Lutheran theologians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in learning, piety and loyalty, equal to the fathers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and standing on their shoulders, have a right to speak, and when they speak they may claim the right to be heard; and they can afford to smile serenely when they are told,

* *Studien Zur Systematischen Theologie*, 1905, pp. 64, 65.

with fatuous *naivete*, that they are to be taught from America how to interpret and how to teach Lutheranism to the present generation. *Nulla vestigia retrorsum.*

Turning now from this momentary digression back to our book—with which we unhesitatingly agree, in large parts of it, and as to substance of doctrine in other parts *nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen*, or *quatenus*—we proceed to notice some things with which we do not agree either *nach Wissen* or *nach Gewissen.*

1. The proportions of the book would be more justly balanced, and, in our judgment, rendered more valuable, had larger space been given to the discussion of the office and work of the Holy Spirit in the application of redemption—a subject which has never been adequately treated in the Lutheran theology. Here the matter is very summarily presented, while no less than fifty-nine pages, more than one tenth of the book, are given to the definition and discription of Sacraments, which disproportion makes it almost appear that the Lutheran system of doctrine is chiefly sacramental. Also only nine pages (206-215) are devoted to *justification*, which is treated as one of the *dogmata* of the Lutheran faith, and not as its genetic principle, as "the head and sum of the Christian doctrine," as "the acropolis of the entire Christian religion," as "the center of theology," though we are pleased to note that on p. 416, it is said of the Lutheran Church: "Justification by faith alone is the center towards which all rays of its teaching converge, and whence again they proceed;" and of the Reformed Church: "Its fundamental doctrine is that of Predestination." But on p. 238, in a series of affirmations, Justification is postponed to regeneration, and we meet the almost startling statement that "regeneration gives faith," which means in logic that regeneration precedes faith, which means that God regenerates men who are without faith and who are not yet justified. And since, according to the order given, regeneration precedes justification, it cannot be said that God *justifies the ungodly*, Rom. 4 : 5 ; and Luther is unlutheran when he says that "the article of justification is master, prince, lord, guide, judge over all kinds

of doctrines, conserves and governs all the doctrines of the Church;" and Philippi is unlutheran when he says that "sanctification, regeneration, and the renewing of the heart are the immediate consequence of justification." Indeed if our book is correct in its order then it can no longer be said that God's work for man precedes God's work in man, which in reality means that we are not justified by faith alone, out of grace alone, for the sake of Christ alone, but because of some quality inhering in us, and this is a return to the Roman Catholic doctrine of *meritum congrui*, or *meritum condigni*.

2. On p. 242 Luther and the Form of Concord are endorsed without qualification in teaching that "with respect to his conversion man is purely passive," and that conversion is wholly an operation of the Holy Ghost. This of course is based on the doctrine that in spiritual things, man is a stock, a block, a stone, etc., and on the doctrine of the extent of human freedom of will (see Index I), namely that the will "is always free to resist and reject the offered grace" (p. 232). Now here is manifestly an untenable psychology in regard to conversion. The freedom to resist and to reject necessarily involves the freedom to accept. Otherwise there is no choice, which is fundamental to the very conception of freedom of the will. Moreover, since it is declared in the Formula that man is a rational creature and is not converted without hearing and meditating on the Divine Word, it is logically and psychologically certain that he is not purely passive in his conversion. For hearing and meditating on the Divine Word are activities of the rational creature, yea, activities chosen and directed and sustained by the mind itself. Yea, more, hearing and meditating each is the mind itself at work on an object chosen and entertained. And wherever and whenever the mind is active it is active with all of its fundamental faculties. It does not act by parts, because it does not have parts. It is one and undivided. Thinking (meditating), feeling (internal) and willing exist only as they co-exist. Philosophers, psychologists and theologians are at one on this point. "It is the same mind that feels, thinks and wills; and in putting forth one of these functions, never entirely

ceases from the other." Day, p. 94. "All three of the great powers of the soul are conjoined in conduct. * * * The final determining power in this trinity of powers is the will." White, p. 317. "What we known as three is nevertheless but one in the being of the soul. The soul does not enter into its own manifestations in so fragmentary a fashion that one of its parts can be awake while the others are dormant; on the contrary, in every mode of its action the whole energises." Lotze, p. 180. "The mind acts as one undivided faculty or power. There is one undivided energy in all its operations; and in almost all its acts, all the main faculties work together; man acts as a person." Henry B. Smith, p. 173. So also Dorner. *

Now the affirmation that "man in his conversion is purely passive," and yet that he is not converted without hearing and meditating on the Divine Word, is a plain case of *contradictio in adjecto.* In the first impact of the divine Word there is *passion.* In meditation called forth by that passion there is action, for wherever there is passion there is action—in the case of man the action of a person, a moral *ego* whose chief function is to will; and "the freedom of the will is not sublated either by the laws which uniformly rule throughout nature or by the absolute omnipotent power of God. The Word of God everywhere acknowledges this freedom of will in man, it addresses itself with its claims to the self-determination of each individual." Dr. C. F. Schmid in *Christian Ethics.* Translated by Dr. W. J. Mann. "Come unto me." "Whosoever will let him come." "Ye would not." With these and other similar scriptures before us, and with the conception of the human mind as acting with all its fundamental faculties wherever it acts, we cannot accept that doctrine of the will and of conversion which we find on pp. 118, 232, 242 of our book. We hold that it is psychologcally and scripturally incorrect. At most it represents only one side of the truth. In being gracious, and in order to be gracious, God does not have to nullify his own handiwork. The image of God in man, though marred, is still his image, and the noblest feature in it is Will.

* *System of Christian Ethics*, pp. 123 *et seqq.*

Moreover, Regeneration and Conversion are moral processes and moral results. Moral processes and moral results without free determination in the subject is Determinism. If in his conversion man is *purely passive*, and if he has freedom only to resist and to reject grace, then he is not converted through grace, but by *irresistible* grace, *per modum coactionis.* The premises will admit logically of no other conclusion.

3. On p. 244 we read that the Lutheran Church guards against the error of Synergism that "the will of man from its natural powers, can, to a certain extent, though feebly, coöperate." That the Lutheran Church guards against such Synergism as is expressed in the quotation given above from the Form of Concord, is one of her strong points. But what Lutheran ever taught such a doctrine. Did Melanchthon? Did Pfeffinger? Did Strigel? It will be time enough to reply to this Flacianist accusation when the *verba ipsissima* are pointed out in the writings of the so-called Synergists. And when our book says at once following the quotation: "Hence Melanchthon erred in the last edition of his *Loci* in enumerating three causes of conversion, viz., the Holy Spirit, the Word, and the Will of man," we again ask for the *verba ipsissima.* We find that Melanchthon said: "When we begin with the Word, here concur three causes of a good action, the Word of God, the Holy Spirit and the human will assenting, and not resisting the Word of God"—which is very different from what our book represents. Dr. Luthardt says that Melanchthon never uses the word "coöperate." He taught that when the will of man is *quickened* and *energised* by the Holy Spirit, it begins to be active—but not by its own powers. In fact Melanchthon taught exactly what Chemnitz teaches on p. 243 of our book, as was shown at great length in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for January, 1904, and for April, July and October, 1905.

4. On p. 234–23 (see also pp 332 et seqq) we find certain answers defining and defending infant faith. It is said that we must take into the account the distinctions between "direct," and "discursive," "habitual" and "active," "implicit" and "explicit faith." Very good. We allow the distinction. But

faith, if it is anything at all, is the act of a person, of a being that can say *I*. It must be in some sense discursive before it can be direct; an *act* before it can be a *habitus*; *explicit* before it can be *implicit*. Faith cannot precede consciousness, which is knowledge, actual, immediate, distinguishing. Faith is trust in an object known to consciousness and distinguished from the *Ego*. A new-born babe does not believe in its own mother, because it does not have consciousness of its mother. The passages: "How can they believe on him of whom they have not heard," and "Faith cometh from hearing," are as comprehensive and as all-embracing as is John 3 : 5. The fact that a new born babe has sin "and that this is not a physical, but a moral and psychical defect" (p. 235), gives absolutely no warrant for the conclusion that immediately follows in the form of a question: "What reason for denying the possibility of infant faith can they allege who acknowledge the fact of innate depravity, and the innate knowledge of God?" Between such a premise and such a conclusion there is a gulf as great and as "fixed" and as impassable as is that which separates Dives from Lazarus. The premise and the conclusion relate to things fundamentally different, and there is no middle term to connect them. Innate depravity is an inherited condition of the infant. It was conceived in sin and born in iniquity. It has *peccatum originale originatum*, which can be traced right back to *peccatum originale originans*, that is, to the *actus Adami in Paradiso*.

And as to "innate knowledge" in a new born babe (for such an one is a proper subject of baptism) it has about as much of it as it has of the axioms of Geometry. When consciousness has become distinct in a growing child, and observation and experience have come, and attention has been directed to phenomena, a child of some years may gain some knowledge of God, and may perceive that two *parallel* lines can never come together.

And when appeal is made to the power of God, we reply by saying that it is not a question of what God *can* do, but of what God actually does. Hence it is a clear case of *petitio principii* to conclude that because God *can* by an exercise of

his omnipotent power work faith in a new born child, therefore he *does* work it; or to argue that because we cannot demonstrate that a new born infant does *not* have faith, therefore it *does have* faith. And the question in its last analysis resolves itself into this: Not do "little children" have faith; but does an infant *just born* have faith, and does such a human *being*, not yet come to self-consciousness, have faith, or does it receive faith in and through Baptism? That is the question that must be met by those who contend for "infant faith," and it is purely gratuitous to quote Matt 18 : 2, 3, 6; Is. 8 : 2; Matt. 21 : 15; Luke 1 : 41, to prove that a "little child" in the hour in which it is born is capable of having faith. A child that can come when called (Matt 18 : 2) is not a new born infant; and who has not seen and heard "little children four or five years old" "crying in the temple" and praising God? And Mark (10 : 13, 16) does not show, as our book says (p. 235), that the little children that were brought to Christ "were such as were carried in arms;" and Luke (18 : 15–17) does not say that "babes" (Brephe) are to be examples for those who receive the kingdom of heaven. Indeed, our book begs the question from start to finish. A rational exegesis and literal interpretation of the passages quoted (and our book is strong on the principle of literal interpretation) utterly fail to establish the doctrine of infant faith; when by "infant" we understand, as we have a right to understand, a new born babe. It may be entirely different with "children four or five years old" (p. 236). We do not deny that these may have "an action and operation of the Holy Spirit" (p. 337), which we may call faith.

Luther never acted more wisely than when he turned this question of "infant faith" over to the doctors, an action which our book does not report, nor does it say as the very orthodox Plitt said long ago: *Der Kinderglaube ist keine symbolische Lehre. Symbolik*, p. 64.

But what shall we say of the following declaration (p. 341): "Since there are no such promises (of grace) concerning the children of unbelieving parents, we are not authorized to entertain the hope of their salvation except with considerable qualification"?

5. On p. 342 we find that our book excludes John 6 : 53-58 from consideration as having reference to the Lord's Supper. The reason given is that "we would have to dispense entirely with bread and wine." Greatly do we prefer the interpretation of Dr. Charles P. Krauth, late Norton Professor of Systematic Theology Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, who holds that "it states the doctrine under which the benefits of the sacramental eating come as a species." *Conservative Reformation*, p. 342.

6. On pp. 343 *et seqq.* our book insists on "the literal intepretation," of the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper.

Let us now apply this principle to the word "eat." What is "the literal interpretation" of the word "eat"? *Webster:* "To chew and swallow; to devour—said especially of food not drink, as to eat bread." *Worcester:* "To take into the mouth and swallow for food; to chew and swallow as food." *The Century:* "To masticate and swallow as nourishment; to partake of or devour as food; to chew and swallow as food."

On p. 353 it is said: "The body and blood of Christ are not subject to the processes of mastication, swallowing and digestion." Here is another plain case of *contradicto in adjectio.* The communicant "eats" the body of Christ, according to "the literal interpretation" of the word "eat;" and that the literalness of the eating may be made yet more literal the word "orally" is added. That is, the communicant *literally eats* the body of Christ *with the mouth.* And yet "the body of Christ is not subject to the processes," etc. A plain contradiction. Either the body is not eaten *literally*, or it is "subject to the processes," etc. Which horn of the dilemma will our book take? It has in reality taken the former, for it says that the eating is "sacramental." That is, a meaning is given to the word "eat" that is not *literal*; for a conception is here applied to the word that takes it out of the realm of its normal and universal application, that is, lifts it into the realm of the *figurative.* Luther courageously accepted and announced the conclusion that attached to his premises, when he declared: "Our doctrine is, that in the bread or with the bread, the body of Christ

is really eaten, so that all the motions and actions that are attributed to the bread, are attributed also to the body of Christ, so that the body is truly broken, eaten and torn with the teeth," and wrote: "I cannot recede from my position though the heavens should fall and bury me beneath their ruins." (See Seckendorf, III., 8, XXVIII; and DeWette, 4 : 569).

And on p. 346 our book quotes the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper, from the Synoptics and Paul, and says: "The substantial harmony is remarkable." But the substantial difference is equally remarkable Compare them in the original. They fall into two distinct groups: Matthew—Mark; Paul—Luke. Matthew alone uses the word "eat." Paul (who received his account from the Lord, 1 Cor. 11 : 23) and Luke lay decided emphasis on: "Do this in remembrance of me," and Paul declares that the bread and wine are the communion (Margin: *participation in*) of the body and blood of Christ. Why then does our book lay the preëminent emphasis on *phagete*, of which three of the writers knew nothing? At least they did not regard that word as essential to the account and to the full and clear understanding of the Institution. An equitable exegesis would at least divide the emphasis.

Moreover, oral manducation is not a generic teaching of the Lutheran Church, and "cannot be demonstrated to be an essential part of the Lutheran Confessional statement."*

It is exactly into such illogicalities that men and books are likely to fall, when they set out with premises that are not accepted as intuitively certain, or that have not been established by facts, or by in controvertible arguments.

7. On p. 379 it is declared that "the distinction between a visible and an invisible Church," is not used by Luther. We are astonished at this lapse. As early as 1521 Luther made the distinction. See Erlangen edition of his works, 27 : 303; and again in the Commentary on Gal. 5 : 19. Hence Neander is right when he says: "The distinction of visible and invisible Church was not taken from the Reformed Church by the Lutheran Church." †

* Krauth's Conservative Ref. p. 462.

† *Hist. Christ. Dogmas*, II, p. 687. See Seeberg, *Hist. of Doctrines*, II, p. 235.

8. On p. 441 we are told that the word "private" in private confession and private absolution does not mean "secret," but "individual" or "personal," and that it is in this sense that we must read Art. XI of the Augsburg Confession. Here we take issue with our book. The word "private" as used in Art. XI and in the Lutheran practice of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries meant "secret," sequestered from the hearing of others, of one to one. And such was a characteristic feature both of private confession and of private absolution in the Lutheran Church.

(1). "With reference to *the place* where the transaction was to take place we remark that the old Lutheran Church retained the so-called confessionals (Buchtstühle) of the Catholic Church, frequently transferred them to a larger private place (Raum: room, place, space), and in this allowed each individual confessant to make his confession before the confessor (Beichtvater) and thus to receive from him privately (privatim) the absolution."*

Documentary proof of this: The Saxon Order of 1580 commands: "The confessionals (Beichtstühle) shall be set up in places widely separated from each other. The people shall stand outside the choir, and shall go to the confessor one after the other, with whom he can speak so that others in the church do not hear it." In the Pomeranian Order it is commanded: "The Confessionals shall be set up in different places, so that others do not crowd upon the confessor, and hear what is said." In the Lauenburg Order *Beichtstühle* and *Privatbeichte* are used synonymously, p. 191.

Historical proof: "As the passages already quoted show, a definite place was shown in the church for the confessional transaction at the Beichtstuhl in use already in the pre-Reformation Church. Not only the *Ohrenbeichte* but also the Lutheran *Privatbeichte*, since it required the hearing of confession and also allowed the enumeration of individual sins, required a place where the pastor, in the church indeed, and thus 'öffentlich' and 'unverdächtig,' but nevertheless, confidentially can

*Klöpper, *Liturgik*, p. 246.

speak with his penitent."* (For hundreds of years before the Reformation it had been, and until this day it is the *law* in the Catholic Church to set up the confessionals openly in the Church and not in the sacristy nor in private houses, in order to avoid scandal. The same identical *law* prevailed in the Lutheran Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In both churches the *publicity* and the *privacy* were exactly the same).

(2). In the Luther Church it was called *Ohrenbeichte, confessio privata seu arcana* (Melanthon): *confessio secreta; confessio sacerdotalis; confessio auricularis* (Old Liturgies and the Dogmaticians), and that the confession was made in secret, that is, at a distance from others is shown in pictures in books of the times.

(3). Confession is ordered to be made *seorsum*, and both confession and absolution are commanded to be transacted "insonderheit," "ingeheim," "abgesondert," (Old Liturgies). "It is called private on account of the *mode*, because it is made privately to the ministers of the Church in the absence of all eyewitnesses, as experience teaches this itself" (Deutschmann); and a fine was imposed for revealing the transactions of the confessional (Dedekennus, I. p. 730). "The fact is that gradually private confession became again the sole ruling order in the Lutheran Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the Saturday *Beichtvesper* among the Lutherans grew to be the full parallel of the mediaeval *Beichtgottesdienst* of Ash Wednesday (Kliefoth 8. p. 183 *et seqq*").†

(4). Of course private confession was indeed personal confession, just as it was and is in the Catholic Church. But it had to be "secret," that is, sequestered from the hearing and intrusion of others in order that it might be personal. And so it is in the Catholic Church today, as any Catholic priest will quickly inform us. "We do not deny that absolution taken in a *secondary manner* can be called private, namely, on account of the application to an individual."‡

* Kliefoth, 2, p. 352.
† Von Zezschwitz in Herzog 2 ed., II., 225.
‡ Carpzov, *Isagoge* 363.,

The fact is our book has been badly informed on this subject. So far as *privateness*, aloofness from others, a transaction between *Beichtkind* and *Beichtvater*, are concerned, *Private Confession* and *Private Absolution* were fully parallel in the Lutheran and Catholic churches. They were both "secret," of one to one, spoken so that others could not hear, though alike in both the confessional could be seen at a distance, as is now the case in the Catholic Church, and has been the case for at least five hundred years. And alike in the two churches they were *personal*, *individual*, for the Lutheran *Beichtvater* and the Catholic priest alike said: *Ego te absolvo.* But they were different in that the Lutheran Church did not *require* an enumeration of sins, or impose satisfactions, though for a long time in many Lutheran churches no one was allowed to commune at the Lord's Supper who had not *privately*, that is, without others hearing it, confessed his sins to the minister of the church, and received from him *privately*, that is, without others hearing what was said, absolution.

Here now we begin to rest our pen, though we had marked other passages of our book for particular notice. The Lutheran Church of America needs a restatement of the Lutheran doctrines in the English language. But to be acceptable and profitable it must be based primarily on the Word of God, and must exhibit the very latest conclusions of biblical and theological science. It must be *positive*, *modern*, *catholic*, *genetic*, *Lutheran*, and it must ignore those elements of controversy which have divided and subdivided the Lutheran Church almost *ad infinitum*; or it must give more than one side. In a word: "We demand a theology that is governed by the confessions, or more briefly, that is symbolical. It is self-evident that the standpoint here designated does not exclude the right of freedom of movement and of critical relation to the Church's symbols. The theologian of our day, faithful to the confessions, need not bind himself to the exegetical and historical method of proof which was employed by the authors of those writings, and which corresponded to the state of the sciences in their day; nor are all the details of their dogmatic system of binding authority for him; nor is he obligated to retain

the harsh polemic tone, the anathemas, and the damnamus of the doctrinal testimonies of the sixteenth century, with respect to those of a different faith. The symbols themselves lay no claim to such an unconditionally binding authority of their letter. They attribute inspired authority to Holy Scripture alone."*

ARTICLE VIII.

DR. SAMUEL SPRECHER, PHILOSOPHER, COLLEGE PRESIDENT AND MAN OF GOD: AN APPRECIATION.

By Professor W. H. Wynn, Ph.D., D.D.

A great man is great, primarily, on the score of the personality he carries about with him, and then, incidentally, as occasion may offer, in what he may say and do. It often happens, thus, that great men, for lack of opportunity, are comparatively circumscribed in their usefulness and influence, there being no great historical issues in their line of endeavor, to call their powers into play. It is, therefore, no uncommon circumstance to find great men moving in humble spheres, trudging, as we would say, in a round of obscure interests and duties, with a lavish affluence of mind and soul that we instinctively feel ought to have the wide world for its range.

For the time it looks like waste. The man is squandering his powers. And then we go on to excuse the anomaly, by saying that it is characteristic of rich endowment that it does not know what it is worth, or it lacks the force of will to make its merits known.

But may it not be that we are in error as regards the function of great men? They are not for a crisis only. As a matter of fact God has sown them thick along all our terrestrial highways, and they are found, at any time, in all the departments of human life. It is a thing of personality. They are naturally and inevitably great men. You feel it not so much in what they do and say, as in what they are—standing there be-

* Dr. Otto Zöckler in *Handbuch d. Theol. Wissenschaften*, I. pp. 15, 16.

fore you, and assuming never to make themselves conspicuous in word or deed.

Our lamented Dr. Sprecher was one of this class. When in his presence, you felt yourself in contact with a superior mind, one of a thousand, entitled to stand greatly above his fellows by the consent of his fellows, he, in the meantime, as unconscious of their suffrages as if he were a little child. We recall now his shrinking habit—the strange light that kindled round his eyelids, and the soft, slightly tremulous salutation that went with it, when passing a group of boisterous boys on the college green.

The whole figure of the man stands out in our memory as vividly as if it were yesterday, now after the blurring interval of so many eventful years. Slim in person, and straight as an arrow, there rested upon his shoulders a vast brain of singularly aesthetic outline and proportions, giving the impression of combined strength and beauty, and assuring the beholder that both philosophy and poetry were regally domiciled there.

In those golden days we talked often of great men, the great men of history, the poets, the philosophers, tne statesmen, the distinguished preachers and reformers; and it was not altogether out of the ordinary flow of devotion that young men have for a favorite teacher, that we came back always to that one ideal great man, under whose instruction we were privileged to sit. He was near us; the great men of whom we were reading were far away.

We recall now when we first learned of Pericles, that towering great man of Athens, in the days of its classic glory, how he carried himself, what his appearance was when he moved his fellow countrymen to tears, speaking there in the Ceramicus over the patriotic dead. He also was noted for a great preponderance of brain—one time from over strain of excitement in speaking, he had to sit down by the wayside, on his way home, and rest his head upon his hand. We could not help thinking that there was one answering this decription here in our college halls. It must have been the same figure, the same picturesque person, the same preponderating brain.

As a speaker our dear Doctor had a style of his own.

Somewhat embarrassed, as he thought, by an imagined misuse of his voice when entering upon his public career—against which he often warned us with a degree of anxiety that we could not understand—he nevertheless had a music in his delivery, that accorded so well with the charm of his personality, and with the high message, he always had on his lips, that to imagine it absent, would have been to see and hear the great Doctor no more.

His voice was keyed upon the upper octave, but had a soft, persuasive, sympathetic accent that fell musically upon the ears of his hearers, and played round their emotions as the fingers of a harpist over the strings of his lyre. His presence was magnetic, and when in good trim he never failed to hold us in rapt attention to the end. And this was much, indeed, considering the high themes on which he habitually dwelt, and the wide range of method by which they were lucidly unrolled.

The dear Doctor preached as no other man preached, not in startling epigrams, or corruscations of wit, or that kind of originality that keeps the curiosity on the stretch. There was no sensation there. But there were great ideas brought down, as he himself was wont to urge upon his classes, to the level of the comprehension of the common mind ordering, always, his sermonic campaigns definitely to this end. Somewhere, remaining with me to this day, is an outline, somewhat in detail, of a sermon he delivered in fitting commemoration of the death of Daniel Webster. He dwelt on the distinctive quality of that great statesman's mind, his extraordinary facility in bringing great ideas down to the level of the intelligence of what we call the common mind—the mind engrossed in the petty round of daily cares. I might have included in my notes that our dear Doctor was but describing the salient peculiarity of his own mind—a great philosopher, bringing the wisdom of the ages to the feet of the Nazerene, and helping his students to see it all there, in that all-transfiguring light.

He did not preach philosophy; he took philosophy *enroute* to the cross of Jesus, and to the ineffable glory of the resurrection morn. And yet we have it to say of him that he was a philosopher *par eminence*, the most gifted in that line it has

been our privilege to meet. He read German with ease, and the Kantean puzzle was then just taxing the sturdiest brains of the thinking world. He turned the pages of the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* with as much ease as we would sweep the incidents of a fascinating romance. Kant's categories came promptly at his bidding, at any time in the class-room, and he could point out with great precision their utmost speculative windings in the vast ideal and materialistic systems that had them for root.

We can all recall the extraordinary mental ferment of those days—how Hegel had etherialized and spiritualized the universe by subliming it all on the climbing stairway of a gossamer logic, flying over the chasm which Kant thought it possible only to circumvent. Kant's "Unknowable" had stultified the world.

In the middle of the last century, when Dr. Sprecker had our young minds in training, things had come to a curious pass. Everywhere it was felt that Kant had no right to go round the difficulty that he was in duty bound to surmount; that his "Practical Reason" was no *bona fide* release from the tangle of skepticism in which his marvellous system had left the world. It remained to do one of two things, to take wings and fly over the difficulty, or, with our English philosophers, accept the "negative" in its marked stubbornness, and make it the compact foundatian for a system of phenomenalism that would limit our knowledge to a world of sense.

Inside and outside of Germany every experiment was tried. On the one hand Carlyle and Emerson were up on wings; on the other side, Sir Wm. Hamilton and John Stuart Mill, and Herbert Spencer, were for taking the Unknowable as a kind of yes-and-no foundation on which their systems should be builded, systems that would respect the limitations of the human mind. Of course as to all those higher matters of God, freedom, immortality, agnosticism was even then in sight, and it was a matter of intense anxiety on the part of our great religious leaders, as to how they were to pilot the young minds entrusted to their charge through the horror and darkness of so imminent a storm.

Not to dwell on that, we must go on to say, that Lawrence P. Hickok published his *Rational Psychology* in 1848, and it was soon thereafter made a text-book in many of the principal colleges of our land. Dr. Sprecher mastered it at once, and put it into our hands. It was to most of us a *res difficilis explicatu*, that is, it exhausted all the brains we had, and then many of us had to go to the rear. We have often since wondered as to the fate of that book. It was unquestionably the most considerable contribution to the Kantean mystery this country has produced. And yet I must rummage our large libraries in vain for a copy of it—it is out of print. His place in the history of speculative thinking—what is that? I put that inquiry to our great contemporary masters, and they have nothing to say.

Perhaps it can all be accounted for in this simple way: The Kantean mystery had expended itself when the *Rational Psychology* brought its solution in—the main current of speculative thinking had swung tide the other way. There was no lack of originality and power in that book. And certainly as to lucidity of statement, and a rare kind of skill in utilizing the metaphorical implications of the terms we use, there was no book to rival it within the reach of our inquisitive minds.

Perhaps its scheme of "subjective idea and objective law" was more specious in appearance than substantial in fact. To the more stupid among our number, or, I should rather say, to those of us whose imaginations were not very active in the blank spaces of consciousness, it was difficult to follow the *a priori* movements of the self-active mind, in weaving its web of subjective idea and objective law, through those dim and dimmer stages of psychological winding indicated as sense, understanding and reason, in orthodox Kantean phrase. But the pursuit was exhilarating, and our instructor was never at a loss as to our exact bearing on this infinite sea. The whole past history of philosophy was tributary to the work we had in hand; the greatest minds of the ages had made their contribution to the insoluble problem, and our dear Doctor was familiar with them all.

His method in the class-room was altogether unique. He would turn our young minds loose in these infinite pastures, and let us forage at will—no note-books, no theses, no examination papers, to stimulate our industry, or guage our formal proficiency in the preparation of our tasks. For him and for us, the study itself was, in itself, its own exceeding great reward, and if its intrinsic attraction would not catch the vagrant intellect, there would be no use in sending a truant officer after it to compel it in.

The wisdom of such a method must, of course, be tried on the merit of its results. Not to speak of mastery in this branch, which found among our number every variety of aptitude and susceptibility on which to draw, we can recall the unfailing enthusiasm kindled in the hearts of generations of students under the Doctor's lectures, on a number of occasions arousing sluggish intellects that could not otherwise be touched.

And now we have a vision of that same old class-room, at the intersecting of the halls on the second floor, our class assembled, and the Doctor in his chair. Our class! alas! all but two of us have boated into the unkown, whither also but yesterday the great Doctor himself took passage—we two hanging like belated leaves on denuded branches in the chilly autumn winds.

But for the moment we are all there. The mystery begins to unroll. Some one has found a difficulty he could not solve. That singular light which we saw only in the Doctor's eye, was kindled in an instant, and then in that soft, quiet, kindly voice peculiar to him, in a sort of climbing, coaxing *crecendo*, he led off in an extempore lecture, that, with the liberty of interruption anywhere usually occupied the entire hour. Light was coming in from all directions; the clouds were driven away. As the discussion progressed the Doctor would close his eyes, and by twirling his spectacles between thumb and finger keep up a meditative rhythm with the pulsing of his thought, in those far off realms of the spirit, which his inner eye was exploring, his outer eye, after the manner of the older mystics, being tightly closed against the intrusion of the outer world.

The dear Doctor was himself a mystic of that finer type, that takes note of the inseparable interlacing of two worlds, in the complex mystery of the life we now live; and have often thought that this was a deliberate expedient of his—this habit he had of closing his eyes.

And now, as we have been under a life-long mortgage to Dr. Sprecher in debt of gratitude we never can repay, we must not omit to speak of his influence upon his pupils in the way of giving tone and tendency to the impressible stages of their spiritual life.

Dr. Sprecher was not the philosopher alone; he was the theolgian as well. But we cannot help thinking that philosophy was his major, and theology his minor branch. It is impossible, when you think of it, for any man however gifted he might be. to be unchallenged master in both kinds, to have the vast problems of philosophy and theology equally submissive to his call. And then as to the relation of the two, there is the old Abelard trouble that would keep philosophy in slavish subserviency to theology, on the assumption that theology, being a child of Revelation, could admit reason into her counsels only through a postern door.

Beyond this, it is a matter of verifiable experience in the ages, that the two things, philosophy and theology, do not readily mix. Theology will loan its high problems to philosophy freely, but philosophy can keep with difficulty from mischievious intermeddling when it gets over into the theologian's domain. The long and sad history of Rationalism will illustrate this, resulting, as we know, in a serious and powerful movement, by a school of theologians of our own day, to shut off metaphysics altogether from the theologian's researches into revealed truth.

The fact is, however, that every man must have his philosophy of life, whether he will or not, and at present I am only urging, that no man can take these two great departments of human learning and research, as technical branches of study, upon his unaided intellect, and hope for equal proficiency in the result. In Dr. Sprecher's case it was the more impracticable, because of the engrossing cares and responsibilities of

a young college, struggling for dear life against prolonged and sometimes crushing financial distress. And we must remember that Wittenberg college grew up under his management into practical self-support, at the expense, of course, of long years of anxiety and worry known only to the good powers and noble men that helped him on.

It was early in the history of that institution that the creed-controversy swept in upon the Church, and Dr. Sprecher, with other powerful coadjutors, was called to the front. It would be unkind to suggest anything in this connection that would tend even remotely to revive the unpleasant memories of those dark days—here as we stand in reverent silence over the Doctor's new-made grave. I mention it, now, solely for the purpose of arriving at a just estimate of this great man's career. After it was all over and gone, it was said of him that he never allowed himself to pen a bitter sentence or utter an angry word. There was the slumbering lion behind those flashing eyes, but the chief boon of all philosophy and spiritual discipline he had acquired, self-knowledge and self-mastry, and unflinching faith in the ultimate self-sufficiency of the truth of God.

One day, being a mere child, so to speak, I ventured to ask him what it could all mean—this worry over the Confessions of the Church. "Well," said he, "they are sacred landmarks in the development of Christian doctrine, and, in our own case, they signalize a crisis in the history of the Church second to none, since the days when the apostles and martyrs sealed their testimony with their blood. But they bear the impress of the limitations of their times, and really ask of us to accept them only as the expression of the deepest experience of those who made them—it is only the words of the Son of Man that shall never pass away." There it was in a nutshell, and for one of his pupils, at least, the seasonable counsel has held fast unwaveringly even to this day.

But meantime the Doctor was drawn off from what we may call his specialty—moving at ease among the high philosophical problems that were trying the most sagacious and critical intellects of that day; moving—we could not help thinking—

into all the most distant harbors of the mind as a merchant of light. The controversy somehow came in to claim a larger share of his thoughts than was meet under the circumstances, most certainly for one of his kind.

Time was going by, and if the expectation of his students was ever to be realized, he must soon take up his pen. His students were looking for some great book from him, that might very well be a simple rescript of the luminous lectures, that had fallen upon their hearing, with such floods of inspiration and insight as had made for them a new world. He must give us the book. Each generation repeated the demand, and the Doctor never for a moment questioned the reasonableness of the demand, and always promised to get soon down to the delightful task.

Alas; it was too much. The Doctor's methods in the classroom, albeit they were powerfully stimulating to the minds of his students, were adverse to the ready and skilled exercise of the pen; and, anyhow, the crowding duties of the college president must reluctantly yield the leisure absolutely necessary for such a task. When by and by the institution came to be more ample-handed, and the brain and patience were somewhat relieved of detail, the Doctor did remind himself of the promised book. But the controversy had so got into the high places of that regal intellect, that it preëmpted all his philosophy, and all his theology as well, in the impossible business of settling a theological dispute.

It is not the time and place to enter into a critical estimate of the fragmentary product of Dr. Sprecher's pen—elsewhere I have tried to discharge the pleasant task. It remains here to say, that the book was not a rescript of those wonderful lectures that so enraptured the minds of his students—not a rescript either in substance or form. Perhaps the great Doctor's mind was at its best, when working under the spontaneous ardor of the moment, and its activity was of that kind, that it must be caught at white heat or not caught at all. O, that some short-hand had been there, to cage the words as they fell from his lips, and even then the other accessories of closed

eyes and swinging spectacles could have had no record on the flying page.

As to substance, that book is weighted with all those high themes which are at the heart of the religion we profess, and philosophy, also, brings in what contribution it can make, toward the solution of the issues which the discussion suggests. But as before intimated the genius of the great Doctor was moving in the thick atmosphere of religious controversy, where his breathing was not easy, and where he must have been plagued by the consciousness that there was no possible port of conciliation and harmony into which he could moor his well-manned bark. No religious controversy has ever been settled by a battle of books, nor, indeed, by any other umpire than that of "silence and slow time." We have demonstrated this to our heart's content; but only a short time ago it did not seem to be known.

The dear Doctor saw this thing, we have reason to believe, when his first volume had gone out like the dove from Noah's Ark, and not returned. The waters were subsiding but not because of his book. The second volume never appeared; and if it had, and the argument had been as strong as human logic could make it, and as his recognized skill in debate would warrant, the warring factions would never come together on that account, no more than King Canute could call to himself the tumbling tides. Religious problems are not solved in that way. Therefore the divine reason for tolerance, and that beautiful spirit of conciliation that sweetens all bitter waters by the hyssop of charity. And this was Dr. Sprecher's spirit. It won the heart of every young man that came within reach of his personality during the thirty-five long years of his presidency of Wittenberg college—never missing a single case, we venture to say.

And this encourages us in the opinion, finally, that Dr. Sprecher was, above all, an ideal college president, and that any college or university should reckon itself wise and fortunate in having at its head a man of that kind. He was one who dwelt habitually in the atmosphere of lofty ideals, pursuing them with a quiet enthusiasm, and dispensing their

light anywhere with unobtrusive simplicity and skill. This is a kind of administration that involves equally the heart and head, and is not so alien from efficiency in practical affairs as we are apt to think. It is government from the high vantage of a unique personality, pervaded through and through with all that reaches us through the higher nature of man, all that religion brings, and the manifest radiations of the Spirit of God. This takes hold of the boisterous youth and subdues him when nothing else will. Espionage and discipline are almost superfluous, because the timely thought of the great and good man at the head, crossing the pathway of the erring, will seasonably keep him in check.

It was the dream of Plato in his ideal republic, that philosophers, men of wisdom and culture, should have the management of its affairs, in which case, the presumption was, that everything would be safe. Of course, with the Greek, a philosopher was the highest type of man, what in our phrase would take in the moral man as well, a kind of man who should include in his complex personality all the highest and best things that human nature can know. Now it will not be fulsome eulogy to say, that Dr. Sprecher was a philosopher of this kind, and therefore the remarkable personal influence he exerted, without effort, over so many generations of college boys.

Aside from what nature gave him, I think I may find the better portion of his high secret in the peculiar kind of spiritual discipline which he exemplified and continually preached. As already intimated there was a strong view of mysticism in his make-up—not ascetic mysticism, but mysticism of the type which Luther represented, and which gave inspirational energy to the great Reformer's irresistible career. For Luther it burned agonizingly in the closet, and flamed consumingly out of doors. In temperament Dr. Sprecher was as far off from brother Martin, as Melanchthon was, but he, like Luther's mild coadjutor, stood together with him in his lofty idea of the person of Christ.

I cannot help thinking that this was Luther's chief theological discovery in the ferment of those times—the recovery,

if I may so describe it, of the highest Christological conception of the primitive church. It came out, awkwardly, it is true, and in crude form, as we may say, in that distinctive feature of the Lutheran theology that makes it preëminently *Christo-centric* in its tone—the habit, so to speak, of concentrating all spiritual forces, and all Deific potencies, in the glorified Jesus, the Divine-Human being essentially, for us, our all-in-all.

We make our boast of this, now-a-days, very often, I fear, without fully measuring its profounder bearings on the ingeneration and maintenance of spiritual life in the soul, and its inclusive, rather than exclusive, working for the salvation of men. Historically we may see it in the operation in those waves of pietistic evangelism that have, now and again, swept over Germany, and which came with our forefathers from across the sea, in those early days, blending somewhat sympathetically, as it must, with the Wesleyan and Puritanic movements of a like character in this country, sharing with them, finally, the unhappy reactions of over-wrought zeal.

But it was in that spirit that Wittenberg college was founded; and I think I am not mistaken, when I insist that the secret of Dr. Sprecher's power is to be traced up specifically to that source. I reason in this way. The *Christo-centric* habit of Luther's thinking floated about for years in the smoke and din of bitter controversy, until, in 1839, Dr. Dorner crystallized it, so to speak, in that incomparable classic of his on the *Person of Christ*—a book which, after making generous allowance for its unfortunate schematism and literary form, was by far the profoundest contribution to that line of theological thinking that the century produced.

Now it was reported of Dr. Sprecher that he put himself down early in his career to translating that work into English, and had his rendering nearly or altogether complete when Dr. Simon's translation appeared from the Edinburgh press. The coincidence was disappointing but gives us to understand into what aggressive currents the mind of Dr. Sprecher was moving, and the definite theological complexion his views had taken on. Thence forward the two great spirits were in friendly correspondence, and it is to be hoped that some day

we may be admitted to the inner workings of these two masterful minds in the letters they wrote.

I have alluded to this significant episode in the life of Dr. Sprecher, by way of assuring my estimate of him, as specifically a product of the deeper spiritual aspects of the theological system of which he was so conspicuous a light. It was Luther's mysticism, nay, shall we not rather say, the mysticism of the great Master Himself, otherwise expressed in his fundamental teaching of immediate, unobstructed access to Himself—the necessity of the most intimate blending of our life with His.

In those days it reported itself to us, not so much from its high custody in the exclusive keeping of any theological school, as in the style of piety that hung like a nimbus around all that our great president said and did. In an especial manner it appeared in all his preaching, and gave an impressive accent to all his prayers. O, those prayers! At any time, in our imagination, after these long years of hearing other voices, and opening ourselves to the subtle swaying of other personalities, we have heard no voice, and felt the charm of no personality, altogether equal to his—at any time we can call up that figure and hear that voice.

A year or more ago, when I found him nearly a centenarian, in the land of flowers, which also for him was "the land of Beulah, where the sun shineth night and day," and where I found him with faculties unwasted, and the same voice, and the same kindly light about his eyes, I attempted, in stammering language, to tell him what was in my heart. And now, here, on his new-made grave, I come to place this little wreath of mine, which, as long as it lasts, shall say, that, in all that incites to upward aspiration and endeavor, I remain a debtor to his memory, more than to that of any other man.

ARTICLE IX.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

The Christian Faith. Personally given in *A System of Doctrine.* By Olin Alfred Curtis, Professor of Systematic Theology in the Drew Theological Seminary. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham. Price $2.50 net.

In this work we have from its learned and able author a fresh presentation of Systematic Theology. Amid the agitations of religious, scientific and philosophic thought during the late decades, there has been but little of this form of discussion. A check to it seemed to have come from the unsettling force of scientific theories, speculative philosophy and criticism whose claims and bearings were awaiting thorough examination and testing. The appearance of a volume like this is a good omen. It has been written in the light of present knowledge and in the temper of mind that is receptive of truth whencesoever certified.

As to the order and interrelations of the various theological topics, the author has left behind him the schedules customary among dogmaticians, and arranged a ground-work with evident view to guide his discussion close to the questions and thought of our day. The whole work is divided into two parts—the first forming an *Introduction*, treating of Man in his relation to animal life, his attributes of personality, moral freedom and responsibility, his religious nature, natural theism, revelation, etc. The aim of the introduction has been to secure an anthropological foundation for Christian theology, by showing that man's personal and moral development can be normally completed only under the terms of the Christian religion. This part lays the basis for the construction of a system of Christian doctrine. The second part is arranged under six doctrinal divisions; Man's Need of Redemption; Jesus Christ, our Lord and Redeemer; Our Lord's Redemptive Work; Redemption Realized in the New Man; Redemption Realized in the New Race; Triune God Revealed in Redemption.

In his anthropological discussions Dr. Curtis, in candid temper takes into discriminating consideration the suggestions of current theoretic science and speculative philosophy—the result making it clear that these leave unimpaired the Scripture teaching as to man's nature, position, spiritual possibilities and responsibilities. In developing, then, his system of Christian doctrine, which is generically that of the large Protestant denomination to which Drew Seminary belongs, he has, following his own choson order, presented the various particular doctrines of the gospel with marked originalty and freshness of statement. The doc-

trines are primarily grounded and shaped through Biblical Exegesis, but are further explained and vindicated by the demands of intuitive or logical thought. The fullest rights of reason are recognized in doctrinal formulation. Dr. Curtis manifestly sees clearly that, by reason of their source in the purpose and plan of God for fallen man, all the realities and provisions of redemptive grace have been perfectly adapted to the essential and constitutional faculties of the human soul, and accurately adjusted to the effecting of spiritual salvation, and hence, as far as can be known at all, are rationally vindicable. The divine teleology makes no irrationalities or misfits in this supreme provision of love and wisdom. And it is altogether reasonable to think that it would exhibit spiritual mysteries beyond the findings of science or philosophy. Our author's fresh discussion of the evangelical doctrines in the light of present learning and in the terms and thought of our times deserves a welcome. It reminds ministers, theological students and intelligent laymen, that theology is not losing its right to be "conservative" of its own fundamental truths, as taught in the Christian Scriptures and embodied in the orthodox confessions of the Church. We do not accept all the particular doctrinal tenets or conclusions of our learned author, but his work is able, fresh, and opportune, and a careful reading of it will be full of interest and profit.

M. VALENTINE.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

"*The Use of the Scriptures in Theology.*" The Nathaniel William Taylor Lectures for 1905, given before the Divinity School of Yale University. By William Newton Clarke, D.D., Professor of Christian Theology in Colgate University. 12mo pp. x, 170 $1.00 net.

This little volume is written in the calm, happy vein characteristic of Dr. Clarke, who is best known by his "Outline of Christian Theology," which has passed through a number of editions. There is a charm about his style that wins one's admiration and holds the attention. The easy flow of thought and of language is unhindered by quotations. What he says he says as the matured conviction of his own mind, and he says it fearlessly.

Had we not already known Dr. Clarke's attitude on inspiration, we might have hoped that the title of his latest book was a promise of a plea for the use of *more* Scripture in Theology. The book, however, justifies the expectation that it would argue for the use of *less* Scripture in Theology. Some years ago Theology was decried because it was supposed to contain too little of the Bible. Here it is condemned because it contains too much of the Bible.

Dr. Clarke is courageous, though gentle. He pleads for honesty, whatever the result. We can but endorse this spirit; yet we do not misrepresent him when we say that he has not always stated with fair-

ness the position of the conservative theologian. He confesses that he too was once a conservative. Modern scholarship, as he accepts it, has influenced him to give up the form, if not the content, of the old belief in the Scriptures. He still stands loyally for Christ as the revealer of God; but believes that he has found a more excellenf way of setting Him forth than had the fathers. He belongs to the "mediating" school of Bruce and Dods.

The Lectures are four in number, headed respectively: The Problem, The Principle, Results Negative, and Results Positive. "These lectures were delivered before a school of Theology, but their purpose is popular, quite as much as it is professional. They are intended to serve as a help toward the right using of the Bible in present conditions, whether by students, by preachers, or by the people" (Preface).

The Problem discusses "the present situatlon, and how the wrong using of the Scriptures has wrought harm to Theology." The gist of this lecture is a denial of the Protestant position of the supreme authority of the Scriptures. He denies that the canon has proper authentication; and affirms that theologians fail to give the words of Jesus their paramount place. He declares that "it has been assumed that anything in the Bible may be brought into theology." He rejects "the proof-text method" of substantiating a doctrine. He denies the infallibility of the Scriptures, and consequently their inspiration as ordinarily understood. He says "There is no claim of such inspiration, and there is no proof of it." In view of these things he asks, "Are we at liberty to dissent from biblical statements? Are we in any sense judges of the value of biblical statements? If we have any liberty in the matter, on what ground shall we claim it? If we are not in the old position, then in what position are we?"

In this first lecture, therefore, the old position is yielded; the supreme authority of the Bible as a whole is abandoned. The attitude of the conservative theologian, however, is misstated. The latter does not use or claim all parts of the Bible as equally important; nor would he prove a doctrine by random citations of proof-texts regardless of the context, or put the Old Testament on the same level with the New. The progressive character of revelation is freely recognized, and the obscurer parts of Scripture are understood only in the light of those that are plain. The statement that the writers of Scripture claim no inspiration is a purely gratutious assertion in the face of the repeated "Thus saith the Lord." The great majority of Christian teachers do not share Dr. Clarke's position that scholarship has destroyed the authority of the Bible as the inspired book of God.

The second lecture reveals the alleged true method of reading the Scriptures. Dr. Clarke thinks that he has discovered an infallible "principle," to whose test all Scripture must be submitted. "The principle is, that the Christian element in the Scriptures is the indis-

pensable and formative element in Christian theology, and is the only element in the Scriptures which Christian theology is either required or permitted to receive as contributing to its substance" (p. 50).

In the abstract we cheerfully agree to this principle. If we have read modern "orthodox" theology aright, this principle is universally acknowledged. The divergence of Dr. Clarke and his school from conservative theology lies in the application of this principle. The former believes that the principle will relegate to oblivion, to myth, to allegory, to fallible human history a large part of the Bible. The latter believes that the principle substantiates the entireBible as the word of God, culminating in the record of the person and work of Jesus Christ.

Dr. Clarke holds that an intelligent, spiritual mind can discern what parts of the Scriptures have "the Christian element" and what parts are non-Christian. Vainly does he defend himself against the charge of subjectivity, and of arguing for a standard as varied as the individuals who may set it up. The charge is well founded. What kind of a Bible will be left us by Dr. Clarke? What kind of a Christ will the fallible Bible give us? We know what a Strauss, a Rothe, a Holtzmann, a Harnack, and an Abbott have set forth concerning him. What assurance is there, that when the Bible is cut with a penknife that the picture of its chief character will not be mutilated?

The third lecture treating of the Negative Results of Dr. Clarke's method is illustrative of its fallacy. He says, "Some familiar matters will be missed from theology when Christ has the field to himself." Among the matters eliminated is the account of the origin of the human race, the origin of the world, and the origin of sin. It is claimed that Christ bore no testimony as to the manner of creation, or ever referred to the origin of human sin. But, how will Dr. Clarke explain Christ's silence? Surely Christ must have known or not known the truth about these things. His silence can be interpreted only in one of two ways. He must have approved of the ancient record, or must have been ignorant of the facts. Even Dr. Clarke would hardly hold to the latter.

Further eliminations include the doctrine that Jesus was the Messiah, This was a vague Jewish notion that never had a realization. The Second Advent also has no warrant, though Dr. Clarke admits that Jesus himself taught it, but under misleading influences, or more probably "in the limitations of humanity." As might be expected the "sacrificial theology" is sacrificed by Dr. Clarke. The Epistle to the Hebrews is discredited, and the theology of Paul is dismembered.

Such are some of the matters which the "Christian element," as set forth by Dr. Clarke, will exclude. The logic of the process is amazing to say the least.

The Results Positive, claimed in the concluding lecture, are in general a more correct conception of Christ. The "Christian element"

will now stand out, and the rest of the Scriptures will be illustrative. They will be taken at their real value as embodying the more or less correct conception of truth and fact as seen by Jew and Gentile. The "matchless conception of God which we find in Christ" will shine forth. A firmer ground for our doctrine concerning man, sin, salvation, duty and destiny will be found in the truth concerning God. Religion will be viewed apart from metaphysical and philosophical speculations. Theology will thus also be rendered "very largely independent of biblical criticism," of theories of inspiration and of the canon. "When we use the Bible thus, we find the true meaning and use of Authority. Authority belongs in the relation between God and us, and only there." The practical result will be the disenthralling of the preacher who is uncertain now about his Bible. The Sunday-school teacher will be delivered from teaching matter which is "incredible as history," and will be delivered from "pathetic failure" now impending. "The people also" need the view as set forth lest their faith suffer shipwreck, when they once discover that they have rested it on a discredited Bible instead of on the living God.

Much in the book meets with our hearty endorsement. We agree that every part of Scripture is not equal in value to every other part. It is doubtful whether any one holds this. But we do believe upon the most ample grounds that "Every Scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness" (2 Tim. 3 : 16). "The scripture cannot be broken" Jesus himself declares (John 10 : 30). The Bible stands, and will always stand when viewed in the light of the life and words of Christ. We are free to concede a gradual revelation culminating in Christ. The proofs of the authenticity of the Bible cannot be offered in a sentence. They are, however, easily accessible to inquirers.

Dr. Clarke's book is specious and very readable. We fear that it will do harm. Some will be swept from their moorings because, like Dr. Clarke, they will take up the anchor once fastened to the "impregnable rock" of Holy Scripture, and cast it into the hold of the vessel. Let us hope that before they have drifted too far according to an uncertain chart, they may return to the "sure Word."

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Essays in Application. By Henry Van Dyke.

Here is a book of twelve essays, all thoroughly good and practical. They are optimistic. They make the reader think more, feel better, and resolve to act more nobly. The author is an artist and a philosopher. He sees things as they are, and tries to make the world better. He is such an author as should be read by those gloomy preachers who are always looking on the dark side of things, and seem to try to make people feel bad. We commend these essays to all lovers cf the true, the beautiful and the good. The question, *Is the world growing better*, is

answered—and we think rightly—affirmatively. There is more justice, kindness, love, and good cheer in the world today than there has ever been heretofore. It all comes from "the beloved life that was born nineteen hundred years ago in Bethlehem."

Poverty and Theft is a masterpiece. We give a single illustration: "The Bible tells me that I must deal my bread to the hungry; communism tells the hungry that he may take it for himself." *The Creative Ideal of Education* contains a strong plea for that kind of education that makes men better; not for more colleges with power to confer degrees. But while the author is artist and philosopher he cannot be allowed to speak *ex cathedra* as a historian. We more than question the correctness of the historical part of a statement found on p. 85: "Religious freedom (which, take it all in all, is the most precious possession in America) is a watchword translated from the Dutch." How much religious liberty did the Gomarists and the Synod of Dort allow the Arminians in Holland? and how much of it did Peter Stuyvesant allow the Lutherans and the Quakers in the New Netherlands? History answers: *None*. They recognized that "Conscience is God's province," provided it be a Calvinistic conscience. The fact is that the real apostles of religious liberty in America were the Calverts in Maryland, William Penn in Pennsylvania, and Thomas Jefferson in Virginia—laymen all of them. Honor to whom honor.

J. W. RICHARD.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

The Gist of the Sermon. An old message for young men. By Rev. Herbert C. Alleman.

Certain books of the Old Testament lend themselves with peculiar ease to the mingling of secular elements in religious teaching. Chief of these are *Job*, *Ruth*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Song of Solomon*, and it could readily be shown that preachers of all ages have had a particular weakness for the exposition of these books, in which the secular beauties of of poetry and philosophy are as it were consecrated and laid on the altar of the Church. This is of course no more than a wise and profitable use of legitimate opportunities, to which no blame can attach. The 'human interest' of *Job*, the philosophic enlightenment of 'the Preacher,' the poetic grace of the *Song of Solomon* form a common meeting-ground for saint and sinner, skeptic and apologist, and the preacher is wise who baits a snare for the worldly with the food to which they are most suceptible. But, as a matter of curious interest, it may be recalled that the attractions of the merely artistic and external beauties of these parts of the Bible have not been without their dangers and temptations in the past. The profane use of the religious lyric by priestly eroticists of the Middle Ages shows one of these dangers in a period of corruption within the Church; and even in modern times some of the most evangelical of preachers have been betrayed by these later Jewish books into a levity

of treatment that is but little congruous with the sacredness of their office. Whoever would wish to see a curious instance needs only to go to the sermons of that excellent English divine, Thomas Adams, who suffered for the severity of his Puritanism under Archbishop Laud. He will find among these brilliant sermons, all of them of fine literary quality, more than one in which the lyrist Solomon brushes elbows with Horace, Ovid, and the even less edifying poets of the Italian Renaissance.

Mr. Alleman, in his popular exposition of the *Book of Ecclesiastes*, drags the stream of literature with almost as wide a net as Thomas Adams. It is true that the poets of heathen antiquity are banned from his pages, as from all modern sermons; but in compensation our own modern poets are quoted with a freedom that is approved by present custom, but would seem to our 17th century predecessors much more strange than equal freedom with the classics. It is evident, too, that he is drawn to the book by the literary charm of our beautiful English version of it, and that he has a happy skill in conveying this charm to his readers. Yet it need hardly be said that he is assoiled of any blame of impropriety or irreverence that might be implied in the comparison. *The Gist of the Sermon* is an earnest attempt conducted on a high plane of thought, to apply to the insistent questions of our day the problem proposed by the unidentified philosopher who for dramatic and artistic purposes chose to personate in his discourse the sage and singer King Solomon. The plan of the book is very simple, and the treatment throughout is professedly popular and literary rather than learned. In the first chapter, 'Soliloquy,' the literary form of *Ecclesiastes* is expounded with many parallels and illustrations from profane literature; in the second chapter, its leading motive, disillusionment, disappointment with the world, is set forth under the caption 'The Plaint Human'; and in the ten succeeding chapters the Preacher is followed through all the experiences of life by which he arrives at last at the conclusion: "Fear God and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man."

The author modestly calls his book an attempt to popularize the learning of others, and it has the clearness, readableness, and contemporary interest that such a book should have. The merits of its style will doubtless carry it safely to the audience for which it is meant. If any fault were to be found with the manner of the treatment it would have to be with the habit of free quotation just referred to. There is undoubtedly much beauty in a mosaic of fragments from such masters of eloquence as Pascal, Burns, Carlyle, and Tennyson; but is it possible for even the most skillful of writers to subdue all the colors of such fragments to a harmony with the groundtones of his own style? Is there not a loss of force, little compensated by the effectiveness of the quotation itself, intrusting a climax as an emotional appeal to another? This, however, is to find fault with the book in the point in which it is in fact most excellent, namely in its literary quality. Mr. Alleman has a native gift of

happy and factful phrasing that appears in the title of the book, in its dedication, and on every page. His style shows the effect of years of literary training in the pulpit and of study of the best masters of pulpit-eloquence. The literary quality of his writing is unmistakable, and if we object to the burden of quotation the text is made to carry it is only because it leaves less scope to the free exercise of his own gift of expression.

MORRIS W. CROLL.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

The Problem of the Old Testament. By James Orr, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and Systematic Theology. United Free Church College, Glasgow, Pp. lii and 562.

At last we are beginning to get books on the origin, date of composition and authorship of the Old Testament from conservative writers. Heretofore nearly all works on these subjects came from the critical school. The Higher Critics have had things pretty much their own way. For a while it seemed as if there was but one side to the grave question and that the critics had that side. Now a change is coming on. Men equally learned are rising up to defend the Bible from their disintegrating work. Those who still believe that the Old Testament is what it claims to be, the inspired word of God, are coming to the front; the conservative men of the Christian Church are being heard from, volume after volume is issuing from the press.

Among the latest of these volumes is Dr. Orr's work on the Problem of the Old Testament. This is volume III of the Bross Foundation. Were no other volume to issue from this Foundation, the purpose and liberality of the late William Bross in establishing a Fund for the defense of the Christian religion would be amply justified. This volume is a masterpiece, it leaves nothing to be wished for. The author is not only a profound scholar, but he is entirely familiar with all the arguments of the critic, and at home in all the intricacies and complexities, of their methods. The discussion throughout is temperate and dignified, simple, yet profound. His plan of procedure is unique. He grants the critics their conclusions, assumes that the so-called results are "assured," and then shows the insuperable difficulties that confront the various theories. While freely admitting that the critics have rendered some service, such as "a freshening of interest in the historical, poetical and prophetical parts of the Old Testament and an immensely better understanding of its textual meaning and historical setting," nevertheless, "a deep cleft remains between the believing and unbelieving views of the Old Testament."

The documentary theory, i. e., of the existance the four original documents, J E D and P, concerning which the critics entertain not the slightest doubt, is shown by our author to be resting on precarious grounds. The hopeless disagreements of the critics them-

selves in defining the boundary lines of the several documents indicate that subjectivism is after all a prominent factor in these investigations, while the increasing multiplication of secondary sources shows how this much vaunted documentary theory fails to fit into the facts.

Our author is at his best when he presents the teleological argument or the argument from Purpose, as exhibited in the Pentateuch. This argument we deem unanswerable. When it is further stated that the conclusions of the critics affect the authority of the Holy Scriptures, our author makes affirmation of a truth which is self-evident, and which has been felt, and felt keenly, by all believers in the Bible. To expect that men will continue to believe in a book which according to the critics, is filled with myth and legends and error and pious frauds, is to expect the impossible. The critics themselves are realizing this truth and are hastening to undo the wrong they have perpetrated against men's faith in God's word, as witness the last volume of Dr. Dods. We most heartily commend this work of Dr. Orr to all lovers of the Bible.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

AUGUSTA PUBLISHING CO., CRIMORA, VA.

Country Sermons, Vol. I. (New Series). Lenten, Confessional and Funeral Sermons. By Rev. F. Kuegele. 326 pages. $1.00.

This volume contains fourteen sermons for Lent, mainly on texts taken from the Old Testament, and sixteen sermons, or addresses, suitable for Communion occasions or Preparatory service. To these are added twenty-three "Funeral Orations," thirteen of which are a reprint from a former volume published by the author some years ago.

Probably none of these discourses could be called "great" sermons, but they can justly be pronounced "good" sermons, and goodness is no doubt a better quality in a sermon than greatness. They are plain, simple and practical presentations of evangelical truth, dealing in a suggestive and helpful way with the common, everyday problems of Christian experience and life. They would be especially suitable for reading by those who are not able to attend public service, or by laymen at gatherings of the congregations in vacant churches, or in remote districts when there is no minister to preach.

The funeral addresses, or "Orations" as the author calls them, are selected so as to cover almost every conceivable circumstance under which such a service may be required. Other ministers, and especially young ministers, are likely, therefore, to find them helpful in the preparation for this very difficult part of a pastor's work.

On the whole, we can highly commend this volume for just what the title suggests it to be, a volume of plain sermons for plain people.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

The Unrealized Logic of Religion. A Study in Credibilities, the Thirty-Fifth Fernley Lecture. By W. H. Fitchett, B.A , L.L.D. Eighth Thousand. 8mo. pp vi. 275. $1.00 net.

This is one of those books of which the reviewer is wont to say, "It ought to be in every library." After reading it, we were not surprised that the eighth thousand had been printed. We trust that many editions of the book will be called for. Its make-up is worthy of the contents and of the publisher. Its price is nominal. We com mend it to our millionaire philanthropists for free distribution.

The title of the book is appropriate, but not taking. Its contents, however, justify the name. *The Unrealized Logic of Religion* is an apologetic in simple, eloquent language, in popular lecture form. It is a vindication of Christianity upon logical grounds without the phraseology of the schools. In masterly fashion the author sets forth the credibility of the Christian religion by arguments drawn from History, Science, Philosophy, Literature, Spiritual Life and Common Life. He gives evidence of a wide acquaintance with the literature of these various topics. He shows the absurdity of atheism, materialism, and agnosticism. By a logic, as invincible as truth, he defends the ancient citadel of faith.

The book is "a study in credibilities," related and contrasted. Its cumulative force is overpowering. The presumption created in favor of Christianity as over against its rejection is irresistable. As an illustration of the author's method and style we quote a paragraph almost at random, from the chapter on "The Logic of Unproved Negatives."

"The logic that finally disproved Christianity must, of course, in the very act of doing it, prove some astonishing, not to say incredible, things. If, for example Christianity is demonstrably untrue, then all the Saints are wrong, and all the rogues are right. The truth is on the side, not of John, who laid his head on the bosom of Jesus, but of Judas, who betrayed Him; of the soldiers, who mocked him; of Pilate, who scourged and crucified Him. Paul, who preached Jesus Christ and died for Him, was mistaken. Julian the apostate, who warred against 'The Galilean' was right! If Christianity is, indeed, proved to be a lie, then the Bible—the flower of all our literature, the most wonderful book the eye of man has ever read, the text-book of the only morals we know, the root and source of all civilization—must be either the dreams of fools or the forgery of rogues. How did fools come to dream the loftier wisdom than wise men can reach even in their waking moments? By what art did rogues invent the greatest force for righteousness history has ever seen?"

J. A. SINGMASTER.

ATLANTIC MONTHLY, BOSTON.

The April number of the *Atlantic Monthly* is one of the most valuable numbers that has ever been issued and that is saying a very great deal. The articles are all upon timely and important topics. Millard G. Parsons contributes a striking paper on Making Education Hit the Mark which should interest and benefit every student and teacher. George W. Alger has a fine article on Criminal Reform Law; Charles W. Harger a very original one on The Lodge; Dr. C. W. Saleeby, the English seientist one on The Testimony of Biology to Religion; Alexander D. Noyes has an instructive discussion of Railway Securities as an Investment; W. S. Rossiter considers the question, What Shall we do With Public Documents? and John W. Foster writes upon Questions of the Far East. The Reform in Church Music; A Plea for the Enclosed Garden and Tide-Rivers are the subjects of the essays.

Then there are three choice stories, several poems that are gems and the always clever Contributors' Club. No one who enjoys truly good literature can afford to be without the *Atlantic*. As other magazines are assuming more and more of the "yellow" type the *Atlantic* stands out the dignified monthly which gives its readers only the best. We never read it without feeling that we owe a debt of gratitude for such a "spread" of good things.

PERRY MASON COMPANY, BOSTON, MASS.

We have over and over again commended the *Youth's Companion* as an excellent paper for young people and it has fully met all we have said in its favor. We find it improving year by year. Its influence in the home cannot be otherwise than healthful and helpful. It is this in the way of education as well as entertainment, and, best of all, it is a thoroughly safe periodical to put into the hands of the young.

But it is not the young only who enjoy reading it. All members of the family, of all ages, like it. The boy likes it, for it reflects in its pages every boyish taste and every fine boyish aspiration. The father likes it, not only for its fiction but for its fund of information of the practical sort. The girl likes it for the stories, anecdotes, sketches and editorial articles printed in each number especially for her. The mother likes it for its stories of domestic life and family affection, for its children's page, and for its medical article. With entire propriety the management announces that the *Youth's Campanion* is "an illustrated weekly paper for all the family."

THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JULY, 1906.

ARTICLE I.

FREE WILL. AUGSBURG CONFESSION ARTICLE XVIII.*

By Professor M. Coover, D.D.

"Concerning free will they teach, that the human will possesses some liberty for the performance of civil duties, and for the choice of those things subject to reason. But it does not possess the power, without the influence of the Holy Spirit, of fulfilling the righteousness of God, or spiritual righteousness; for the natural man receiveth not the things which are of the Spirit of God: But this is accomplished in the heart, when the Holy Spirit is received through the word. The same is declared by Augustine in so many words: "We confess that all men have a free will, which possesses the judgment of reason, by which they cannot indeed, without the divine aid, either begin or certainly accomplish, what is becoming in things relating to God; but only in works of the present life, as well good as evil. In good works, I say, which arise from our natural goodness, such as to choose to labor in the field, to eat and drink, to choose to have a friend, to have clothing, to build a house, to take a wife, to feed cattle, to learn various and useful arts, or to do any good thing relative to this life; all which things, however, do not exist without the divine government; yea, they exist and begin to be from Him and through Him.

And in evil works (men have a free will), such as to choose to worship an idol, to will to commit murder, etc."

* Holman Lecture, delivered in the Gettysburg Seminary Chapel, May 8, 1906.

They condemn the Pelagians, and others, who teach that we are able, by the mere powers of nature, without the aid of the Holy Spirit, to love God above all things, and to do His commands, as to the substance of our actions. For, although nature may be able, after a certain manner, to perform external actions, such as to abstain from theft, from murder, etc., yet it cannot perform the inner motions, such as the fear of God, faith in God, chastity, patience, etc."

The mental diversion of men today rarely finds its play in disertations on free will. The practical force of will now prevails and finds exercise in material products and achievements. We are not disposed as Milton's fallen angels, who

> Sat on hill retired
> In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high
> Of providence, foreknowledge, will and fate,
> Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute.

Fallen man today is scarcely in sympathy with abstruse divertisements. The tedium of this our strenuous life is rarely sought to be dispelled by metaphysical exercises. The practical science of today, however, that so engrosses us, may sometime be as dull, prolix, and unprofitable to our remote descendants. But old subjects return yoked together with new aspects of the same old unanswered problems. We are passing from a dogmatic to an ethical era, from an arrogant to an eclectic philosophy, from a departmental conception of the constitution of man to a more adequate psychological view of his unitary personality. Life without ethical ends is life without reason, and ethics is found to be in a realm of pauperism if there be no such thing as free will. It is the ethical bearing of free will that gives it its present importance.

When the whole of man is resolved into physical nature, and when moral restraints, reproots, and punishments, as well as ethical appreciations and approvals, are deemed mere utilitarian products in man's evolution, the ascribing of virtue and moral worth to heredity and environment results in moral paralysis. The determination of life and conduct on a purely materialistic basis lowers humanity to a mere link in an endless

chain of evolution, and results in lax morals, lax business integrity, and flabby character.

To meet a science which is an imperfect classification of knowledge, because not giving due importance to all observable factors, another science must be coördinated which satisfies to a greater degree the unsolved problems of man's ethical being. Religion influences thought as well as it affects feeling and action, and every age brings forward some new reflective aspects of religious problems. Things contemplated in an intelligible and systematic manner become science.

The materials of religious science are divine and transcendental; the forms of religious science are human. But the human method of analysis and synthesis of transcendental themes is necessary for a clear and consecutive view of religious subjects. God makes flowers; man makes botany, and the science of botany enables us to understand flowers. Philosophy guards the relations of thought to the method; fixes the lines of analytic and synthetic procedure, and gives a rational product. A thing may be rational, yet not rationalistic. Rightly and clearly to understand, we must cognize and compare, consider and digest. Science is knowledge classified. What is theologically true cannot be philosophically false. There is such a thing as scientific orthodoxy.

Freedom of will is both psychological and metaphysical. The will to act, the power to cause decisions, is a psychological function, is psychological freedom. Metaphysical freedom means that the will that causes decisions has itself no cause; that it is impelled or influenced by no anterior cause or antecedent event. That man causes decisions is not doubted, but that the actions of man's will are absolutely uncaused is much debated. Is man's will a real *agens*, a first cause, or is there some anterior influence antecedent to his moral choice? The failure to distinguish between psychological and metaphysical freedom has been the cause of endless controversy among theologians.

A man religiously influenced by prevenient influences from God acts and chooses by psychological freedom, and is not a first cause of his moral change. The will to be spiritual is not

without antecedent grace, not without divine illumination of his intellect.

Pelagianism makes man spiritually and morally his own creator by regarding him as acting from choices which he has willed without anterior spiritual causes. Metaphysical freedom of will in man makes him an agent of first cause.

Evil came into actual being as sin through man's metaphysical freedom. God made Adam free to choose between good and evil and thus to initiate character, and to become a moral being, which was alone possible by virtue of independent and uncaused action of personal will. The act of bad choice on the part of Adam has become a habit in the human race. What science calls heredity, theology in part calls original sin. The moral quality as well as physical tendencies of Adam descend to his offspring. An anterior cause, a proclivity to evil, gives man but the power of psychological freedom of the will. He is now not absolutely an *agens*, but *agitur* in moral conduct. This, however, does not excuse him of his evil conduct. He still has freedom of choice. The end which a self-conscious subject presents to itself is regulative of his action, and the consequences of his action entail responsibility.

To view the subject of free will in its manifold implications, the theological aspect must be unfolded from its interconnections with other sciences. Religion is the mother of philosophy. The contemplation of the unseen Infinite and Absolute begets wonder. Plato says philosophy begins in wonder. Man is a religious being because he is conscious of relations to unseen powers, and his religion sustains a vital relation to all his classified knowledge. Material science, metaphysics, psychology, and ethics, must be reckoned with in their interrelations in the consideration of religion, as well as of theology.

I. THE NATURALISTIC ASPECT OF FREE WILL.

The desire of the human mind to systematize and classify all knowledge and to bring it into unity has fostered a mechanical scheme of nature. Nature is orderly in its procedure, and unvarying antecedent and consequent in the conduct of natural

forces has given the concept of law. But this law is not a causal force; it is only a name given to the orderliness observed in the conduct of nature. Natural law is not a force, but a formula; a generalization describing the orderly action of nature as manifested in the behavior of bodies. This sense of order has systematized all forces both of matter and of mind, and developed an empirical system all inclusive. Inference deducted from a clear comprehension of parts has led to the acceptance of the conviction that the whole is formed by the same determinative plan. Successive departments of human knowledge have been bound together under the feeling of certainty that there is a logical as well as natural unity to be reached by this method. Scientific success confirms the procedure so that the belief grows in extent and in intensity of conviction. The unity and uniformity of nature has become a settled conclusion since it was propounded by the great minds of the eighteenth century.

The psychological and moral elements of man's nature are included in this all-embracing system. Man is a product of natural forces, a being charactered in his personality partly by heredity, partly by his own past action, partly by physical forces of environment. His will like his self-consciousness is a complex manifestation of material elements, and the law of causality is as absolute for mind as for matter.

It is expected that the movements and history of men may be predicted, after fuller knowledge of psychological forces, with the precision by which planetary movements are calculated.

The current of modern psychology is strongly borne in the direction of materialism. Thought is analyzed as molecular movements of the brain. Consciousness is inextricably bound up with matter; soul is a relic of an outworn and abandoned terminology; and conscience is a metaphysical surplusage.

But it is discerned that the materialist who affirms that matter is the whole of existence, and that but a mode of motion, utters a paradox. His very assertion lifts him out of the category of thing into that of thought, and if thought is but a mode of motion it is an escape valve through which

energy is dissipated without any resultant transmutation into continued modal energy. The saying of Cabanis that the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile is proved a false psychology.

And after approved psychology comes ethics whereby it is discovered that the moral sentiments of indignation against, and responsibility for, crime, and the right of punishment, have no logical foundation in society if there be no moral freedom. Moral restraints and retributions are unjustifiable apart from moral responsibility.

Attempts may be made to cover up the gross features of bald materialism by agnosticism, but the answer or lack of answer does not long satisfy the sensible and inquisitive mind. Something more than sublimated matter must be called into play for brain-power and thought-process; and chemical changes can scarcely produce conscience.

There is no loss of energy in its transitional forms of transmutation in the pure order of nature, and if mere physical or nerve energy can pass into thought there must result a loss in the sum of the world's physical force. A mode of motion converted into thought involves the loss of physical energy, and the gradual but sure diminution of forces which have the power of refunding their energy into other forms. Thought is not a precipitate, and if purely physical antecedents effect mental consequents, matter becomes a vanishing quantity, and its essential law of the conservation of energy is nullified.

To avoid this the "prëestablished harmony" of Leibnitz in the inter-action of matter and mind may come in the new dress of psycho-physical monism, or the "double aspect" theory. But this does not solve the problem; it just adds another. Thing and thought are not two sides of the same thing. The gulf that is fixed between thought and thing cannot be bridged by a parallelism. Mental and molecular harmony is not an undivorced unity. It they constitute a unity, if thought and thing are identical, they are one, and one is not a harmony. Symphony implies parts distinct but blending. If thought and thing are two, they are not one. There

is an absolute dualism in their existence, or they are identical, and if identical, which is real, matter, or spirit? Thus we are again divided into two camps of philosophy. We are purely materialists, or purely spiritualists. We must choose between Haeckel and Hegel. When the material element of combined thought and thing is accentuated, we have materialism predominant, and the "double aspect" becomes empirically binocular; and when the thought element is accentuated the monism passes into transcendentalism, and we have spiritualistic pantheism.

Thus the psycho-physical theory resolves itself through the predilection of its advocates into materialism, or idealism. In neither of these conceptions of being is man truly free as a personality, nor is free will a discoverable factor. The infinity and eternity of matter bewilders us, and the illusion of matter and sole existence of spirit eviscerates our empirical existence, and evaporates our personality. If matter is the whole of being, our refunding is spiritual annihilation; if spirit is the whole of existence, if we are but an evanescent expression of God in our fleeting illusory experience, our refunding is the loss of self conscious personality; death brings to an end the continuity of self-consciousness. Though we sit apart retired, and "reason high" of

> "Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,"

we seeking find no end, "in wondering mazes lost." We are, at most, free to speculate, or to view all as a necessitous dream.

Sidgwick in his *Methods of Ethics* gives a suppositional case of possible danger in free will. Suppose all the planets were endowed with free will, and could exercise the power of resistance to the centripetal and centrifugal forces which keep the universe in equilibrium and order, would not our confidence in the stability of nature be impaired and somewhat shaken? Astronomical calculations would have to be ventured on with reservation, and be limited by conditional considerations. Astronomy must then cease to be an exact science. But this argu-

ment is more specious than logical. Planets, too, have their aberrations, and cause damage. We are occasionally smitten by a meteorite from some planetary world. If wrong were forever on the throne, we could prognosticate no social status. But the realm of freedom has its major part in righteousness. Through moral harmony thus made generally dominant we can predict human conditions, and compose a reliable social science.

Professor Sidgwick, while recognizing the benefits to the moral world of the acceptance of the principle of free will, sees another formidable difficulty. It is difficult to conceive of a world thoroughly under governmental rule in which an indefinite number of free wills operate as original causes. But here Professor Sidgwick confuses metaphysical with psychological free will. And if he includes the difficulty under psychological freedom, there is a solution of it. The difficulty dissolves itself when history shows that a minority who are righteously animated by good moral sentiment carry with them the obedience of the many through their sense of moral approval of the good, if not by practical conformity through willing conduct. Wills need not be an absolute unit for government. So great is right that its possession and practice by a minority compels respect and compliance, and effects obedience to its mandates. The rule of right is not necessarily the rule of the majority, much less of a unitary society. The very force of freedom lies in the rights and ethics of man, and is rooted in the ground of invincible truth. Though we may forecast men's conduct, and prophesy future conditions of society, and at length find discrepancies in the fullfilment, yet we do not attribute our miscalculation to the free wills of the individuals, but to our lack of knowledge respecting their circumstances, character, and impulses. We feel free to calculate because free wills are constrained by social laws and moral factors, which are normally computable. The consideration of moral forces is reasonable, because their effects are calculable. We do not ignore free will, but reckon free will in harmony with social right. Free wills in moral government are calculable factors from a law of order created by freedom itself. The

law of nature is selfish segregation; the law of society is the sense of duty and social obligation. It is only a free agent that will refuse to follow the line of the least resistance and assume hardships for altruistic ends. Freedom is the exponent of man as a personality, the following of a conscious end or idea, and not the *entia imaginationis* of Spinoza.

The social aspect of freedom forces into consideration the expression in practical and concrete forms of merit and demerit in society. If man be a mere child of nature, a being charactered by causes and forces anterior to his self-consciousness, merit and demerit in his conduct are irrelevant sentiments. It smacks of misplaced sentiment to praise and reward a man for conduct due to mere fortuitous circumstances; and it would be repugnant to our sensibilities to blame and punish him for actions due to necessity expressed in the concurrence of accidental events or in the force of environment.

A man does not reproach himself for his congenital blindness but when he reproaches himself for choosing the good with feebleness and the bad with avidity, he distinguishes himself from physical nature, and places himself in the moral sphere. A man may feel sorry for his hereditary blemish, but it does not rest on his conscience.

Kant affirms that freedom is a necessary postulate of morality. The moral consciousness is dissolved by a naturalistic or deterministic explanation of man's relation to obligation. A system of necessity may manufacture some utilitarian scheme to help society out of difficulties of moral disorder, but such a system finds no adequate basis for personal responsibility. Remorse is a misanthropic delusion of a sensitive conscience; regret is not a healthy attitude of mind for animal spirits and strenuous buoyancy; and disapproval of wrong is not reasonable if the agent of folly be not free. If man is engulfed in the law of necessity there can be no free obedience, and no moral sentiments. Approbation is but ephemeral feeling without moral content; social or industrial wrong is coincident with unchanegable law and outside the province of accountability. What ought to be is, and the actual is the only possible exist-

ence. The actual and the possible are identical, and to think otherwise is squeamish sentimentalism.

But is the self accusing of the wrong doer an error in nature, a mere by-product, an artificial expression of aberrant matter? The sense of right and wrong is here, and is the most healthy factor in the preservation of forces which make social life possible. If the moral sense be abnormal, how has it become an approved and permanent law in the intelligent world? The conception of oughtness is certainly more healthy than the conception of helplessness, and of fatal submission to environment. If the moral sense is capable not only of self-assertion, but as well of forceful operation, nature has within her system a constitutional principle traceable in fact and history. How so powerful an illusion as that of moral duty, and of personal freedom to comply or resist, could dominate a moral world for generations, and produce the highest product of human achievement in thought and in social dynamics, and yet have no ground of positive and factual existence, passes comprehension. Errors have their day and pass away, but good things founded in eternal truth are here to stay. Only the self-consistent truth is abiding, all else must fade away.

The supreme category of life is freedom. If freedom be but a healthy illusion, productive of economic and utilitarian good, illusion then is the factual force of the world's true progress. But to be awake, to dispel the dream, nature should assert its truth and strip off this illusion. Then to be sane in the factual world is to be unmoral. But the sense of freedom, with its accompanying consciousness of right and duty, is no historic excrescence on the body politic. The health of the body depends on the moral feelings.

Praise and blame, reward and punishment, are expressions of a healthy world, of a world seeking its health by the only possible curative appliances. Criminal jurisprudence is preventive of governmental mortification, a medicinal aid to the vigor of buoyant moral life. The relation of law to crime is a psychological handling of human responsibility and amenability to social right and duty.

The judge does not inquire how a criminal came to be what he is, but judges him for what he is and what he does. It is psychological freedom that makes man responsible for his conduct, not the metaphysical freedom misused by Adam. Man is held accountable for his actions however the anterior forces that made him what he is may have entered into the constitution of his moral state. Practical jurisprudence has nothing to do with the metaphysics of choice, but proceeds on the indubitable fact of psychological freedom of choice. The will to act is sufficient ground for accountability, and the judge does not inquire into the will to will.

But spiritual religion has a law written in the heart, and seeks to effect a quality of life above mere orderliness through fear of punishment. In this realm of thought metaphysical freedom has become a vital subject in the consideration of man's spiritual birth and regeneration.

II. THE METAPHYSICS OF FREE WILL.

The law of causality is a universal law of nature. Causes with calculable consequences are reckoned in every department of material existence. The conduct of nature can be qualitatively and quantitatively computed. Man is a part of the great whole of nature, and his conduct comes under the same law of necessity. There can be no release of man from this necessary order, else there would be a hiatus in the system of the universe.

But man seemingly has free will. Is it an illusion, or an essential and real factor in his constitution as a man? If man be purely a creature of necessity his conduct is not subject to moral blame or approval. Kant says if there be no liberty, there is no morality. To be free is to possess the power to initiate movement, that is, to be a first cause. But if man have the power to initiate movements by force of will, there is introduced into nature a factor that breaks the series of events in natural causation. Either man is free, or there can be no morality; or if he be free, there is a rupture in the law of natural causality.

Kant seeks to solve the antinomy by a distinction between the intelligible world and the sensible empirical world. Things as they are in themselves are unknown; they are noumena; things as they are seen and experienced are phenomena. In the intelligible noumenal world man is free; in the empirical phenomenal world he is subject to necessity. Time and space are conditions of man's empirical experience, and in this experience he is under the law of necessity. But in the intelligible world, the world of pure thought and being, space and time are not factors in causality. In the noumenal state where time and space are not conditions of experience there is freedom. With God there is no past or future, Eternity is all present to him. His is a pure noumenal existence. There is a state of man's being before he becomes subject to the conditions of time and space, in which intelligible world he is free. The noumenal man then is free, but man in his empirical states in the sensible world is subject to the law of necessity. He is free in principle noumenally, but under necessity phenominally. Man has the power of initiative, the ability to generate new and free movements in his intelligible or noumenal existence. But intelligible causation is not a matter of phenominal experience. Such causation can not be known, but it can be thought. In the intelligible world freedom is a possibility; for morality freedom is a necessity. If freedom be possible and necessary, then it must be actual. Thus in an apodictic manner freedom is proved or thought to be proved real. Pure reason leaves the existence of freedom a problem; the practical reason seeks to solve it in the demand for morality. If pure reason does not absolutely negative the possibility of free will, the demand of the practical reason cannot be ignored, hence the apodictic result is that man is free and responsible as a moral agent.

But the Kantian logic gives no freedom to man as a phenominal being in a sensible world. When and where has man a conscious state to experience moral choice or to acquire a moral trend before he is born into this world of natural causation? We are conscious of no previous state in which freedom is acquired or imparted as a principle. The character of every

man is the product of heredity, experience, and environment. He is not free before his natal existence. Parental life anterior to his own has formed and charactered his disposition. Man is the child of anterior forces, the collected product of circumstance and heredity, and is reducible to the cosmical forces which have made and charactered him. An adequate knowledge of the universe resolves man into the constituent elements of his being and character. Matter is the all of empirical phenomena, and mind is a complex manifestation of intelligible and empirical forces. A phenomenal existence can be refunded into its antecedents, and these exhibit its nature. In the sensible world man is resolvable into his experience. Human nature is a part of the totality of things, a phase of the universal order. Man is simply a part of the universe itself. The universal order admits of no exceptions; planets, minds, and moral sentiments, are successive states of evolution, and there is no independence of nature given to any part. Man is a compound of inner forces of disposition and character, and external forces of environment and circumstance. The outer force is larger, vastly more extensive than the inner, and hence the more determinative of man's being. The play of his mind is but a momentary ripple on the surface of forces which have been in action for countless ages, making him what he is. His motives come to him already formed, the strongest of which determines the choice. The prevalence and power of that predominant motive depends on the person's character, and the character on the results of previous prevalent motives, the quality and nature of which have been charactered by experiences which antedate his own conscious life. His conduct, whether physical or moral, is the joint result of character and circumstance, and these are reducible directly or indirectly to combinations of sequences of anterior natural forces.

Kant admits no hiatus in the empirical world of causation. But man's empirical experience does not begin with birth, or with personal consciousness. Parents and ancestors through ages of geneological development have been factors in forming his character and personality. No noumenal state has been

personally his in which to exercise free will outside of space and time. He is resolved back into Adam, and Adam came already formed from the hand of God. The conditions of time and space have been his only state in his conscious life, and these conditions have been unbroken since man was formed. If Adam came into being as man from anterior animal and other physical factors in the unbroken order of natural evolution, Kant's intelligible state of noumenal existence is resolved back into God as the First Cause. The First Cause, God himself, is alone the noumenal state in which free will finds play.

The Hegelian philosophy has logically carried out the scheme of Kantian metaphysics and resolved man into a higher necessity, into God. In the Hegelian system man's personality is his character; his character is his intelligible reason; the intelligible reason is the divine immanence, and man as a spiritual being is depersonalized into God. The materialist resolves man into natural forces and elements, so that he is logically depersonalized into nature. The Hegelian resolves man into an expression of the divine being, and depersonalizes him into the Absolute. Man is refunded into nature and is absolutely subjected to the lower necessity by the materialist; he is refunded into God, the higher necessity, by the Hegelian. This is the Scylla and Charybdis of metaphysics. Christianity has never been allied with the former, but it is allied with the latter. Neo-Kantianism does not escape the Hegelian metaphysics, nor does Ritschlianism in its abjuration of philosophy become unmetaphysical. Man as a spiritual being is resolved into God, however his empirical experience may be handled.

Predestination is in principle allied with this phase of philosophy and metaphysics. The logical consequences of development end in the same conclusion. Man is so minimized and depersonalized as to the free action of his will that he becomes a pliable irresistible subject of divine forces impressed upon him. He is thus placed outside the realm of personal morality, and made a mere creature of an all-inclusive divine action and control.

Transcendentalism attempts a solution of freedom in a time-

less state anterior to physical causation expressed in phenomena, and in the attempt resolves the whole of man's spiritual being back into God. To preserve man's personality distinct, an adequate theology must recognize the properties of man as a rational being. Prevenient grace characters man's intellect through divine illumination. The Spirit of God comes into contact with man, but leaves man's faculties distinct while he spiritualizes man's powers. But Hegelianism explains man's rational and spiritual personality as an aspect or expression of God in man. The Hegelian transcendentalist sees in the development of the cosmos the evolution of divine reason making its manifestation in man, so that man's reasoning intelligence and God are identical. Thus man is resolved into a higher necessity, and is determined and charactered by divine immanence and is a part of God. Man's freedom thus viewed is but a manifestation of a divine factor in him, a derived, and not a native property of personality. Theological predestination is an aspect of irresistible divine action, in, as well as upon, man, a kind of determination that depersonalizes virtue and character through the caprice of the unaccountable secret will of God. Man is thus a chosen vessel for God to display himself in and to manifest his personal will. The difficulty for theology in the recognition of the Supreme Being is to maintain human individuality and moral accountability as real and not as a mere appearance; to vindicate for man a true moral personality and not evacuate him as a passive instrument or vehicle of divine energy. As Professor Seth says, "For, after all, the chief guarantee of a worthy view of God is a worthy view of man. To maintain the reality of the moral life must give us in the end a higher view of God, as well as enable us to conceive the possibility of a higher union with Him—the union and communion not only of thought with Thought, but of will with Will" (A Study of Ethical Principles. p. 387).

Hegelian pantheism results from overstress being laid on the divine Being and action in relation to man's moral and spiritual origin and life. The peculiar relations of theological determinism have close affinities with transcendental schemes which de-

personalize man and make his freedom a mere appearance. There are theologians who denounce the Hegelian philosophy as pantheistic and godless, who hug the theology that is born of the same conception.

In the light of the foregoing distinctions, definitions of free will can be seen in their several relations and application.

Free will may be regarded as having an idealistic or a factually empirical existence according to the standpoint from which the subject is viewed. It may be termed Liberty, Will, or Free Will, and the nature or quality of the definition depends on the philosophical proclivity of the writer.

Spinoza defines it in terms of pantheistic metaphysics. He says, "In the mind there is no absolute free will, but the mind is determined to this or that volition by a cause, which is also determined by another cause, and this again by another, and so on *ad infinitum*" (Ethics, Proposition XLVIII).

In this view of human inability to initiate movement the sphere of free moral action has but an ambiguous existence left it by monistic materialism. Or if we recognize the principle in Spinoza of living automatism, that all nature according to degree is alive, panbiotism is limited by life precedent *ad infinitum*, and necessity rules without end or limitation. Man is irresistibly disposed by his organization, education and environment, and volition is something aroused within by a necessity fastened upon him by the law of his being. This necessity may take the form of fatalism, religious predestinationism, or of agnosticism.

Hegel defines human freedom as a mere thought-factor, a subjective attainment or condition. He says, "Liberty is the understanding of necessity." The acquiescence of reason to the order of the universe should be sufficient to eliminate the dread felt toward the impenetrable nature of things, and beget a calm serenity of soul which is equivalent to freedom. This is freedom from a slavish attitude toward necessity, but not real freedom from the necessary order of nature.

Leibnitz says, "Liberty is conscious spontaneity." Whether the spontaneity be illusion or real matters not. The spontan-

eous action of mind and conduct need not go back of its immediate motive to question anterior causes. The feeling of spontaneity satisfies the mind.

Janet says, "To be free is to act with a full knowledge of the reason, intentionally;" or again, "The power of acting in accordance with conceptions or ideas." In this definition we have the psychological freedom set forth in detail by Kant in his system of philosophy. Psychological freedom is not the will to will; it is not to possess the power of real initiative in empirical experience, not to be a first cause; but simply to act in conformity with reason. The determining motives of the will have natural antecedents, and are links in the chain of natural phenomena. The occurrence of an event does not depend on the idea of the event as a desired object. In a moral action the person presents to himself some possible state or achievement as a good; the quality or kind of that good depends upon his past experience, circumstantial environment, or action. Kant defines it thus, "Everything in nature operates according to laws. But only a rational being has the power of acting in conformity with the idea of law, that is on principle; in a word, has *free will*" (Metaphysic of Ethics, p. 36).

The will is the *ego* determining in the light of reason, and in the just and adequate feeling towards truth. The will to will belongs to the noumenal state. That principle is a prerogative of noumena; but conformity to that principle is the privilege of reason, and is regulative of purposeful action.

Paulson gives a similar definition: "This faculty of regulating and determining the particular functions of life by an idea of one's life, is precisely what we mean by free will" (System of Ethics, p. 468).

The same aspect is expressed by Wundt who lays particular stress on the unconscious anterior cause. He says, "It is not the physical stimulus which occasions the sensation, but that this latter arises from some elementary psychical process lying below the limen of consciousness" (Lectures on Animal and Human Psychology, p. 450).

The materialistic monism of mind and matter in the action

of will is thus defined by Hoeffding: "We have no right to take the mind and body for two beings or substances in reciprocal relation. We are, on the contrary, impelled to conceive *the material interaction* between the elements composing the brain and nervous system *as an outer form of the inner ideal unity of consciousness*" (Outlines of Psychology, p. 58).

According to Hoeffding man is materially and spiritually a unit, and to speak of body and mind as parts of being is simply to express one's unitary consciousness in two languages. Man thus defined is not a mere conscious automaton, but the spiritual element is entirely submerged in the material unit. The logical outcome of materialistic monism is, that volition is determined by cerebration. The will is a consequence of cerebral processes, a series of phenomenal sequences, anterior effects and causes. The will is the passive instrument of the brain so that mental and physical processes are consubstantial. Will is thus not an agent, and not to be identified with the principle of causality. All of man's actions is determined by his empirical character.

We have thus passed in review from the extreme position or conception that will in man is the divine reason phenominally displayed, to the other extreme that there is no separable spirit in man, that all his functional being, the whole of his expression as personality, is resolved into the action of material nature.

This view of mental history in the treatment of will, describing itself in terms of psychology and metaphysics, is helpful to a clear understanding of theological positions on the subject of free will.

The proclivity of religious science is revealed in its selection of the philosophy which it employs in its method of theological development. One theologian says will is an agent a real first cause in empirical nature; that man is free not only to do what he wills, but to will what he wills. Another says that will is not an agent-cause of determination, but a transitive cause in his empirical experience; that there is no such thing as a characterless will, but as Novalis says, "Character is com-

pletely fashioned will." Everything existing phenominally is conditioned, and does not possess the power of being the initiator or mover of absolutely primal action. The swing of opinion is between Pelagianism and Predestinationism, and the theological view will depend on the philosophy which is operative consciously or unconsciously in the doctrinal development.

The theologian to be Biblical must be neither a materialist nor a pantheist. He must neither deny spirit in man, nor say that man is all spirit, and that not his own, but merely the expression of God in him. Man cannot be a first cause absolutely else he would be equal potentially to God. But if he have no power of initiative, he lacks the function of free will.

The clearest solution is to distinguish between psychological and metaphysical freedom. Psychological freedom all men possess, but metaphysical freedom, the power to be a first cause in things moral, is not man's natural possession. Free will metaphysically man does not have in his empirical experience; free will psychologically he constantly exercises. Unaided psychological freedom of will never puts man into the condition of moral righteousness. The First Cause, God, must operate on the natural will to cause it to choose and to will righteousness to the end of moral redemption. To say that man has an uncaused choice in spiritual regeneration, that he is a causal agent in willing his religious regeneration, is to confound metaphysical freedom with psychological freedom, which latter is the property of man in his experience in the empirical world. Antecedent causes of sin have charactered man and made him what he is. He is a link in the chain of moral misdemeanor since the day of Adam, and there is no force naturally resident in him to beget a new order of life, nor to will it.

He cannot act from unmotived choice; he does not make the supreme spiritual choice undetermined by any motive. The anterior motive must come from God. God's agent, the Holy Spirit, by the illumination of the mind with truth, prepares and aids the mind to choose. After illumination the human powers of personality relating to reason and will are no

longer merely natural, but are augmented by a divine factor. Holiness is not primarily a free choice, but the choice of an already charactered will prepared by grace. The will to will is the gift of God, the work of the Holy Spirit, and marks the beginning of coöperative energy between God and man. The consequent yielding of the sinner to the truth by the exercise of his now charactered will does not constitute him his own savior; nor does his yielding produce faith and repentance as human works; these too are the gift of God.

We are now brought to the consideration of the antecedents to regeneration in their theological relations. To know the functions of personality exercised in the work of human redemption we must have a clear understanding of man's true nature as he is fundamentally constituted. Before we can logically systematize the processes of free will functions in the conduct of salvation, we must scrutinize the psychical conduct of man's essential thought-action. We must now turn to the consideration of man's essential personality, his unitary state as a conscious being, and the relations of his natural powers as expressed in the sensibility, the intellect, and the will. Psychology is the science of sane minds, and we should look to the psychology of the human mind in the process of the order of salvation.

III. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF VOLITION.

The theological atmosphere is sometimes clouded by an inadequate knowledge of man as he is essentially organized as a self-conscious thinking being. To comprehend well the action of God upon human life for moral ends the mental and moral constitution of man must be understood. Correct psychological definitions are essential to clear thinking. Psychology has to do with what is; ethics has to do with what ought to be. The ideal should strive to realization, but it must be along the lines of the possible, and that possible is conditioned by man's capabilities as a creature in the divine image, and his susceptibilities must be understood to appreciate and define what God can and does do for him in his restoration to ethical char-

acter. Theology and ethics are inseparably connected, and no aspect of the divine relation to man that violates the distinctive consciousness of what is just, holy, and morally elevating as conduct between ethical personalities, between God and his moral creatures, can satisfy the mind that seeks to justify the ways of God to man.

Balch says, "No treatment of the subject of moral judgment and right conduct can be accurate without an examination of the psychological basis of thought and volition." And again, "The full importance of Christian ethical psychology, as part of a scientific scrutiny of religious phenomena, is too important to be longer ignored" (Introduction to the Study of Christian Ethics, pp. 29, 30).

The moral consciousness must scrutinize the conduct of man in his treatment of divine relations and operations lest a false and inadequate conception of God falsify the divine character and attributes.

In order to magnify the grace of God and to attribute salvation to the proper source, not infrequently man is demeaned below the state of his true intellectual and moral properties and powers.

When does man become a coöperative agent in his own work of grace? To what extent is he a passive subject of divine action, and what marks the limit of human inability and passivity, and the beginning of conscious and responsible co-activity with the Spirit of God? Can man be regenerated solely by divine illumination without the action of human feeling and will? Can the human subject be acted on illuminatively and his will be left undisturbed and inactive? Does the first approach of God to man for his spiritual redemption and restoration initiate regeneration apart from the operation of any functional action of the intellectual part of man? Can a man become informed, and obtain knowledge without the exercise of the sensibility and the will?

A correct psychology alone can bring into right and logical continuity the human and divine factors and actions in the work of redemption.

Man is a unitary personality. There is no departmental condition of human life. A transverse section of conscious personality would show no strata of parallel and distinct functional action of existence.

We misconstrue man's mental and moral personality by hypostatizing a faculty of will as distinctly functional from intellect. We cannot separate man into functional departments, and pick and choose bits of personal reality as genuine and essentially formative of religious and moral life. The intellect, sensibility, and will, constitute one undivided personality. There can be no feeling apart from consciousness; and the person conscious of feeling or of sensibility is the person intellectually active. The intellect in conscious action is the mind alive to sensibility. Feeling that results in mental action is always conscious feeling. The stone under the blow of the hammer has a tremor, a vibration of its parts, but has no focus or center of consciousness, hence no feeling. Feeling is always and only conscious feeling. We sometimes have sensations that do not result in perceptions. Not sufficient attention has been given to gather the fleeting sensations into the focus of self-consciousness so that they become matter for knowledge through self-distinction and self-realization in capacity for contemplation. The self-determining person must distinguish himself from his sensations, and identify himself for distinct perception. He determines his feeling and is determined by it, and becomes a principle of action. He makes the object his own, and seeks to realize it, to translate the mental object into a rational result.

The will is reason energizing. The will is not created by knowledge, but is regulated by it. "No deed of will, however free it may be conceived of as being, is an isolated or unrelated psychosis" (Ladd, Psychology Descriptive and Explanatory, p. 635).

"In a word, volition is psychic or moral fact pure and simple, and is absolutely completed when the stable state of the idea is there" (James, Psychology, vol. ii, p. 560).

Man's consciousness, religious or otherwise, in its determina-

tions acts as a unitary principle. It is only in reflective analytic thought that intellect, sensibility, and will, are discriminated.

The following quotations show the universality of the acceptance of this recognized principle, that consciousness, while viewed under three aspects, exists as one undivided functional action.

T. H. Green says, "There is one subject, or spirit, which desires in all man's experience of desire, understands in all operations of his intelligence, wills in all his acts of willing" (Prolegomena to Ethics, p. 122).

Harris says, "Knowledge is presupposed in determination; a determination is possible only in the light of intelligence. But the knowledge can influence the will only through the feelings which it occasions" (Philosophical Basis of Theism, p. 389).

Royce writes, "Popular psychology long since far too sharply sundered the Intellect and the Will in the empirical process of the finite human mind. * * * * A more modern psychology has been led to its well known doctrine that all such psychological divisions are rather distinctions between different aspects of the same process, than means for telling us of naturally sundered or even of separable processes" (The World and the Individual, vol. i, p. 434).

Ladd writes, "For it cannot be said too often: in every developed deed of will the whole man acts; and there is no such thing as a willing to do which is not a complex resultant of all three fundamental forms of so called faculty" (Psychology Descriptive and Explanatory, p. 617).

Lotze also writes, "What we know as three is nevertheless but one in the being of the soul. The soul does not enter even into its own manifestations in so fragmentary a fashion that one of its parts can be awake while the others are dormant; on the contrary, in every mode of its action the whole soul energizes" (Microcosmos, vol. i, p. 180).

In view of this universally recognized principle in the action of man's soul let us consider what must be the content,

and what the effect of prevenient grace, as well as what must be the place of free will in the *ordo salutis.*

IV. THE PLACE OF FREE WILL IN THE ORDER OF SALVATION.

In the economy of divine grace God has willed to act in a revelatory way both in his natural works and in the conscience of man additional to his chief and paramount revelation in his word. The heathen world has had the blessing of unsought preparatory grace, which has schooled races of men in matters of natural truth and conscience.

Special precursory grace has come through divine illumination to Christendom revealing the truths of the gospel. Illumination, as an act of divine energy revealing the gospel message and proffering the benefits of its power, prepares the human mind to understand the import of the call and the proffer of redemption. There can be no religious acceptance without a knowledge of the thing accepted. The result of illumination is no mere passive state. God's action on man stimulates to human action. The flower bursts from the bud which God prepares. Prevenient grace in its energy of illumination illumines the man, and not merely makes an impress on the mind leaving it in a passive incompetent attitude toward the truth

The departmental division of man's soul is merely a concept for analytic procedure in the study of logical method, and not a *de facto* play of successively operating functions in man's action. The gospel is not a mere exertion of divine power on man, but an offer to the will, for free decision. There is no individual salvation without faith, and there is no faith without the element of religious knowledge, and in the impartation of that knowledge the will and the feelings act in conjunction with the intellect in the apprehension of the truth. Truth in the soul implies activity of the soul. God presents the truth, and man's attitude toward the truth is the expression of his will. Grace is the attitude of God to man; the Holy Spirit is the agent who expresses that attitude and becomes its energizing power. Faith is man's attitude to God; and the will is the agent which expresses that attitude and energizes the soul's action.

Dorner says of faith, "It aptly describes that attitude of the

heart to God, through which by divine condescension religion becomes a reality; for in *pistis* according to its Biblical meaning, living receptiveness and spontaneous action are indissolubly united" (System of Christian Doctrine, vol. ii, 121).

The older dogmaticians gave the following order in the plan of redemption: Vocation, Illumination, Regeneration, Conversion, under which last head were included Penitence, Contrition and Faith, then followed Justification, Mystical Union, and Renovation, or Sanctification. In this order regeneration unbiblically precedes faith, which Dorner pronounces "monstrous."

The exigencies not of exegesis, but of doctrinal dilemma directed this order. Illumination was associated with an efficacious call, and regeneration was ascribed as the effect of the first touch of the Holy Spirit in his impartation of spiritual knowledge. The Anabaptist controversy made important the attitude of the baptized infant to the action of divine grace, and to strengthen and maintain the position of infant salvation in the Lutheran system, it was deemed essential that regeneration take place at the incipiency of the Spirit's action on the human subject. In this view regeneration was regarded not as instantaneous, but progressive, successive, and gradual in the possession of its power and efficacy. Regeneration was taught to be instantaneous in the infant soul, since there was no act of stubborn resistance; in the adult life, owing to difficulties of resistance, regeneration was held to be progressive. Faith was thus regarded as a product of regeneration, and the matter of infant faith need not be sorely pressed.

Hollazius says, "Regeneration is the act of grace by which the Holy Spirit endows the sinner with saving faith, that, his sins being pardoned, he may become a son of God and an heir of eternal life" (876). And again he says, "Faith is the effect of regenerating grace" (856).

In this doctrinal *schema* regeneration can occur not only without will, but as well without faith being yet born, which is in contradiction of the true exegesis of the divine word. Man cannot be morally passive in a change which is moral and definitive of character. The morality of the spiritual change im-

plies the willing relation of man. On the divine side the power is all of God; on the human side the attitude is that of the willing man, the content of which is faith. The assenting will is not the natural will, but the will charactered by the action of divine grace exercised in the precursory work of illumination.

Regeneration is not a physical change, but a change of moral state. It is not a conscious act in man's experience; it comes without the consciousness of whence or whither on man's part. It is a work wrought entirely of God upon a divinely charactered human person, whose attitude of assenting will is also of God. A moral character is attended by conviction and decision to have a content of moral worth, and conviction cannot be produced in any one who will not permit it.

Jesus says that a man must will to hear in order to understand (John 8.43). Regeneration is solely of God, but the recipient state of man has in it a content of charactered will. Conversion is the human side, and is a conscious act embracing both moral attitude, and moral movement. Regeneration creates new dispositions; conversion arouses new acts.

Man cannot produce till he has previously received. Grace and truth come by the word of revelation, and when the state of the intellect is already disciplined, man is regulative of what he receives. His will acts in the acts of the intellect; truth is presented and the self-conscious person takes its attitude. The moral will is not a spontaneity of nature, but an effluence of an enlightened character, of a preveniently disciplined reason. Without choice there is no moral character. As Martensen says, "Character consists, so far as it is good, in right choice."

The choice is not prompted by naturally innate psychological tendencies to moral goodness. The preposessing inclinations toward the morally good come from the mind preveniently disciplined by the Holy Spirit. God brings man to the point of conscious personal relation to spiritual truth where man must decide, and where he is enabled to decide rightly if his will acquiesce in the divine movement.

In the old doctrinal order of grace no place was allowed to any act of man lest the majesty of God might be impugned, or

the excellency of grace minimized. Even conversion was deemed by some to be purely a divine act. Hutterus says, "The beginning, the progress, and, in short, the whole development of his conversion, is to be ascribed altogether and alone to the operation of the Holy Spirit" (Loc. Com., p. 281).

However felicitous this *schema* may be for the doctrinal end in view, it is nevertheless unscriptural. We must recognize the rational spontaneity of charactered will in things moral. Chemnitz recognizes the proper psychological order of man's acting personality when he writes, "It is not, therefore, to be understood that I am to wait, with a secure and indolent will, until renovation or conversion has been accomplished, according to the stages already described, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, or without any movement on my part" (Loc. Th., 1, 199).

Martensen also says, "Conversion is at once a turning from and a return, is a thoroughly changed direction of the will through its submission to grace, whereby a man breaks with his past, leaves the way he has hitherto gone, and enters on *a new way to righteousness*" (Christian Ethics, Individual, p. 138).

Two vital points demand scriptural and theological consideration in defining the property of free will in the process of redemption: *the relation of free will to the content of faith; and the relation of faith to regeneration.* The scriptural basis of the action of faith in relation to regeneration must be decisive; and the content of faith must receive its proper psychological and theological recognition.

Repentance and faith go together. Repentance is a change of mind; it is the will taking its attitude in relation to revealed truth. Faith, its attendant, has for its content, *Notitia, Assensus, and Fiducia.* When *knowledge* exists for the mind it is the intellect alive, and when alive it is no "isolated or unrelated psychosis," intellect, sensibility, and will, combine in the perception and understanding of truth. The will is necessarily included, for will is the reason energizing. "In the later technical language of Christian ethical philosophy, faith is an intellectual virtue; it is the perception or ideal of the intellect,

which is rendered possible by the existence of a certain state of the will" (Strong, Christian Ethics, p. 97).

Dorner says, "But it is indisputable that there be an actual crisis, a free, conscious decision for or against Christianity, for without this no definite settlement of the worth and destiny of the individual were possible" (System of Doctrine, iv, 181).

Luthardt clearly states the matter doctrinally and exegetically, "The essential nature of faith is formally a thing of inwardness and freedom; it does not consist of a doing, but of an inner personal relationship." "It is designated as contemplative and appropriating cognition (*theorein*, Jno. 3 : 15, 6 : 40; *ginoskein*, Jno. 6 : 69, 10 : 38, 16 : 6–8), as entering into and agreeing with the will (*lambanein*, Jno. 3 : 11 f.), as inmost appropriation" (History of Christian Ethics, pp. 81, 82).

Assent is the asserted attitude of the person, involving the rational and volitional factors of his self consciousness in relation to an object of truth or knowledge.

Fiducia is trustful acceptance, the feeling self energizing to mental submission, a position of voluntary repose in the favor of God, a self-commitment in confidence. In this act man asserts his moral feeling, and conforms his will to his composed intellect.

In both repentance and faith the will is an essential factor. Martensen says, "In true repentance the honest *will* to be redeemed asserts itself and the man submits to be redeemed, to be justified before God, and that of pure grace." And still further, "Repentance must not become a state beyond which one makes no advance, not a fruitless brooding over ourselves and our past, so that we come to no *volition* for the future" (Christian Ethics, Individual, pp. 142, 143).

In *metanoia* the soul looks back and forsakes; in *pistis* the soul looks forward and accepts. The character of faith is thus seen to be the intellect in composure voluntarily asserting its attitude to God; it is a position reached through an accepted gospel; not an energy, but an assumed attitude of the soul. It is the gift of God, for it has been wrought by the Holy Spirit, who is the expressive energy of God's feeling and attitude of favor.

There can be no saving faith before acts of free will. What takes place psychologically between illumination and regeneration is the history of the soul in its self conscious relation and chosen attitude to the inworking divine principle that begins and leads the way to salvation. The assent of the will is more than non resistance. To resist is to refuse, and to refuse is to choose, which is voluntary determination. To act voluntarily is to act electively. The reposeful state of confidence is accompanied by a satisfied intellect, but not an intellect that has fathomed the mystery of the Spirit's action, or penetrated the profound depths of the soul's constitution, but is content to rest in the facts of the gospel. The whole is the work of grace, but that grace is the action of God's Spirit upon a self-conscious, rational being subsisting in the divine likeness.

Free will is not a principle of the mind which is independent of all influences extrinsic to itself, or of effects prior to the will's own action. The will is not *in equilibrio* of natural capability to reject or accept, but is precursorily disciplined by the knowledge of right, truth, and duty. God answers to every cry of the soul, and moral inability is a want of inclination. That want of inclination is not due to the lack of illumination and presented truth. These prevenient factors God supplies and it is man's will, the susceptibility and capability of which are divinely charactered, that determines whether the divine work shall be effectual for the percipient subject of grace. The resultant effect of illumination gives opportunity and capacity to man's will, which composite factor precedes regeneration.

After *energeia* follows *sunergeia*, and the composite character of the factors in the procedure is distinctly defined in the Biblical data.

Jesus says, "No man can come to me, except the Father which sent me draw him," (Jno. 6 : 44); on the other hand Jesus also says, "Ye *will* not to come to me (*ou thelete elthein*), that ye may have life," (Jno. 5 : 40). Repentance and faith go hand in hand: "Repent ye, and believe in the gospel," (Mk. 1 : 15). Repentance is a gift, "A Savior, for to give re-

pentance to Israel, and remission of sins," (Acts 5 : 31 ; see also Acts 11 : 18, 2 Tim. 2 : 25, Heb. 6 : 6) ; it is also a command for a determinate act of man, " Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," (Matt. 3 : 2 ; see also Matt. 4 : 17, 11 : 20, Mk. 1 : 15, 6 : 12, Lk. 13 : 3, 15 : 7, Acts 17 : 30, 2 : 38, 3 : 19, 8 : 22, 26 : 20, Rev. 2 : 5, 16, 21, 22).

That repentance is a human act is thus declared, " More joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth," (Lk. 15 : 7). Conversion also is defined as a human exercise, " Repent ye therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out," (Acts 3 : 19).

The relation between knowledge and belief is that of precursory illumination to the exercise of faith ; " He that heareth my word, and believeth him that sent me, hath eternal life," (Jno. 5 : 24), " The Word of God ; which also worketh in you that believe," (2 Thes. 2 : 13) ; and the responsibility of man for his determination of moral attitude is thus clearly expressed, " Ye will not come to me, that ye may have life," (Jno. 5 : 40). The combined actions of the divinely and preveniently disciplined human mind and the gift bestowing energizing Holy Spirit are most explicitly set forth in the Biblically revealed procedure of the plan of grace. God gives repentance, yet " He commandeth men that they should all everywhere repent," (Acts 17 : 30) ; he gives faith, yet commands all men to believe, " By grace have ye been saved through faith ; and that (*touto*) not of yourselves : it is the gift of God," (Eph. 2 : 8) ; the whole procedure is the gift of God, and faith which is part of that whole, must also be a gift ; and yet, as repeatedly proclaimed, the clearly defined duty of man is to believe.

The will to will is likewise the work of God, " For it is God which worketh in you both to will and to work," (Phil. 2 : 13), while man is definitely rebuked for not exercising his will, " Ye *will* not to come to me, that ye may have life," (Jno. 5 : 40 ; also Matt. 23 : 37, Lk. 13 : 34, *ouk ethelesate*).

The essentialness of the faith of the percipient subject for the reception of salvation is an implication in all the efficacious work of God as scripturally revealed. Believing is absolutely

essential to the recipiency of redemption (Lk. 8 : 12, Jno. 3 : 15, 16, 5 : 24, 8 : 24, Acts 10 : 43, 13 : 39, 16 : 31, Rom. 1 : 16, 1 Cor. 1 : 21).

Repentance and faith must precede justification (Acts 13 : 19, Rom. 3 : 22, 26, 28, 30, 4 : 5, 16, Gal. 2 : 16, 3 : 8, 24). Justification logically precedes regeneration as it is a corrected status of the ungodly, "But believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly" (Rom. 4 : 5); though in the conduct of grace, Justification, Regeneration, and Conversion, are best related as simultaneous. Justification is solely an act of God *for* the believing subject; regeneration is solely an act of God *upon* the believing subject. Regeneration is a begetting (1 Pet. 1 : 23, 1 Jno. 4 : 7); a birth (Jno. 3 : 3, Jas. 1 : 8); a creation (2 Cor. 5 : 17); a resurrection (Eph. 2 : 1). Man has personality before regeneration, but a personality prepared and charactered by God's Spirit.

From the scriptural criteria the order of procedure in redemption is, first, the divine precursory work of human preparation, in which man is brought to a condition of knowledge and opportunity whereby capacity is wrought in him for personal and intelligent moral choice and action; and secondly, the determinative attitude of man brought about by his will, which will, as a preveniently disciplined factor for his salvation, asserts what his personal relation to God's favor shall be.

The will is already disciplined to accentuate the gospel truth in the proffer of grace, and the act of the will does not simply indicate the soul's attitude, but produces it. Apart from spiritual knowledge man cannot know what Christianity is, and the attainment of knowledge implies the simultaneous and combined action of man's intellect, sensibility, and will. Faith becomes effectually religious when it is an offering up of the will, and not of the mind only, and the effectual grace becomes irresistible when it carries with it the affections and the will. A purely passive subject that sustains no personal attitude is but spiritually infectable. The precursory divine energy of illumination and preparation is not infectious, but is an act of presentation to the mind and the will for their discipline in per-

ceiving the truth of the gospel, and for the working of intelligent capacity to exercise choice in the option presented.

Man is no divided aggregate in the properties of his conscious personality, and when God affects his knowledge, he as well affects his will. God proffers the will to will, and man's psychological function in the acceptance or rejection of the proffer, is the exercise of free will.

ARTICLE II.

THE ORIGIN, NATURE AND CONQUEST OF DEATH.

By Professor L. A. Fox, D.D.

What is death? This question is almost constantly pressing itself upon us. As we stand by the casket of a dear friend or look forward to our own inevitable future we ask again and again, what is it to die? A complete answer would carry us too far afield for our present limits. It would take us into the most mysterious investigations of science and into the profoundest problems of philosophy. But starting with the facts that lie nearest at hand we may come into a light that will satisfy one of the deepest wants of the heart.

Death as it appears to the senses is the cessation of life. It is the end of vital processes. That peculiar force that we call vital energy seems to be extinguished. Death breaks down the organism and sends back the elements into inorganic matter. We may watch its progress and tell when its work is done. When all respiration has ceased and the pulse is stopped and the heart is still we call it death. The eye is glazed, the ear is deaf, the nerves give no response to impulse, the internal machinery is hushed and all the physical relations are changed. The antagonistic forces, no longer resisted, go on rapidly in their work of dissolution. At last only a handfull of dust is all that remains. The final result of death on the material side has been reached. This is what appears to the

physical senses, and, beside what it has to say about oxygen and carbon and the other elements that make up the body, science knows nothing beyond it.

But this answer does not seem sufficient to the immense majority of men. Death cuts off our plans. Our capacities are not fully developed, nor is perfection reached before all progress is arrested. The purpose of our being, as revealed in our constitution, is never met. The ends of our nature are thwarted. All men feel that death is unnatural and shrink from it as a tyrant forcing himself with irresistible power upon them. They believe that it was not the Creator's first design that they should die. They look with firm hope to another life. They call death, therefore, a separation of the soul from the body. They look upon it as a dark gateway between this world and the invisible sphere of spirits. Ecclesiastes gives utterance to this universal feeling: "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was and the spirit unto God who gave it." Save a few sceptics, men do not believe that "death ends all." This answer coming out of what seems to be universal intuitions is no less worthy of respect than that of the common sense.

Death is now coextensive with physical life. The law of death is coeval with organic beings on the earth. For millions of years, before man appeared, it had absolutely universal sway. Innumerable individuals, many species and entire families had become extinct and left upon the stony pages of the geological records the unmistakable evidence of its raveges through unnumbered ages before man was created. It is, therefore, a matter of surprise to find so recent and able a theologian as Bishop Dahle maintaining that "death in historic times depends upon man's Fall." While admitting the fact of the fossil remains of animals "that seem to antedate man's appearance," he asserts that it is "the view of Scripture that the present dominion of death owes its origin to sin." His argument is more spacious than solid. Sin affected only man's relation to the universe, not that of animals among themselves and to the world. It made man mortal, not the flower and the bird. It

did not give talons to the eagles nor fangs to the lion. The world into which death was introduced by the transgression was that of man No fair interpretation of the Scriptures can find in them any other doctrine.

Man on his physical side is an animal. His anatomy and physiology are wonderfully like the beasts around him. His brain may be studied from that of a dog. He is born and grows as his congeners of the forest. "Death and birth are twins." Whether immediately created or evolved, he is subject to the physical laws which hold throughout the kingdom of the fauna. As far back as we can trace him through history and archaeological relics he has been mortal. The oldest prehistoric man is known only from his skull. Science knows nothing of our origin, but so far as it can discover, man was from the beginning under the universal law of death. Some scientific men, like Prof. Haeckel, of Germany, and Dr. Paul Carus, of America, have ventured to assert that death is a necessity and that a future life of the individual is an absolute impossibility. The individual life of every one of us arises from the amalgamation of two cells and that ultimate extinction is the inevitable result.

But man is more than animal. He is immeasurably superior to the greatest of the brutes. No matter how close the resemblance on the physical side. there is an immense difference on the side of the mental. If the anthropoid ape has learned to use a stone as a hammer with which to crack the nut, man has produced the miracle of modern civilization. Though he had the advantages of several thousand years in advance of us and the benefit of an experience for a good many centuries, he remains a brute. Philosophy, whose business it is to interpret all the facts of knowledge, finds in man a factor which is called personality. This factor is able to control in its own interests the lower elements of our nature and form character. It has peculiar prerogatives and a special dignity. It demands immortality for itself. In this consciousness of personality man stands alone in the animal world. But as a matter of fact, in spite of all these high claims, the body dies. Our nature

seems to wrap up in itself an antinomy and to involve thought in hopeless contradiction. But philosophy is not wholly without an explanation of the facts. There are manifest evidences of disorder and traces of a fall from a better state. Andrew D. White, representing no inconsiderable school, may repudiate with a suppressed sneer, the doctrine of the Church and see only the rise of man, but the two ideas are not in essential opposition. There may be a rise out of a wreck. There may be an advance in intelligence without corresponding progress in moral character. There are falls in the case of individuals, and there may have been a fall of the race. If Mr. White is right, there is even in this doctrine of Christian theology, which retarded science so many, many years, the evidence that something is badly the matter with humanity, and it can be best explained by some such fact as that recorded in Genesis. Philosophy, therefore, finds some reasons for believing that death came to us as a penalty.

If we take the pains to read over again the account in Genesis we shall find that exemption from the law of death was a special grace. Adam ate of the fruits of Eden. There was then, waste and repair of tissue. Cells were worn out and died, and new ones were formed, just as it is in our bodies today. There was assimilation and excretion. Once at least he slept, and there is nothing to indicate that this sleep was anything remarkable. There must have been some weariness in the cerebral centres and some need of periodic recuperation. A being whose cells die and who needs rest in sleep may live a great many years but cannot be immortal. But there was a tree of life in the midst of the garden. It seems to have been the sacrament of life. It not only symbolized but conveyed the grace of continued life. It seems to have had the power of conferring immortality even on a sinner, for God set a special guard around it lest man eat of it and live forever in his sins and miseries. According to that story Adam fell under the law of death when he forfeited the grace of immortality. Human death originated in sin. It is the penalty for willful unbelief and transgression.

Doubts have been cast upon these early chapters in Genesis because of their likeness to the Babylonian stories on the clay tablets. Men were at first surprised at the similarity. Some dump all the cosmogonies into one heap and label it myth. But we ought to note some important differences. Lenormant says: "The analogy of form between the myths and the Bible narrative is striking. It is doubtless the same tradition but apprehended in quite another sense, symbolizing an invention in the material order, instead of being applied to a fundamental fact in the moral order, and additionally disfigured by the monstrous conception, too frequent among Pagans, which represent the divinity as a terrible and malignant power jealous of the progress and happiness of men." "The inspired writer drew from it its solemn teaching." * It has been frequently noted that the one is polytheistic and the other theistic. The author of Genesis did not copy the tablets. Why should he try to adapt to his own theology a story proved false by its polytheistic representations." But even after we eliminate the differences a likeness remains that cannot be explained as mere coincidence. The accounts must have had a common source in some earlier tradition. The origin of that tradition can be only a subject of conjecture. If not a direct revelation, the order of creation as given in the first chapter of Genesis is one of the most marvelous things in literature. Its close agreement with the discoveries of geology in recent centuries, if not inspired, shows exceedingly shrewd guessing or a degree of scientific knowledge among the ancients we had never supected. As soon as we cease to look to the Bible for exact science we shall find in it clear evidences of inspiration. It is not very remarkable that Moses should have drawn upon that early tradition among his people, or even copied earlier documents. The Synoptists used freely some earlier source approved by the common consent of the eye-witnesses. Luke wrote in the Gospel and the Acts incorporated documents very clearly distinguished in style from his own composition. In miracles God uses the material that is at hand. Why then

* Beginnings of History, p. 105.

may not the inspired writer of Genesis have used sources when he was assured of their authenticity?

There are some difficulties in the narrative. From the time of Origin there have been Christian scholars who have held that the story of the Fall was not intended to be precise history but a symbolic presentation of great facts and truths. It is not difficult to find in the Bible instances of accommodation to the ignorance of the age to which the revelations were made. Genesis was primarily written for a people whose conceptions of religious ideas were not much above that of children. It would be absurd to interpret many things in it as final expressions of truth. We all know that the statement that God repented that he had made man and that he walked out in the cool of the evening into his garden, like a tropical planter, are not to be taken literally. Nor can we think that a real serpent talked with Eve. There may be more symbols in this account than are generally believed. But there is danger of carrying this kind of interpretation too far and resolving the whole Bible into a mere allegory. There is a real historic basis for the story and all the essential facts are to be taken as they are given in it.

The story commends itself to us as history, because it gives the only satisfactory explanation of the facts of our present condition. It is the only solution of the mystery of our natural depravity. It accounts for the antagonism between the claims of our personality and our weakness and death. It gives the reasons for those features of death which indicate that it is a penalty. It has the mystery of the Fall but in it there is given also the interpretation of the mysteries of life. Pascal says: "Without this mystery, the most incomprehensible of all, we are incomprehensible to ourselves. The knot of our condition takes its twists and turns in this abyss, so that man is more incomprehensible without this mystery than this mystery is incomprehensible to man." *

Those questions which perplex scholars in regard to the authenticity of the Pentateuch have an easy solution for those

* Thoughts, ch. 10.

who recognize the divine authority of Christ. He treated the story of creation as containing a true history. Speaking of marriage he refers to the creation of woman in Eden. Alluding to the first temptation he gives a clue to its right interpretation when he says: "Ye are of your father the devil. He was a murderer from the beginning. He is a liar and the father of it." He always refers to the Old Testament as inspired. Paul also makes that story the basis and authority for his discussion of the origin of sin and death. He regarded it as substantially true.

The Biblical account of its origin explains some of the features of death. If we admit with the scientist that it is purely natural it seems to be premature. It deviates from the general law. The length of life in the animal world is five times the period of growth. Man is twenty years in arriving at maturity. His life ought to reach a century. The higher intellectual endowment, which should have lifted him above the ordinary level, has not been able to keep him up to it. For a very long time our years have been three score and ten and only by reason of superior vigor can they reach four score. The average is not thirty-five. Some disturbing element must have been introduced at an early period in the history of the race to shorten life. We see the effects upon health and life of vicious conduct. Diseases are generated by vices and transmitted to offspring. Thousands of children are dying every year from the results of the sins of parents. That we all die prematurely points back to some great sin in the progenitors of the human family.

Death seems to us to be a degradation. "In different lands and among different races there is not only a repugnance to corpses but in many places they are regarded as things which in themselves both are unclean and cause uncleanness in all men and things that come in contact with them." Among the Jews the presence of a dead body in a house made all who lived in it unclean for seven days. Among the Romans a funeral in a family excluded all the members of the family from religious rites for thirty days. Livy tells us of

men who being candidates for office remained, for this reason, away from home that they might not be prevented from taking part in the election. We find similar feelings in regard to dead bodies among the Greeks and Hindus. There is an innate repugnance to touching the dead. We believe that there is something sacred about the body of a Christian, but it is because of what it has been and will be, not of what it is now. We handle it tenderly, uncover the head, tread softly and speak in undertones out of respect to the feelings of the bereaved and the memories of the life, but not for any reverence for anything that belongs to the body itself when the soul is gone. We bury it with solemn ceremonies because of the hope of a resurrection. Death brings the king and the peasant, the rich and the poor, the scholars and the simpleton, into one common rank. "How dieth the wise man? As the fool." Men and brutes are brought down to a common plane. "For that which befalleth the sons of man befalleth the beast; as the one dieth so dieth the other, yea they all have one breath, so that man hath no preëminence above the beast." If death were purely natural we might look upon it as a great evil but not as degradation. There is in this instinctive feeling an innate testimony to the fact that it is a penalty.

Death seems to be attended with unnecessary suffering. Sometimes the brute dies in great pain but when they are left to follow their own instincts and obey their own laws death is generally without great suffering. Beasts and birds of prey attack where death is quickest. It is said that dying in the power of an animal foe is painless. The experience of Livingstone with the lion in the African jungle makes the statement probable. But man suffers more than the brute. Our shortened life goes out with a stern protest from nature. The pain of dying is greater than is necessary to accomplish the simple end of our removal from the world. The old man having reached his four score years sometimes passes away as quietly as if falling into a gentle sleep. So it is possible all might have died if death had not been imposed upon us as a penalty for sin.

Death is dreaded as a curse. The brute instinctively shrinks from that which causes death, but does not dread death itself. The instinctive fear is nature's means of preserving life. The animal does not understand the meaning of its trembling and flight. But we know what we dread, and that knowledge awakens in us a feeling of horror. It is not simply the pain of dying that makes us afraid, for we will submit to even greater pain to escape it, but death itself. We may fully believe that it is a relief from the ills of life and that it is the way to unspeakable happiness yet we draw back from it as from a great evil. The most saintly Christian, with strong faith and bright hopes of heaven, feels in common with other men a sense of shuddering as he looks forward to his grave. In sympathy with this universal feeling we sometimes say of the best man, even after the struggle is over, "Poor man." The irrepressible sorrows of the bereaved are the instinctive cries of our nature against death as a curse. There are some things worse than death, but the world has crowned it as the King of Terrors. "By one man sin entered into the world and death by sin." It is a penalty and this is the reason why we regard it as such a great evil.

Without sin in the world there would have been no death. But what, then, would have been the destiny of the body? The Scriptures have left this question in the sphere of speculative theology. It is not probable that the marks of weakness in Adam, such as the need of food and rest, would have been immortal. Some have supposed that the body was only provisional; that it was intended to be a means of discipline until the higher faculties were developed and trained, and then to be laid aside; that the body when no longer needed, as an organ of the spiritual nature would have fallen off like the leaves of Autumn and returned to dust. This view grew out of certain philosophic ideas of matter. Plato held that matter is diametrically opposed to spirit, and the Manicheans and Gnostics, following him, taught that it is essentially evil. This opinion crept into the Church and gave rise to asceticism that tried to reduce the body to the lowest point of existence. There are

still lingering among us such very low conceptions of the nature and possibilities of matter that some deny the resurrection of the body. Perhaps if we understood better the essential nature of matter, a body would not seem to us to be so much out of place in a world of spirits.

Other theologians believe that man would always have remained incarnate but the spiritual nature as soon as it was developed in holiness and power would have elevated the body more and more until at last transformed and spiritualized it would have been transferred to heaven. The body would thus have become what it is destined to be after the resurrection. This view is in harmony with the idea that sin did not altogether thwart God's purpose in regard to man but merely changed for a time its method of execution. It is in harmony, also, with the account in Genesis of the purpose of the tree of life.

There is still another opinion, that men would have become established in holiness and been raised above the possibility of death but would have remained forever on the earth. It is based on the facts that man was placed in close relation to the material world and given dominion over it, and that his body was foreshadowed by a long series of types and came as the end of a development that went on through unnumbered ages. It is not supposed that a process so long in maturing could issue in a merely temporary arrangement.

But none of the arguments are conclusive. We may hold either without danger to our religious life. What we might have been does not concern us now that we are the heirs of sin and death, and we will turn to the more practical questions of the nature of death.

Our theory of life determines our view of death. Every one who thinks at all about the meaning of life and of the world has some sort of philosophy. It may be very crude or wholly false but it controls his character. People who decry philosophy are like the man who talked prose all his life but never knew it. We must philosophize whether we will or not. The philosophy of the masses is generally at second hand and rudely fashioned in very small moulds, but it can be traced

back to some one of the great schools. We may, therefore, go at once to the chief sources.

Atheistic materialism denies the existence of God and soul and any kind of substance except matter and of every sort of power except physical force. Thought is a function of the brain and life a product of the organism. We are brought into existence by blind forces, and we continue to live until they are exhausted. Nature cares not for individuals, but only for species. Birth, life and death, are all alike, the result of inexorable law. One who cares for his life must preserve it as long as he can by balancing forces, but when at length he is overcome he must accept cheerfully his defeat and yield gracefully to the inevitable. Death, our debt to nature, is the annihilation of personality and individuality. We drop back into eternal night, sink again into absolute nothingness.

This is surely a low view of life and a fearfully gloomy conception of death. It assumes what has never been, and never can be proved, that matter is the only entity. It ignores the great psychological problem which divides philosophers into Empiricists and Idealists. It overlooks the importance of the spiritual and sets aside all the instinctive longings of the heart and the intuitive convictions of men in regard to immortality. Its assumptions are so unwarranted and its difficulties are so great that it is rapidly losing the hold it had in philosophical circles a quarter of a century ago. The reaction, easily observed everywhere, is based upon the truth that the world in its inmost nature is spiritual. This is almost the very words of an acknowledgement wrung from one whose sympathies are so strongly materialistic that he says that "every reality is material." *

Materialistic Pantheism does not differ very much from pure materialism except in names. God and religion and immortality are treated with an air of reverence, but when we come to understand them we find that they have entirely new meanings. "God is the soul of the universe," "the law that shaped and is still shaping the world, that is forming and ever reform-

* Carus, Soul of Man.

ing, evolving and ever re-evolving the universe." The soul of man is his physical life and his mind is the coordinated feelings. Feeling is only one side of nerve movement, and the coordinating power is in the central organs of the brain, perhaps in the *corpus striatum.* Immortality is reabsorption into the All and the permanence of influence. Personality is the result of organized feelings and perishes with the organism. Death is the absolute destruction of the personal ego.

Idealistic Pantheism, now generally known as Idealistic Monism, is a higher form of philosophy than Materialism. With Materialistic Pantheism it holds to the eternity of matter and mind in the Ultimate Substance, but while Materialism emphasizes the material, Idealism lays the emphasis upon the spiritual side. Instead of evolving out of matter the universe has evolved out of mind. The world has a meaning because it was formed for a purpose. The universal Reason is impersonal but attains a form of personality in men. Our rationality is only the Reason operating through us. The soul of man is absorbed at death by the universal soul. Some sort of individuality and personality may be preserved through eternity but it will not be numerical, because numbers cannot apply to spirits. "All spirits are one. It is absurd to speak of a plurality of spirits coexistent or successive. The soul is neither one, nor all; neither some one enity, nor nothing." *— In an eternal self-movement the Absolute Spirit proceeded out from himself and produced nature, and in returning to himself becomes self conscious spirits. But while some philosophers have carried theory out to what seems at first to be its logical conclusion and denied a future personal life, this is not necessarily involved. Dr. Paulus of Berlin, the greatest representation of this philosophy, says: "The fact that we retain the past in memory gives us the idea of a permanent relation existing between the individual soul and the universal spirit. Immortality in the sense of eternity is doubtless a necessary conception. It is not conceivable that a psychical life should absolutely perish. An event can not become unreal by becoming

* Journal of Speculative Philosophy.

a thing of the past. If it were so, if the past were absolutely and in every sense unreal, as unreal as that which never was, there would evidently be no reality at all, for it cannot exist in the present which is an unextended point of time. Now what is my psychical life which belongs to the past? We say that it exists in memory and, as it were, continues to participate in the further development, and thus it remains related to the present. If a similar relation, obtained between the individual life and the universal mind, it would seem that the individual life has permanent existence and activity, even after death. It would continue as a permanent element in the divine life and consciousness. And nothing would hinder us from thinking that it also retains its relative independence and the unity of its consciousness within the whole." * He refers to Fechner, who is the real founder of modern physiological psychology, as following the same line of thought and reaching the same conclusion. According to this interpretation a future personal existence is not only possible but also probable. Death breaks up the relation of the soul to the body and permits its return to a closer union with God, the universal soul.

There is another philosophy, called sometimes Dualism and sometimes Philosophy of Common Sense, which holds that matter and mind are different substances. Matter is extended substance; mind is conscious substance. Matter is not an eternal but created substance. The philosophy is therefore improperly called Dualism in the philosophic sense of the word. Body and mind are in this life united by organic relation in a personal union. They act reciprocally but maintain their separate substantiality. Death is the dissolution of this relation. The body having lost its organic life returns to the natural elements. The soul, the real self, goes into the world of spirits. This philosophy has lost favor in philosophic circles in the last few years but it is so fully in harmony with the common intuitions of men that it will never be entirely suppressed. It is the philosophic basis of Theism and Christianity, and even of ethics, as they are generally understood.

* Introduction to Philosophy p. 243.

Our Lord was not a philosopher. His method was widely different from that of the schools. He spake as one with authority. He did not reach his conclusions by a process of reasoning, as men are compelled to do, but by intuition. He stood so far above all other men that he could look over into spheres of truth about which they can only reason from probable premises. He alone, of the great teachers of the world, understood perfectly the true nature of life and the real meaning of death. This is the faith of all who believe in him as the incarnate Word.

He did not often use the word death, except when speaking of the nature and consequences of sin. He selects it as the best word by which to characterize the state we call spiritual death. When he uses it in reference to physical death he desired to emphasize some distressing feature connected with it. When he was foretelling the persecution of his followers and wanted to indicate its bitterness, he said: "And brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father shall deliver up the son, and children shall rise up against parents and cause them to be put to death." Christians would be so hated that their enemies would inflict upon them the greatest of evils that they could conceive. In the same way he spoke of his own death: "They shall condemn him to death." In both cases he was speaking of it, not as he himself looked at it, but as men thought of it. He is quoting the penality of one of the Mosaic laws when he said, "Let him die the death," and he is thinking of the fact that there is involved in the connection the idea of everlasting death. In describing the bitterness of his soul in the garden of Gesmemane he said, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto death." He was nearing the cross and he was beginning to feel that of which the Psalmist prophesied: "The pangs of hell gat hold on me." Our Lord was speaking of something more than mere physical death. In several places he gave utterance to his own personal conception of death. He said of the sickness of Lazarus, "This sickness is not unto death." Lazarus did die, showing that the Lord had some other conception of death than men generally enter-

tained. On another occasion he said, "If any man keep my sayings he shall never see death." He was not promising exemption from physical death but from those evils which men associated with it. In this same sense he said: "There be some standing here who shall not taste death until they see the Son of Man coming in his glory."

Our Lord's seeming dislike to the word has had several plausible explanations. Some have said that he avoided it because death was so repugnant to him. This is no doubt partly true. Death has its evils which he clearly saw and often felt. He knew the sorrows of bereavement, the loneliness of the home when a loved one has gone out never to return, the distress that befalls the family when the bread winner is taken away, the bitter disappointment when fondly cherished hopes are made impossible. He himself shed tears at the tomb of his friend Lazarus. He disliked death, too, because of its relation to sin. These things may have made the word repulsive to him.

But there may have been also some other reasons. The world has some false notions of death. It is not as great an evil as men generally believe. The word carries meanings that are not true. The dark side was so often presented that all view of the light beyond was shut off. Whenever the word was heard men thought only of the evils and not of the possible benefits that might come from it. Our Lord may have avoided the word while he was trying to awaken truer conceptions of death.

It is probable that our Lord did not often think of death. The spiritual was for him far more positive and important than the material. This present world is less real than the future. It is the world of shadows; the future, the world of substance. The earth had a beginning and will at length come to an end, but heaven is eternal. The mind is more real than the body. Death which closes the earthly life and carries the real self into the spiritual world seemed to him far less important than it does to us. Light from the higher sphere flashed back to him through the valley and seemed only a short pathway connect-

ing the two worlds. He saw through the veil which seems so dense to us. He did not think of death as often nor in the same way as we think of it.

His view of death is expressed in one significant word. He called it sleep. It was not absolutely new. Daniel uses it in a somewhat similar sense: "Many that sleep in the dust shall awake." If we belonged to that class of critics who ascribe all likeness of thought or expression to copying, we would say that our Lord borrowed it from that prophet. But it was an original conception, for he put so much new meaning into it, that it expresses a new thought. He said of the daughter of Jairus: "The maid is not dead but sleepeth." He said of the illness of Lazarus: "This sickness is not unto death." Afterwards he explained by saying: "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth, but I go that I may wake him out of sleep." By that word he opens up an entirely new view of death. It excludes the idea of the destruction of either the soul or the body. It carries with it the promise of a resurrection. This much Daniel saw in it. But it also suggests thoughts of repose, of recuperation and reinvigorated life. If death is a sleep it is not what men think it is. It is not a great enemy to destroy us but a friend to give us rest from the worry and toil of the day of life. The new idea was eagerly caught up by the early Christians and the word passed into current use. Paul said of David: "He fell on sleep and was gathered unto the fathers." To the Thessalonians he wrote: "We shall not all sleep." "Those who sleep in Jesus shall God bring with him." And to the Corinthians: "Christ became the first fruits of them that sleep." The preciousness of the new thought is seen in the frequency with which it occurs in early epitaphs. "The sleeping place of Elpis;" "Zoticus is laid here to sleep;" "Laurinias, sweeter than honey, sleeps in peace;" "Domitianus sleeps in peace;" "Respectus who lived five years sleeps in peace." These are only a few out of many hundreds. It is still a precious word, and our favorite hymn in bereavement is

> "Asleep in Jesus, blessed sleep,
> From which none ever wake to weep."

Our Lord reveals still further his view of death by the manner in which he links the present to the future world. He calls his Church on earth the kingdom of heaven. His name for spiritual life is eternal life. Membership in his kingdom will not be disturbed nor the principle of the higher life be broken by death. The transition from this world to heaven will leave all our relations except the physical untouched. Christ is the life and those who live in him cannot die When the bereaved Martha wanted to tell him about the sickness and death of Lazarus he sought to turn her attention to himself. "I am the resurrection and the life He that liveth and believeth in me shall never die." She had too sad a view of death because she had failed to appreciate the life that he had brought into the world. If our life is hid with him in God we shall never taste death. Christ's person brings heaven and earth together. He makes the spiritual world present and real to our faith. The darkness of death is dissipated by the glory of Christ. He never commanded us to prepare for death but to watch for his coming. Death drops out of our view as we realize his idea of it as sleep, as it did with Paul when he said: "To be absent from the body is to be present with the Lord." "As Christ is my life death is my gain." "I desire to depart and be with Christ." This was the vision of our Lord, rising very far above anything that was possible to the prophets, when he called death a sleep.

He looked at death as it was influenced by his own life. It is not what it would have been if he had never lived. Under the primeval curse it was to be an eternal separation of the soul and body. The soul, cut off from God and stripped of every element of moral and spiritual worth, was to be doomed to everlasting darkness. The body was to go back to dust and be lost in the elements of the earth. But Christ redeemed us from that curse and secured for us another probation. The penalty has been so modified even in the case of those who are finally lost that there is to be a general resurrection of the unjust as well as the just. Those who are saved, will be after

the final judgment, what they would have become if there had been no sin. Redemption changed the nature of death.

It is not what it was before his advent. The ancient Jews, both pious and wicked, all shrank from Sheol. They never thought of it as heaven, but as a dark underworld where the soul was in a semi-conscious state. Such a desire for death as Paul had was inconceivable to them. From the Greeks in the latter centuries they borrowed some ideas which they moulded into the doctrine of Hades as it is found in the works of Josephus. Some of them at the time of the advent believed, as Simeon did, that the Messiahs would change the condition of the departed saints. "Lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." He was willing now to die because he would not be compelled to remain long in Sheol. Most of the early Christian Fathers believed that Christ by his descent into Hades had emancipated those who had died in faith, and had taken them at his ascension to heaven Paul was thought to have taught this when he said: "When he ascended up on high he led captivity captive and gave gifts unto men. Now he that ascended what is it but that he first descended into the lower parts of the earth." Hebrews was interpreted in the same way: "These all having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise, God having reserved some better things for us, that they without us should not be made perfect." This opinion of these Fathers was not wholly true, yet no one can prove that there was not an element of truth in it. Christ's descent into Hades and, as we belive, his descent into hell, was not without signicance in the world of the dead. Peter says: "For, for this cause was the gospel preached unto them that are dead," etc. If he means, as he seems to do, after they were dead, an opportunity was given to some to rise into that spiritual state that made them immediate sharers in the fullest enjoyment of the benefits of his mission. We may turn from these interpretations, about which there may be reasonable doubt, to the fact that Christ's presence in heaven has added so much to its glory that the Apostles thought of it as being where he is.

That conception, so universal among these inspired men, was based upon the assurance that Christ's death and resurrection had changed the nature of death. He abolished death bringing life and immortality to light. He had taken away the sting of death. "Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory."

Our Lord taught the separate existence of the soul in its fully conscious life after the death of the body. To the thief on the cross he said: "Today thou shall be with me in Paradise." He said that Lazarus "died and was carried by angels to Abrahams bosom," and that "the rich man died also and was buried. And in hell he lifted up his eyes being in torments." He quoted the Scripture to prove that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were still living, because God said I am the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. He regarded it is an unquestionable fact that God is not a God of the dead but of the living. He assumed on all occasions as a matter above doubt that at death there is a separation of the soul and body to continue only until the time of the resurrection. This is so evident that any effort to prove it seems superfluous.

This is the Christian faith. No science or philosophy has been able to prove that it is not reasonable and true. Prof. William James, of Harvard University, one of the formost psychologists of our times, has found nothing in biology or psychology, or philosophy, to prevent him from believing that some communication with the dead may be possible. Dr. Osler is right when he says that physical science cannot prove a future life, but it is equally true that science cannot prove the contrary. Prof. Haechel must have felt the force of our Lord's authority when he fished out of some cesspool a foul slander about the Virgin Mary in order to destroy it. Science has never been able to show the identity of the vital principle and the mind, nor that an individual life originating in the blending of the male and female cells may not be the organ of an entity that will survive the breaking up of the organism. An American statesman gave expression to no absurd or incredible sen-

timent when he said not long ago in a public address: "We are as sure that man lives beyond the grave as we are sure that he lives today."

We may add a few words in conclusion about the conquest of death. Philosophers have had a good deal to say upon this subject. Philosophy has been called a meditation upon death, and the ancient Greeks and Roman philosophers thought that one of its chief ends was to deliver us from the fears of death. Mr. Lecky gives us a summary of Crantor's Consolations. "Death is the only evil that does not afflict us when it is present. While we are, death is not; and when death has come, we are not. Death precedes as well as follows life. It is to be as we were before we were born. The dead man is as the unborn. Death is the end of all sorrows. It either secures happiness or is the end of all suffering. It is the last and best boon of nature, for it frees man from all his cares. Whether it be desired or whether it be shunned, it is no curse and no evil but simply the resolution of our being into its primitive elements, the law of nature to which it is our duty cheerfully to conform." * Epicurus followed a similar train of thought. "If the soul retained full consciousness after death, and death were the transition of the soul to a higher life, as some Platonists maintain, we ought to rejoice at it instead of fearing it. Our fear of death is not caused by the dread of non existence, but by the fact that we combine with the idea of nothingness an idea of life, that is the notion of feeling the nothingness. If we could bravely relinquish all thought of immortality, death would lose its terrors. We would say to ourselves: "Death is not an evil, neither for him who is dead, for he has no feeling, nor for the living, because for him death doth not exist. As long as we live death does not exist for us, and when death appears we no longer exist. Hence we can never come in contact with death." † Stoicism was a better philosophy than Epicureanism or Platonism in the hands of such men as Crantor. Its stern sense of duty, of virtue for the sake of virtue, made men nobler

* History of European Morals.
† Weber's History of Philosophy.

and braver. But its doctrine of fate made them apathetic. "It taught men to hope for little and fear nothing. It did not array death in brilliant colors as a path of felicity, but it endeavored to divest it, as the end of suffering, of every terror. Death seemed to be less terrible when it was regarded rather as a remedy than as a sentence. Life and death were attuned to the same key. The deification of human nature, the total absence of all sense of sin, the proud stubborn will, that deemed humilation the worst of stains, appeared alike in each." It taught the duty of suicide at the call of fate. Zeno set the example. But suicide is the evidence of defeat in the battle of life rather than of victory over death. The heroism with which many met death was purchased at too great a cost. As a true conquest of death Stoicism was a failure.

Bacon's essay on death gives us the remedies proposed by the philosophy of a much later day. "The shadow of death terrifies more than death itself. Groans, convulsions, discolored face, weeping friends, and black raiment show death terrible. But there is no passion so weak but it mates and masters the fear of death. Revenge triumphs over it, love slights it, honor aspireth to it, grief flieth to it, fear preoccupieth it." "Death is a debt of nature. It is as natural to die as it is to be born. It extinguishes envy. In many cases there is little change in good spirits as death approaches." Shakespeare gave utterance to the same philosophy:

> "The pain of death is most in apprehension,
> And the poor little beetle, that we tread upon,
> In corporal sufferance finds a pang as great
> As when a giant dies."

Hume's death, as described by Adam Smith, shows what philosophy may do in certain remarkable temperaments. "Though Mr. Hume always talked of his approaching dissolution with great cheerfulness, he never affected to make any parade of his magnaminity. He never mentioned the subject but when the conversation naturally led to it, and never dwelt longer upon it than the course of conversation happened to require." In the last letter he wrote he said: "I go very fast to decline

and last night had a small fever which I hoped might put a quicker period to this tedious illness but unluckily it has in great measure passed off." Dr. Black, his physician, said that "he continued to the last perfectly sensible. He never dropped the smallest expression of impatience." But perhaps the faiths and hopes instilled into his mind in childhood by his mother had as much to do with his heroic death as his philosophy, for at the time of his death he said to Adam Smith: "I do not think differently from other men about these things." Over his grave is written: "I am the resurrection and the life."

A monistic magazine in a recent number gave the pantheistic idea of the conquest of death: "Religion is the conquest of death." "Religion is the creation of a higher life and laying up imperishable treasures. It is no formula of confession; it is a moral oath; it is soaring above the home life of animal natures. Religious faith is not a belief in something that was two thousand years ago. It is confidence that we can do our duty, that we can gain the victory over matter, and that we can achieve the conquest of death." This is nothing but Stoicism under the name of religion. It is a cold, hard generalization without regard to the stern realities of death. It is simply this: Do your duty the best you can while you live and submit as gracefully as possible to death when it comes. We want bread but are given a stone.

Christianity proposes to meet the conditions as they really are and to overcome the fear of death by removing the causes. We fear death through an instinct which we have in common with all the animals. It belongs to animal life as a means of preserving it. That instinct cannot be eradicated, but like other instincts it may be inhibited. We often dread the pain of dying. Some fear it as the passage into an unknown world. Bacon says that such people are like children who are afraid to go alone into the dark. Many fear it because it interferes with cherished plans and thwarts their chief aims in life. All of us fear it because it severs our tenderest ties and breaks up our dearest associations. Every cord of affection draws us back from death. Only the homeless, friendless

and heartless can look forward to death with indifference. Death is the greatest of evils to those whose whole life is absorbed in the world.

> "How dreadful must thy summons be, O Death,
> To him who is at ease in his possessions,
> Who counting on long years of pleasure here
> Is quite unfurnished for the world to come."

Death is often feared because of the fear of the punishments of the other world. Conscience testifies to the fact of sin and men dread the presence of the great judge.

Christianity proposes a prime relief from all these fears by giving us the assurance of another life. If men were certain of a future life they would not cling so tenaciously to the present life. Christianity gives certainty to our faith. The clear ring of the Apostolic "we know," has been caught up by thousands of faithful souls and enabled them to wrap the drapery of their couch about them and lie down as if to pleasant dreams. Gibbon correctly assigns this as one of the five great reasons for the triumphs of Christianity in the Roman world. This faith inhibits the instinctive loss of life and represses the merely animal fear of death. Christianity does not crush natural affections but sanctifies and strengthens it. It intensifies the pain of the final farewell. But it at the same time furnishes a balm. It gives assurance that the parting is not forever and that there will be a reunion under far better conditions. And while we are leaving some of our loved ones we are going to join others. Above all, we will see the Lord who loved us and gave himself for us, and whom we love with supreme affection. It gives not simply consolation but also great comfort.

Christianity removes all fear of future punishment. It does not, like Stoicism, deny the fact of sin but emphasizes it. It makes us realize more than simply natural conscience can do, that we are very guilty sinners and deserve everlasting punishment. It does not tell us, like Pantheism, that we must do the best that is in us and then give ourselves no further concern about the rest, but it tells us plainly that our best efforts

are failures and our highest righteousness falls very far short of our obligation. It directly contradicts the doctrine of Materialism, that death is the end of us and the idea of future retribution is a delusion, but it asserts in perfect accord with conscience that there is coming a day in which God will judge the world in righteousness. But it does tell us about the forgiveness of sins. "Though your sins be as scarlet they shall be as white as snow." "Blessed is the man whose sins are forgiven and whose transgressions are covered." It has provided a way by which God can be just and yet justify the ungodly. "Christ is the propitiation for our sins and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world." Now because of Christ's righteouness imputed to us we are forgiven: "He that believeth on him is not condemned." "Being justified by faith we have peace with God." The Christian, resting upon these promises as being certainly God's promises, has the assurance that he will not come into condemnation but have the blessed life. He no longer shrinks from death through any fear of future punishment.

Christianity overcomes the love of the world by instilling the love of God. It not merely teaches the vanity of earthly things but also gives us heavenly mindedness. It gives power to cut off the affections that had been given to the world and to set them upon things above. It opens up treasures in heaven that far exceed in worth the best that can be found on earth. It enables us to realize that the things seen are temporal but the things unseen are eternal. Death is not a robber but the Christian's friend. Christianity is, then, the only real conquest of death. Christ has delivered those "who through fear of death were all their life time subject to bondage." Having triumphed over it he gives the victory to those who trust him. Buddha died tranquilly through the weakness and weariness of old age and amid the adorations of his disciples. He had repressed through a long life of asceticism the desire to live and had persuaded himself that having won an immortality of fame he was passing into Nirvana. Paul died triumphantly. He looked forward to a death by violence among enemies, but

he said: "I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight. I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness which the Lord will give me at that day and not to me only but unto all them that love his appearing."

"Jesus thou Prince of Life,
Thy chosen cannot die,
Like thee they conquer in the strife
To reign with thee on high."

ARTICLE III.

THE MODEL PREACHER.

By Rev. Jacob A. Clutz, D.D.

Our discussion in this paper has two limitations placed upon it by the subject itself. In a former number of The Lutheran Quarterly one of the editors has an article on *The Generic Idea of the Sermon.* (Dr. Richard in the number for January, 1906, page 112). At another place in this number will be found an article on *The Model Pastor*, by Dr. Bauslin, of the Wittenberg Theological Seminary. It is clear, therefore, that in asking the writer to prepare this paper on *The Model Preacher*, it was intended that he should lay the emphasis upon the specific function of *preaching*, and especially upon the preacher himself as a preacher, as a man who preaches.

The second limitation comes from the word "model." Not the preacher as he is, even at his best, but the preacher as he ought to be, the ideal preacher, is to be the subject of our study.

Before proceeding with the discussion, however, it may be well to ask what we are to understand by a preacher, and by preaching. How does preaching differ from any other oral address, and how does the preacher differ from any other public speaker who seeks to appeal to the minds or hearts of his fellowmen?

The definitions of preaching are almost as many and as varied as the authors who have made them. There are some

things, however, which they all include either by actual expression, or by implication, such as that the preacher is a man; that his message is to be delivered to men; that it is to be delivered orally, and that the substance of the message either is, or concerns, divine truth and the spiritual life of the soul. Therefore the preacher himself is a messenger, a herald, a voice, a prophet, a witness. All these terms, and others of similar import, are applied to the preacher in the Bible and in the literature of the Church dealing with the subject of preaching. The essential thing brought out by these terms is that the preacher occupies a representative position, and the one whom he represents is God. He does not speak for himself. He does not speak for the Church primarily, nor for any party in the Church. He speaks for God, and in his name and stead. Hence the word of St. Paul. "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God" (2 Cor. 5 : 20).

This lifts the preacher and his work of preaching upon a very high plane, both of dignity and responsibility, and calls not only for the best of men to fill such a high place, but also for the very best that is in even the best of men. It would be impossible, therefore, within the limits of such a paper, to discuss or even to present everything that goes to make up the model preacher, the ideal preacher. We can hope only to glance at some of the things that are most vital and essential. From among these we have selected five points which we wish to emphasize.

I. THE MODEL PREACHER MUST BE A THOROUGHLY GOOD MAN.

Voltaire is quoted as having said of Louis XIV., of France, that "He was not one of the greatest *men* but certainly one of the greatest *kings* that ever lived." Phillips Brooks, himself one of the greatest preachers of this country, commenting on this dictum of Voltaire's, says,—"It would not be possible to say that of any minister. He who was one of the greatest of ministers must be one of the greatest of men." (Yale Lectures on Preaching, p. 99). We might add that he must also be one of the best of men, for reasons that will appear as we go on.

The model preacher must be a good man physically. He must be physically sound and strong and healthful. It is true that some great preachers have been men of small stature, and of insignificant appearance. It is generally supposed that Paul himself was rather diminutive in size, and some think that he was stooped and lame, others that he had defective vision. There have also been great preachers, like Robert Hall, and Frederick W. Robertson, who have been weak in body and constant sufferers from chronic disease. But certainly this is not ideal and these are rare exceptions even in the history of preaching. The rule has always been that great preachers, like Beecher, and Hall, and Brooks, and Joseph Cook, of this country, and Spurgeon, and Liddon, and Parker, and Maclaren, of England, and Tholuck and others on the continent, not to go back to other generations, have been men with good bodies, and with superb health, and some of them have been physical as well as mental and spiritual giants. And surely this is the kind of an equipment that we would want to give, that we must give to the model preacher.

There are good reasons for this even aside from the fact that a large and wholesome looking man makes a better appearance in the pulpit, and is more likely to be able to command a hearing. Physical conditions, and the state of the health, and even the temperament, affect thought and disposition, and our way of looking at things, and of apprehending the truth, and also the way of presenting it. Every one knows how difficult it is, under certain physical conditions, to think clearly, or kindly and sweetly, or even to think at all; and how at other times, when every organ of the body is functioning right, the mind is clear-eyed, and the heart seems to be full of sweetness and light and the truth comes flashing in from every side like the rays of light from the sun shining in a cloudless sky. Hence it becomes a matter of duty, as well as of comfort and of privilege, for the preacher to keep his body always in the best possible physical condition.

The model preacher must also be well equipped mentally. We refer now simply to natural endowments. Later we shall have something to say of the need of education. But here it

is the capital stock with which he starts out that we have in mind. The idea that any kind of a man would do to make a preacher of, if it ever existed, and the many stale jests and stories that have been repeated in illustration of it, never had any real justification. No doubt some incompetents have got into the ministry, just as they have also in every other profession and occupation. Possibly they sometimes stick a little longer in the ministry than in any other profession, because it is more difficult to sift the ministry than other professions. But it is a mistake to think that they are better adapted to that work than to any other, or that those who have failed everywhere else can succeed there.

Attention is sometimes called to the fact that the twelve apostles of Jesus were all humble and unlearned men, with the implication that neither brains nor culture is a necessary equipment of a successful minister. But the subsequent history of these men, and of the Church which they founded, do not sustain such an implication. True, they were humble men, and they were unlearned, but they were not men of mean gifts, with whom nature had dealt parsimoniously. On the contrary, so far as we can know them at all, either from their writings or from their work, we know them as men of strong characters and of rich natural endowments. Especially was this the case with Peter and James and John, the immortal trio who seem to have been especially near to Jesus, and to have been especially trusted by him, and who came to be the recognized leaders in the little band, and to exercise the largest formative influence in the infant and apostolic Church.

No doubt it is true, as St. Paul says, that sometimes "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are; that no flesh may glory in his presence" (1 Cor. 1 : 27–29). But it is a notable fact, abundantly illustrated, and fully demonstrated, over and over again, in the history of God's dealings with men, that when he has any great work to do he always selects

a great man to do it, a man who is naturally great, who has apparently been born and equipped for just such a work and in many cases for just that work. In proof of this statement, we need only recall such royal men as Abraham, and Moses, and Joshua, and Samuel, and David, and Elijah and Elisha, and Daniel and Isaiah, and Peter and Paul, and a host of others, each of them a very prince among men, naturally fitted to fill a large place in the history and development of his day and race. And it has been equally true in the subsequent history of the Church and of the world. All the great leaders and teachers, the great theologians and preachers, the great reformers and statesmen, the great generals and rulers, the men who have carried the world on their shoulders and have lifted it up into the light and the truth, and into liberty and civilization, the men who have made history, all these have been men of rich natural endowment, men with great intellects, and great hearts and forceful wills, who could think great thoughts, and plan great things, and then push their thoughts and their plans to realization and accomplishment.

The "average man" has always been in evidence, and has always been useful. No doubt when the final summing up is made it will be found that by far the larger part of the world's best work has been done by the men of average capacity, the men to whom two talents have been given rather than five. And there has always been a place and a work for the man with only one talent who will not hide this talent away in the earth of indolence and neglect. But the five talent men have ever been the leaders and organizers, and inspirers, who have directed the work of the others, and pointed out the lines of least resistance, and the paths of greatest service, and without whom the work could never have been done as it was.

Never before in the history of the world was this so true as it is to-day. As the general level of intelligence rises, and the facilities for multiplying and using power are increasing, it requires every year more and more natural ability and force of character, as well as training, to enable a man to forge to the front, and secure recognition and leadership among men. This is true in the business world, and in the world of trade and in-

dustry. The great captains of industry, the merchant princes, the kings of finance, and not one whit less the leaders of the great labor organizations which are such a marked feature of the present age, are all men who have been cast in a large mould mentally, and some of them physically, men whom no untoward circumstances could keep down, and who were as sure to rise above the common level of men and to come to leadership and power, as the sun is sure to obscure the stars and to fill all eyes when it comes into the sky. It is equally true in the Church, and especially in the pulpit. The preacher of to-day, more than ever before, must be a strong and forceful man, if he is to secure a hearing for his message, or is to be recognized as a leader and teacher among men, with the right to tell them what to do and how to do it, or if he is to become an efficient and successful worker in and for the kingdom of God. He must be a man bright and keen in intellect, with a big glowing heart, and with a will that is discouraged by no obstacles, and knows no defeat. It is from among such men as this that we must look for the model preacher. And the more men of this kind that can be induced to enter the ministry, the stronger will the pulpit become, and the more influential and successful will the Church be. It is the standing lament in all the churches that in this commercial and wealth seeking age the strongest young men of the Church are all turning aside to business pursuits, and giving themselves to the making of money, and that only the weaker ones are left to enter the ministry. Probably the complaint is overstated, as such complaints usually are. But in so far as it is true, or justified by the facts, it is a most lamentable thing. The work of the ministry, and especially the work of the pulpit, calls for the very best young men the church has, and it is eminently worthy of them. No where else can they find a larger field or a better opportunity for the use of all their powers both of body and of mind and soul.

But above all else, and before all else, the model preacher must be a good man morally and spiritually. There is no other work that men are called to do in which the personality of the worker, and especially his moral and spiritual character,

counts for so much as in the work of preaching. There may have been some bad men who have sowed good seed in the pulpit, and God's Spirit may have honored the seed in spite of the unworthiness of the sower, and caused it to germinate and to bear fruit in other hearts and lives. But this is exceptional and abnormal. The bad preacher must have been able, in some way, to cover over his real character with a veneer of better profession and pretensions, that was accepted by the people as the real thing. Otherwise he never could have reached their minds and hearts, and persuaded them to accept and to obey truth to which he himself was not loyal. It is always hard, and well nigh impossible, to make other men believe what we do not believe ourselves, or to make them feel what we do not feel, or to induce them to do what we do not do. "If you would make me weep you must weep yourself," was the advice of Horace to the orator, and this advice is based on a sound philosophy and a wise observation of the relations of men to each other. And the tears must not be mere "crocodile tears." The emotion must be genuine, or must so well simulate the genuine that it cannot be distinguished from it. If it is not genuine, it will only provoke laughter and disgust.

So the model preacher must be genuine. He must be honest and sincere. He must himself believe what he wants others to believe. He must himself feel what he wants others to feel, and he must practice what he wants others to practice. In other words, if he wants his people to be good he must be good himself in this highest and best sense. It will be idle for him to say to his people "This is the way, walk ye in it," if he does not go before them. He must be able to say "This is the way, come let us walk in it together." Otherwise his exhortations will be in vain, and however much he may try to assume the appearance of sincerity, he will surely fail. His words will have a hollow ring to them like the tones of the phonograph, which, however near they may come to imitating the human voice, are never mistaken for it. Old readers of "Pickwick Papers" will remember how profoundly Mr. Winkle was impressed by the many drawers and boxes in the "surgery" of Bob Sawyer, the

fake young doctor, and what a shock he received when Bob said to him "Dummies, my dear boy; half the drawers have nothing in 'em, and the other half don't open." The preacher who merely pretends to piety and goodness need not tell his people that his pretentions are all "dummies;" they will soon find that out for themselves. The people generally are not so simple minded as Mr. Winkle. Phillips Brooks well says, "No man permanently succeeds in it [the ministry] who cannot make men believe that he is pure and devoted, and the only sure and lasting way to make men believe in one's devotion and purity is to be what one wishes to be believed to be." (Yale Lectures on Preaching, p. 51).

II. THE MODEL PREACHER MUST BE A MAN OF BROAD AND GENEROUS CULTURE.

If we be reminded here again, as we sometimes are, that the apostles, and even Jesus himself, the greatest preacher of all the ages, were unlearned men, our answer is ready.

Jesus was divine as well as human. Though he had never learned letters, (John 7 : 15) he had all the treasures of wisdom for his own. He was filled with all the fulness of God, (Col. 1 : 19), and to him the Spirit was given without measure (John 3 : 34). He belongs, therefore, to a class by himself and while he is, in some respects, a model for all other preachers, as he is for all other men, no other preacher can ever excuse himself from the need of study and education because Jesus was not trained in the schools. He is not Jesus Christ.

Much the same thing must be said of the apostles. They were "unlearned men" (Acts 4 : 13), and in this sense they were also "ignorant" men. But they were by no means untrained. For two years or more they were almost constantly in the company, and under the instructions, of the greatest teacher of morals and religion the world has ever known. What college, or university, or theological seminary, of the present day, with all their learned faculties, and boasted equipment, can offer a course of study that is equal to those days with the Master himself? Moreover they had the advantage of a special baptism of the Holy Spirit and a special inspiration,

promised to them by Jesus, before he left them, and actually given on Pentecost and continued with them to the end of their ministry. Their work also was quite different from that of the ordinary preacher of to-day. It was a work of revelation and of evangelization, and of laying foundations. It is doubtful whether any one of them ever preached a single sermon in the modern sense of the word, and certainly no one of them ever was a settled pastor. The very nature of their office and work precluded that. Besides, when all is said, it must ever be remembercd that after all, Paul, the man who did more actual preaching, so far as the record goes, than all the rest of them put together, and who wrote fully one third of the New Testament Scriptures, and who had more influence in shaping the subsequent thought and life of the Christian Church, than any other one, save Jesus himself, was a trained thinker who had enjoyed the best advantages of education that were available in his day and among the Jewish people.

Sometimes we are reminded also that some of the most successful evangelists of modern times, such as Mr. Moody and Evan Roberts, have been, or are, plain and unlettered men. But these are exceptional also, both as individuals and as to their work. Most of the great evangelists, like the great preachers, have been well educated men, and they have all been exceptional men in other respects, men who seem to have received a special "gift" for this kind of work. Very few of them, it may be remarked, have been or ever could have been successful as settled pastors. It is very certain that Mr. Moody especially, of whose career more has been made in this respect than of that of any other man, never could have sustained himself from year to year in the same pulpit, and no one better understood his limitations in this direction than he did himself. Consequently he always deprecated, both publicly and privately, the unfair and invidious comparisons which were sometimes made by thoughtless people between his work and that of the regular ministers who were the pastors of churches.

Further, it needs to be said that the success of these men, whether evangelists or apostles, did not come from, nor because of their lack of training in the schools, but rather in spite of

it. Ignorance never made any man great, neither has it ever made any man successful, either in the ministry or in any other calling. Some ignorant men have been successful and perhaps a few ignorant men have been great, but it has been because of other qualities or circumstances, and in spite of their ignorance, not by reason of it. God may be able to use ignorant and unletteted men to accomplish his great purposes in the world, and sometimes he may elect to do this in order thereby to magnify his own agency and glory, but as we have already seen that God has generally chosen really great men to perform great tasks, so history proves also that He has usually selected men who were well prepared. It is a valid and entirely conclusive retort, when in answer to the assertion that God did not need our learning to help him to save the world, some one said, "Much less does he need our ignorance."

If there ever was a day when uneducated men could be useful in the ministry that day has passed away with the multiplication of schools, and the general diffusion of knowledge, which is so striking a characteristic of the present age. Every congregation of average size to-day has in it men and women who are well educated themselves and who are constant readers and students. Nearly every such congregation has among its members some men and women who are college or university graduates, and who are engaged in some form of professional work. These men and women will not be content to sit under the ministry of a man of less general culture than themselves. They may not expect their pastor to know as much as they do in their special department, but if he is to command their respect, he must know more than they do in some other departments, and especially in his own departments, and he must have enough general training to keep him from making constant mistakes in grammar, or in regard to the facts of history or of science, and from violating all the laws of logic and of reason.

The model preacher, at least, therefore, must be an educated man, and his education should cover at least these four lines:

First, he should have a fair knowledge of the leading facts of history and of science. He should also have a good gen-

eral acquaintance with the history of philosophy, and with the best literature of his own tongue if not of all tongues. It would take us too far afield to enter upon any very elaborate discussion of the reasons for all this, nor is it necessary. He needs it for his own culture, to save him from narrowness and bigotry. He needs it to enable him to sympathize with the thought and life of other men, and to know how to put himself into their places so that he may be able to look at things from their standpoint and to meet them on common ground, and to reason with them and instruct them in spiritual things. He needs it also for the purposes of illustration and illumination, and in order to present the truth in an attractive and forceful way so as to command a hearing and drive his lessons home to the minds and hearts of all classes of hearers.

He should also in these days, have a good knowledge of the social and economic problems which are agitating the minds of thoughtful men in all the walks of life, and the right solution of which is so important to the future welfare of society, and to the progress of both the Church and the kingdom of God. It may not be his province to preach either economics or sociology in a technical and formal way. But a preacher, in this age, can hardly expect to interest men in his message, if he does not know how to apply the gospel to present day conditions and problems. And he must know enough about them not to make mistakes and misstatements that will arouse antagonism, or bring upon him the ridicule and contempt of the most thoughtful people in his congregation.

He must also know what the trend of thought and investigation is in his own special fields of study, in theology, and church history, and in exegesis and biblical criticism. This does not mean that he is to accept all the vagaries of self-constituted leaders in thought, nor that he is to be carried away by every new wind of doctrine that sweeps across the ecclesiastical heavens. Just the opposite. He must know enough about these subjects to be able to form an opinion for himself, and not to be frightened into giving up all his long cherished beliefs as soon as somebody declares that " the concensus of all

modern scholarship" is against them. The concensus of "*all* modern scholarship" has not yet been reached.

Indeed, the model preacher ought to know something of every branch of knowledge, and he ought to be a master in those branches which more directly concern his own particular work of preaching the gospel of Christ to a perishing world.

Secondly, the model preacher should be sufficiently familiar with the rules of logic, and with modern methods of investigation, to enable him not only to reason logically himself but also to detect and expose the fallacies and false reasoning of others. This does not mean that he is to turn his pulpit into a theological arena in which he is to wage constant battle with either the imaginary or the real enemies of the faith. He may and probably should do very little of this. But if he is to teach others the truth, he must be able to think clearly and logically for himself, so as to guard his own mind from error, on the one hand, and to be able to follow out new and interesting investigations on the other hand. This training is important also that he may be able to state the truth to others clearly and convincingly, and to marshal such arguments and proofs as will compel the assent even of unwilling minds.

Thirdly, the model preacher should be trained in the use of language so as to be able to state the truth attractively as well as clearly. He should be able to speak and to write well. He should be a master of the art of expression. Often as much depends on the way a truth is put as upon the truth itself. An elegant style should never be made an end in itself, and the ornaments of speech should never be used so profusely as to overlay and conceal the truth itself. No doubt preachers often darken counsel by words without knowledge. But when a truth or exhortation is well expressed, it always will have a better chance of success than if stated awkwardly, or barely and bluntly, without anything to appeal to the imagination or to the taste. Many an error has found currency because it has been clothed in a handsome dress of literary ornamentation, while the truth has languished by its side just because it was sent out in homespun.

Fourthly, The model preacher should be trained properly

in the utterance of truth. The vocal expression of the preacher's message is no less important, rather more important if anything, than its literary expression. A good delivery may make up for many deficiencies in form, but a bad delivery is likely to ruin the best sermon that ever was prepared, and to render it wholly ineffective. The delivery of a sermon is to the sermon very much what the aiming of the gun is to its discharge. Probably we all recognize the truth of this, and yet hardly anything else is so neglected in the training of the preacher at the present day as vocal culture and the art of delivery. Many a man who has all the other qualities necessary to the making of a good preacher, if not a model preacher, fails to attract the people, and therefore fails to instruct and help them, because of a faulty delivery.

Every college in which young men are being prepared for the ministry, and especially every theological seminary, ought to have a department of voice culture, with a competent professor in charge, who would know how to teach young men to avoid those faults of delivery of which preachers are more frequently guilty than any other class of public speakers, and to cultivate those graces of oratory which are essential to the highest success in persuading men. The words elocution, and elocutionist, have been studiously avoided because they are in bad repute, and justly so, and are liable to be misunderstood. Voice culture, and the art of public speech, are different things, and are wholly good if wisely done, and are a most essential part of the model preacher's equipment for his work.

III. WE COME NOW TO STILL DEEPER, OR HIGHER, AND MORE VITAL THINGS WHEN WE SAY THAT THE MODEL PREACHER MUST HAVE A PASSION FOR THE TRUTH.

Or, should we say that he must be possessed by the passion for truth? They mean the same thing practically, but the former is, perhaps, the better form of expression, because it makes the man to dominate the passion rather than the passion to dominate the man, and this is well even in the passion for truth. In either case it means that the model preacher must have an earnest, eager, passionate desire to know the truth and to be loyal to it. Not merely to know things, or to know facts.

This might seem to be the same thing, but it is not. Some men have a great desire to know, but it is little more than curiosity, and is satisfied with a wholly superficial information that does not stop or care to look into the very heart of the things known to discover whether they are really true or not. Much of our so-called knowledge is of this character, and is far from the truth. Truth is the correspondence of conception with reality. But we know how often we need to correct our conceptions because they do not correspond with reality, and therefore are not true. We know how often we speak of knowing things when we do not know them, and cannot know them, because they do not exist. A superficial, or thoughtless nature may be able to rest satisfied with this superficial kind of knowledge, or so-called knowledge, but not a great and earnest soul such as every preacher ought to be, and such as every true preacher is, and the model preacher above all must be. He wants to know not only things but the reality that lies back of or below the things, the real truth of things. For this he searches, and probes, and digs, as for hid treasures, and nothing else can ever satisfy him. Like Jesus he feels that he has come into the world to bear witness to the truth, (John 18 : 37), and how can a man bear witness to that which he does not know or of which he is not sure?

Neither is this passion a limited one in its area or aim. It will not be content with the knowledge of simply one kind of truth, as theological or spiritual truth. It will want to know all kinds of truth, the truth of history, and the truth of science, and the truth of philosophy, and the truth of art as well.

Of course we must recognize the fact that no mere man can ever know all the truth in all these departments, nor perhaps in any one of them. Only God, the infinite being, can do that. But men can and ought to desire to know all truth. They can and ought to hunger and thirst after the truth, as well as after goodness, righteousness. Especially should the preacher, who above all other men, is the servant and teacher of the truth, have this longing, this ardent desire. The model preacher has it.

At the beginning it was the desire to become wise, and to

know good and evil, even as God knows them, that was the undoing of our first parents. But this was not because the desire itself was wrong, but only because they allowed themselves to be seduced into a false way of satisfying it by eating of the forbidden fruit. If they had obeyed God and remained loyal to him, the desire would no doubt have been legitimately met and responded to by God, with a fuller and more glorious revelation of the truth than has ever been possible since sin has entered into the world, and has blinded men's eyes and perverted their judgment. But this at least is to man's credit, that he has carried the desire itself over the fall, and kept it alive through all the generations since, even though it has sometimes burned very feebly, and has been all too easily stilled.

But of course it is especially spiritual truth that the preacher desires and seeks for. The truth about God, and about man, and sin and salvation, and the life to come, as they are revealed in the Bible, and experienced in the lives of God's children, and expressed in the history and faith of the church, these are the truths which, above all others, and more than all others, the preacher should desire and seek. This is the preacher's true kingdom where he should feel most at home, and where he should be most determined on mastery and kingship. If he does not know these truths at least reasonably well he is not fit to be a teacher of others. If he is not passionately eager to know them more and more fully and clearly he has missed his calling, and would better be engaged in some other kind of work.

This passion for truth will make the true preacher a constant student. It will also save him from narrowness and bigotry, and will keep his mind and heart open to all the light that may come to him from any direction, or from any source whatever. Too many preachers cease to study when they leave the theological seminary. It is to be feared, indeed, that too many never really learned to *study*, even in the seminary or the college. They have only prepared recitations, and this not always very well. They have never really studied, never made the pursuit of knowledge and the search for truth, a serious business. When they get out into the ministry they may prepare

sermons, at least for a while, but they cease to prepare themselves to preach. They do little solid and earnest reading. They buy few or no new books. They make little use of their old ones, which they have by no means exhausted. They gather no new stores of material, and in a few years they are exhausted, and if they keep on preaching at all, make frequent changes and preach over the same old round of thoughts and illustrations, and even of sermons, much like a horse that is hitched to the lever of an old fashioned horse-power, and keeps on walking monotonously and stupidly around, and around, and around in the same path.

Others, who do keep up their habits of study, become narrow and pinched in their views. Their study is all in one line, and has for its end mainly the confirmation of their own views already held, or the proof of the doctrines of their church, or the refutation of their opponents, rather than the discovery of truth. These become the bigots of the Church, and of the pulpit, our modern Pharisees, who are so sure that they are right that they will not listen to any one who differs with them, no matter how well he may be authenticated, but are ready to attack him at once and to seek his ecclesiastical if not his physical life. It is to save him from all this that the model preacher needs a passion for truth, and to make him a sane and safe leader for others, and an enthusiastic teacher.

> "Let there be many windows in your soul,
> That all the glory of the universe
> May beautify it. Not the narrow pane
> Of one poor creed can catch the radiant rays
> That shine from countless sources: Tear away
> The blinds of superstition: let the light
> Pour through fair windows, broad as truth itself
> And high as heaven."

This passion for truth will also keep the preacher loyal to the truth in his pulpit and in all his work. This is no less important than the other. Two temptations or perils beset the preacher in this line. One is to preach what he thinks he ought to preach rather than what he really believes to be true. It is to be feared that in these days of mental and spiritual unrest not a few preachers have lost their firm grip on the old

truths which they have been wont to preach, and which they know they are still expected to preach. Where this has come to pass the preaching of many is only an echo of their past beliefs and experiences, or a lifeless reflection from the accepted creeds of their churches, rather than the full and hearty expression of their own present experience and deep convictions. Such preaching can never ring true in the ears of the people, nor carry conviction to them. It was because the apostles spoke only the things which they had seen and heard (Acts 4 : 20) that so many believed and were added to the Church under their ministry. Sincerity, absolute sincerity, must mark all the utterances of the model preacher, as it ever marked all the words of Jesus and of his apostles. A man would far better leave the pulpit than to become a false witness by preaching in a merely mechanical or perfunctory way, things which he does not really believe, or of the truth and reality of which he has no deep and earnest persuasion.

The other temptation is to preach to please men, or to modify his statements of the truth, or to give or withhold the truth, according as he knows it will be acceptable or offensive to his hearers. This temptation sometimes becomes very strong, especially when it involves not only the preacher's popularity, but also his bread and butter, and the holding of his place. But woe to the man who yields to it and in so doing compromises the truth. He also becomes a false prophet, and proves disloyal not only to the truth, but also to himself and to the people over whom the Holy Ghost has made him an overseer. The man who has the passion for truth, who really loves the truth and lives for it, would rather sacrifice his life itself, than to sacrifice the truth to either the pride or the prejudice of his hearers. Like Paul he ever speaks "not as pleasing men, but God." (I Thess. 2 : 4).

IV. THE MODEL PREACHER MUST ALSO HAVE A PASSION FOR MEN.

His passion for the truth must not terminate in the truth itself, nor in himself as a searcher for truth. He must not study simply to know the truth, nor for the mere pleasure that he may find in knowing or discovering it, but in order that he

may use it in teaching others, and in leading them into the truth. A man might be possessed of a passion for truth, and yet be supremely selfish. Many students are so. They spare no pains to find out the truth, but when it is found they simply go on to find more truth. They never think of taking the truth they have discovered, and going out with it into the world and using it to make other men wiser and better and happier. They are like the hunter who finds all his delight in killing the game and simply lets it lie where it falls, while he presses on in the hope of shooting more.

Other students find the reward of their labor in the mere joy of finding the truth, and knowing that they possess it, and they hug it to their bosoms, and hug themselves in deep satisfaction, with as little thought for others as the class just considered. These are like misers who gather gold simply for the joy of having it, and who hoard it up, and gloat over it, and call themselves rich, while all around them men may be hungry and dying for lack of the food which they might easily give but will not.

It is of course apparent at once that the model preacher could not possibly belong to either one of these classes. He must pursue the truth for the sake of his fellows as well as for his own sake, and when he has found it he must take it to them, and try to make them to know it also, in order that it may make them free as it has made him free.

His passion for men must lead him to seek their salvation also. He sees in them the sons of God, but lost sons who are in imminent danger of eternal destruction from his presence. He cannot think of this without pain, nor without the impulse to try to rescue them from their peril. He knows their infinite worth. He knows that they were created in the image of God. He knows that they were created for God. He knows that they have been redeemed with the precious blood of Christ. He knows that they are his brothers, of the same flesh and blood as himself. Hence he loves them with a great yearning love, resembling in kind, even if it cannot approach in degree, the love which God himself has for them, and which moved

him to give his only begotten Son that they might not perish but have everlasting life.

But this passion for men, if deep and genuine, will not rest content with the salvation of men from eternal death and for the future world. It will desire to see them saved here and now, in this world and for this life. When we remember how entirely almost the Church, and especially the ministers, have laid the stress upon this kind of future salvation, it is surprising and startling indeed, to turn to the Bible, and especially to the words of Jesus, and to see how little stress is laid upon it there comparatively. It is recognized, and its importance is duly emphasized. But the main stress is laid upon salvation in this life—salvation not only from the guilt and future penalty of sin, but from its present power and blight, so that men may follow Jesus here and now, and "live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." (Titus, 2: 12.)

This is not because future salvation is not a great thing, and infinitely important, but because present salvation is just as great and important, and because if men are saved in this life they need have little concern about the life to come. That will take care of itself. The model preacher must understand and appreciate this, and he must feel towards men as Jesus did when looking upon the great unfed multitudes, they seemed to him like an unsheperded flock, scattered abroad upon the mountains, and he had compassion on them and fed them to the full.—(Matt. 9: 36; 15: 32–37). Such a sympathy and compassion must be in the true preacher's soul as he goes about his work among men, and he also is moved to feed the hungry and to clothe the naked, and to visit the sick and the imprisioned, and to minister to each and to all according to their several needs.

It is such a passion for men that ought to move men to enter the ministry. It is this that must keep them at work in the ministry in spite of all the difficulties and discouragements, so that even when men reject their ministry, or fail to respond to it, instead of giving them up in disgust, or in despair, the model preacher only loves them and pities them the more, because this is to him only one more proof of their great and pressing need for help and guidance, if they are to be saved at all.

It is this passion for men that makes the preacher's work a delight to him, and it is only when he really enjoys his work that he can do it efficiently and successfully. In a recent number of the Ladies Home Journal, President Roosevelt is quoted as saying in answer to a question as to how he is able to endure all the burdens of his office and work,—"It is because I like my job." This is the secret of comfort and success in any work. The preacher who does not like his job, and find pleasure in it, and especially the preacher who does not like to preach, is to be pitied indeed. And there is only one thing that can contribute more than this passion for men, towards making the preacher really enjoy his work, and this is the last characteristic of the model preacher that we shall discuss.

V. THE MODEL PREACHER MUST HAVE A PASSION FOR GOD.

A passionate desire to know God in Christ Jesus and to have fellowship with him, and to make him known to others and to bring them to know him and to have fellowship with him, this is the last, the highest, the crowning characteristic of the model preacher.

To know God and to live in fellowship with him, is the highest privilege open to men. To bring our fellowmen to know God and to live in fellowship with him, is the highest service we can render to others. This has always been the supreme desire and joy of the truly devout of all ages. The Psalmist cries, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: when shall I come and appear before God?" (Psalm 42 : 1, 2). And in the fifty-first Psalm he prays for the restoration of the joy of God's salvation, and to be upheld by his spirit, to this end; "Then will I teach transgressors thy ways; and sinners shall be converted unto thee." (Psalm 51 : 13). So the apostle says, "For to me to live is Christ and to die is gain" (Phil. 1 : 21), and again and again he exhorts believers to "rejoice in the Lord" (Phil. 4 : 4). Even Jesus himself found relief from weariness and pain, and from the contradiction of sinners, in prayer and communion with his heavenly Father, and declared that his meat was to do the will of him that sent him, and his Father's will for him just at that time

was that he should lead a poor, benighted Samaritan woman into a better knowledge of God and of the right way of worshipping him. And so it has always been with all the great and the good.

This passion for God, however, must look Godwards as well as manwards. It is not only that men may know God and have communion with him for their own joy and peace, but also for his satisfaction and eternal glory. The old Westminster catechism says that "the chief end of man is to glorify God and enjoy him forever." It does well to put the glory of God first, for that is the first and the highest of all, and must never be lost sight of.

This passion for God is the preacher's true balance wheel and safety valve. It is this that will keep every other desire and ambition in its proper place, and give to it its proper due, no more and no less. It will keep him from glorying in any special gifts that he may have as though he had not received them from above. It will keep him from being puffed up by reason of any advantages of training and culture that he may have enjoyed beyond the members of his flock, and cause him to remember that these too are the gifts of God entrusted to him in order that he may be a better and more successful workman for him. It will keep his passion for truth from becoming cold and selfish, and his passion for men from descending into a weak and foolish sentimentalism. It will deliver him also from all fear of men, on the one hand, and from the temptation to sacrifice either truth or duty simply to please them, or to win either their admiration or their applause.

Nothing has been said thus far about a number of things that we might have been expected to discuss in a paper on the model preacher. Methods of study, and methods of sermonizing, and methods of delivery, have been ignored, not because they are deemed unimportant, but because of the conviction that all such questions will readily adjust themselves whenever and wherever the characteristics of the model preacher on which we have insisted are actually present. None of these things are really vital in and of themselves. In determining them every man must be a law to himself in large measure. Whether a man shall write his sermons, or carefully think them

out, or only prepare an outline and leave both the development of the thought and its phrasing to the heat of delivery; whether he shall read his sermons from manuscript, or commit them and deliver them memoriter, or preach extemporaneously; whether he should preach expository sermons or topical, doctrinal or practical, experimental or ethical; whether he should preach twenty minutes or fifty, these and a whole host of questions of similar import cannot be settled by rule for all preachers at once, but must reach a solution through each individual man's own personal experience and convictions of duty and expediency. But that a preacher should be pious, and capable, and especially that he should be loyal to the truth, that he should be interested in men and devoted to their highest welfare, and that he should love and fear God and desire above all things to serve and please him, these are the things that are essential. Here there can be no surrender, no compromise, no difference of opinion. There may be differences of degree in attainment, but every one of these things is fundamental, and the degree of attainment simply marks the measure of approach of each individual preacher to the model for all.

And if any of our readers should think that the standard has been placed too high, we would only repeat in closing what was said in the beginning, that our subject calls for the discussion of the model or ideal preacher, not of what is but of what ought to be. No doubt there is a great host of earnest and effective preachers, who are not models in all respects, but who are still doing splendid work both for men and for God. But we believe that it will be safe to say that the measure of their success will be found in every case to be just in proportion to their approach to the model which we have tried to describe, and to the degree in which they possess the five characteristics of the model preacher discussed. The model for this great work should be a lofty one, and should always be kept in advance of anything that has yet been attained, or that is easily attainable, either by ourselves or by any of our brethren. When the ideal has been fully realized it ceases to be the ideal and becomes the actual. Then there is nothing more left to which to look forward, or after which to strive, and progress will cease.

ARTICLE IV.

THE MODEL PASTOR.

By Professor David H. Bauslin, D.D.

The spiritual greatness of the work of the Christian minister is incomparably beyond that of any other vocation. He engages in a work that a man receives from God. True, he is publicly ordained and thus set apart by the laying on of human hands; but the voice that calls him unto his work is not human; the authority that commissions him is not human, and neither is the tribunal at which at last he must render an account of his stewardship. He is the "minister of God" appointed to bring to men a message from the Most High, and accountable in his high and sacred responsibility to Him who has thus sent him.

There are various theories of the ministry and of ecclesiastical administration, but there is no room for difference on this point that all duly called and qualified ministers in the Church of Christ come to their people with a commission from the Lord who reigns on high. Hence the dignity, arduousness and importance of the noblest of all vocations. The Christian minister is an ambassador in Christ's stead. He is a steward of the mysteries of God. He is a public and duly accredited servant of his Lord and Master, the Saviour and Friend of mankind, who, having given himself a ransom for all, would have all men to be saved. His high commission authorizes him to declare the love and grace of the Lord to all to whom he is sent, to feed their hungering souls with the bread of life, to warn them of the dangers in the way of their salvation, to set before them the deceitfulness of sin, to show them how to escape from the evil that is in this present world and how to attain unto the blessedness of that world which is to come. Nothing greater indeed can be contemplated by any man than to become an honored and efficient instrument for the salvation of human souls and the enlargement of the Kingdom of God.

The office is of such solemn importance and meaning that even the most sincere and successful among the Lord's chosen servants, in the consciousness of his own insufficiency may lose his confidence in contemplating its requirements and responsibilities and cry out "who is sufficient for these things?" Who is so wise, so holy, so self-devoted as to be worthy to stand among his fellowmen in the noisy places and in the quiet places of the present life, in the public ministration of the Word and sacraments and in the quiet and unostentatious "cure of souls," as an accredited and authorized messenger from the King of Kings?

In the religious use of the Word a pastor is one who shepherds souls. His work is thus a distinctive spiritual work, a work that deals with the motives, ideals, purposes and conduct of the people whom he tries to help. All the benefits accrueing from the facts of the Redemptive history he is attempting to make applicable to the hearts of the men, the women and the children who are about him. He is devoted to the welfare of his fellowmen and is anxious to benefit them in every phase of their living, eager to induce them to become fellow-heirs and citizens of the Kingdom of God. As a good and benevolently disposed man he stands ready to counsel in household cares, in business perplexities and in all temporal and material affairs. But the chief desire of the shepherd of souls toward other men is this, that he may reach and bless the seat of all their joy and sorrow, the source of all their ambition and purpose—the soul. The first and last element in every man's character is the soul, that which is within him that admits of likeness unto God. The christian pastor is set apart for the care of this, and it is because of this supreme fact that his mission among men is greater than any other mission of beneficence entrusted to men. His errand is not only great, but definite and practical. It is to win that within a man which makes him a man and in the winning of which the municipality and the nation are both won. Next to the sense of the greatness of the message, therefore, the minds of all right-minded people should be occupied with the man who is entrusted with the message.

A calling so important and comprehensive in its design as that now under consideration necessarily involves a vast number and a great variety of duties. Preaching and the more distinctive work of the pastor have a common object, but employ somewhat different, though never antagonistic, means for its accomplishment. Preaching awakens attention, arouses conscience, proclaims the law, offers the grace and mercy to be found in Christ and pursuades men to be reconciled to God. In pastoral oversight and care the minister feeds the flock of Christ, nourishes and cherishes the lambs of the fold, gives milk to the babes and strong meat unto them who are of full age, to every one according to his capacity and need.

It is the preaching of the gospel that introduces the great claims of religion. It is the pastoral care which establishes and perpetuates the institutions of Christianity. It is preaching that enlarges the area of Christian influence. It is pastoral care that individualizes the application and consolidates the results of pulpit labor, increasing attendance upon preaching and securing interested hearers. It is preaching that attracts hearers within the circle of pastoral influence, but it is the pastoral care which waters the seed sown in their hearts. It is the preaching of the word that makes aggressions into the country of the enemy of souls, but it is pastoral care that follows as the work of occupation. It is preaching that challenges attention and arouses inquiry. It is pastoral care that removes doubts, settles anxieties, which imparts needed consolation and instruction. It is in preaching that the true minister of Christ unfolds and defends the truth of God. It is in pastoral fidelity that he consolidates, watches and guards the gathered flock. When the preaching, however excellent it may be, is not followed or duly sustained by pastoral care it fails of its ultimate effects. Churches in which preaching is neglected grow weak in numbers and spirituality, are liable to run away into ritualistic ceremonies and barren formalities and lose their hold on thinking people. Churches in which pastoral care is minimized lose their organic power, and tend to dissolution. Their organiza-

tion is ineffective and the true spirit of the body of Christ languishes.

Accordingly the Christian minister in the faithful prosecution of the distinctively pastoral phases of his vocation has come to no flowery beds of ease, in doing the work done when He was on the earth by his Lord and Master, who loved men, fed men, led men, protected men and was at last willing to die for men. The brave and devoted under shepherd must do it all if he finds in Christ his example. There is pastoral work to be done and in its prosecution he must aim to be like the great Apostle who in the fulfilment of his ministry could say, "I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you, but have showed you, and have taught you publicly and from house to house." There too is the solemn, delicate and difficult duty of visiting the sick. There also are the poor to be looked after and comforted, and the Sunday School and other congregational organizations that need oversight, direction and counsel. Enough it is to tax time, patience, strength and sensibilities.

The office of the pastor has a three fold bearing and relation, inconsequence of the fact that in a broad sense, he has to deal with three classes of persons.

There is a class composed of all who have not yet entered upon the duties and joys of the Christian life, but who are still moving in the vain ways of worldliness and sin. To these lost sheep who have wandered away from the good shepherd the Christian pastor owes something. It is a part of his duty to go after them in persistent and loving efforts to bring them back into the fold. Then again there are the young at their different stages. He is to look upon them as an heritage of the Lord and the heirs of the future, and his office requires him to deal with them according to the loving example of the Lord and to neglect no opportunity for training them into a knowledge of the truth and to lead them into a joyous and intelligent confession of the Lord. The third class with which the pastor has to deal is included under such as are already members of the congregation of believers, such as have laid hold upon the hope set before them in the gospel. Such he is to instruct,

edify, comfort and warn. His work of love among them must be to "preach the Word, to be instant in season, out of season, to reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine; to watch in all things, to endure afflictions, to do the work of an evangelist; to make full proof of his ministry." He must strive at all times to carry out the exhortation of Peter the apostle, which contains a short but complete Pastoral Theology: "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage; but being ensamples to the flock."

The question therefore recurs, What manner of man should he be who contemplates prosecuting these manifold duties, to these separate classes, with any fair degree of success? To attain to what might be regarded as "model" in them all would seem to involve a perfection that transcends all human possibilities. Nevertheless there are certain requisites that condition even fair success. It is an antecedent presumption that the model pastor must be a good man. The foundation of influence in parochial life is in the pastor's character and the root of that character is piety. An ordinary excellence is not enough. By his very position he is forbidden to be a secular member of the community, and hence must not be secular either in his character or his habits. True it is, in our estimate, that the pastors office does not segregate him into a separate and priestly caste, but he does fulfil among men the functions of a sacred vocation. Passing by with this single reflection, this fundamental factor in the pastor's life and work, there are other marks of the model in the fulfilment of this high office to which we may find it profitable to advert.

1. We may be permitted first of all to say that the model pastor is going to be a real man, a man of flesh and blood and infirmities like other men. But what we mean is not so much that fact, but this requisite that there must be about the Christian pastor, in all his relations with people, the element of realism. There is a bitter epigram—bitter but containing some truth at least—that "more evil is done in the world by unreal

men than by wicked men." One of the Presidents of our country was once asked when he was a small boy what he was going to be. He made this reply: "First of all I shall try to be a man; and if I do not succeed in that, I am quite sure that I shall not succeed in anything else." In Scott's story, in reply to the question, "Who are you?" Rob. Roy replies "I am a man, a man, that is very brief, but it serves one who has no other answer to give. In the pastoral office, in the long run, woe be to the man who is not what the voluntary assumption of his high calling proclaims him to be, a real and genuine man, of the noblest and most disinterested order. In the theological seminary, behind text book and lecture room and chapel hour and devotional service, there should always stand the man. In the pastorate, likewise, behind the parochial visitation as well as behind the sermon in the pulpit a real man is supposed to stand. There is one profound difference between that sort of public speaking which is known as preaching and any other kind of public discourse, that the subject matter and the commission of the preacher alike make it impossible to dissociate the man from his message. Unreality in the every day life will invariably nullify the acceptability and influence of the public utterance.

"The two great elements in preaching," said that great soul and unique preacher, Phillip Brooks, "are personality and truth." The truth must come through the man and not merely over him. We shall as pastors very likely be what we are as men. A maxim that was originally applied to artists is certainly more true of a Christian pastor "as we are so is our work." Manhood, and manhood that is distinctively and emphatically real, is a pastoral prerequisite. There must be a real harmony between the man and his message, if the pastoral impact is to amount to anything. The man who is going to mingle successfully with other men in the "Cure of souls," must be a real man and not a mere segment or semblance of a man. He is to be a man among men with his feet upon this earth and his hands outstretched toward human sin and misery. He is always to remember that his service is not angelic and

that accordingly neither Gabriel, who was sent to interpret a vision to Daniel, nor Michael one of the chief of the angelic princes, is his chief example.

There is one specious incitement to unmanliness in the pastorate that is worth a special mention. It lies in the temptation to assume among the people the possession of a learning which a man has had neither the industry or the application to secure. This species of unreality is all the more easily detected now, because, whether for good or evil, we have passed beyond a time when certain position, influence and functions were conceded to the ministerial office, as matters of course. A pastor in these days should always remember that the exactions of his vocation forbid that he should become such an expert in every department of knowledge as to warrant oracular and ex-cathedra opinions. Every man who in these days is making full proof of his fidelity and efficiency as a pastor is really expected to do the work of about four men. To study as much as a professor, at least, should study, to make as many calls as a doctor, to do vastly more public speaking and upon a wider range of vastly more important subjects, than a lawyer or politician, and to give as much time and attention to parochial and denominational affairs as the average man gives to business. But notwithstanding all these exactions some pastors are tempted, when among their people, to a kind of affectation of omniscience. To a man of any other vocation his adversary cometh and searcheth him out. But a certain sort of insincerity peculiar to his calling, is not always conducive to the cultivation of the sturdiest form of pastoral manliness and reality. And more than this, if the minister be at all popular, he not infrequently finds himself in a certain atmosphere of adulation, such as depresses real manhood and induces mental softness and flabbiness. It is not unmanly for a minister to be ignorant of many things, but it is unmanly and, what is worse, unethical for any man, who shares in the species of insincerity to which we have above alluded, to make false pretenses to the possession of a knowledge that he does not possess.

This is the plain and unmistakable fact that the reality of the

man in the pastoral functions counts for very much in the exercise of his office. "If I were a better man, I should be a better preacher," once said Mr. Beecher, and every pastor without confessing himself bad could say the same thing. The influence of the sermon is largely a matter of personality. Men do not usually take it at its face value until they have ascertained what kind of a man is backing the sermon up in the pastorate. The sermon may be homiletically correct, doctrinally sound, rhetorically brilliant, oratorically cogent, but it is no more than "sounding brass" unless backed up by an easily discerned reality in the life of the man who has preached it, and should the people find out that the preacher is not himself willing to do what he commends to others, and when they once learn that his pompous unction is several leagues in advance of his ethical standards outside of the pulpit.

2. What we have just said leads us to our second reflection, viz., that the pastor must be a man of exalted ethical ideals and standards.

Out of the pastor's life are the issues of his preaching. To buy your ideal you must pay out yourself. It can be had for no less a price. They are very rare but there are always some orthodox infidels in the pulpit, who can talk glibly enough about faith and atonement and reconciliation, but who sometimes nullify the moral law in speech and practice. Pre eminently God's ministers are the light of the world; but if the light that is in them be darkness, or is obscured by dark deeds that cannot come to the light without reproach to their calling, then the case is bad indeed. God's servants are the salt of the earth, but if the salt have lost its savor it is good for nothing but to be trodden under foot of men. St. Paul fairly, if not effectually, silenced the slanders of many, and greatly confirmed the faith of good men, when he was able to appeal to his own life in vindication of his motives and conduct. He could say with modesty because of its truthfulness, "Ye know that from the first day that I came into Asia, after what manner I have been with you at all seasons. If a pastor maintain in their integrity lofty ethical ideals then doctrine and

morals, precept and practice, study and pastoral labor, closet and pulpit work, are likely to have something of due proportion. Only conduct is permanently eloquent. Reputation in the pastorate rather than rhetoric in the pulpit makes or mars the sermon. If the people trust their pastor they will hear and heed him though he be not a pulpit star; but if in consequence of discovered delinquencies and commercial lapses from strict obedience to the moral law, their confidence is shaken in him, they are certain to be uninfluenced by what he may say in the most attractive manner of public speech. It is not only important that the preacher preach well on Sunday, but also that the pastor walk circumspectly on Monday.

There is nothing in the vocation of a Christian pastor to render him immune against unworthy practices. Like any other man he has to "fight the good fight of faith" on his own account. Just in proportion as his pulpit renders him conspicuous is it the more incumbent upon him to practice up to his ideals. The doctrines he proclaims he will be careful therefore to make the foundation stones of his own character and the inspiration of his own conduct. Moral standards that he endorses he will scrupulously endeavor to build into the structure of his own life, and he will recommend no system of ethics which he has not subjected to the test of experience and practice. The prophet supplied the force for the law, the dynamic by which it got itself obeyed. As one of them says, his word was "as a hammer" to drive home and fasten in a sure place the nails of the law.

And is not this the function of the Christian Church as a whole, and eminently of its pastors? What are we here for as the leaders and teachers of the Church but to bring the principles of the gospel to bear upon all life? In his dealing with his own people and others it is no small part of the pastor's duty be the voice of a real Christian conscience. It is his business to direct the searchlight on individual sins, to apply the measure of the sanctuary to worldly maxims which his hearers sometimes take for axioms, and to practices which they deem legitimate because they are popular, to witness against

the cancerous vices which are eating out the life of the nation, and to bring national acts to the standard of our Lord's teaching. His testimony will be limping, his protests unavailing, and his remonstrances unheeded, until for himself he shall have accepted and applied the ethical principles of the gospel in his own personal life.

The pastoral ideal is specially liable to be lowered some in a time when the multiform "get-rich-quick" schemes are pressed persistently upon the attention of ministers of the gospel. A preacher known to be a money hunter soon becomes useless in the kingdom of Christ. Christ and mammon are antipodal. The christian conscience recognizes this and the world's instinct somehow comes to look upon it as correct. Accordingly the moment that the world detects a money loving teacher of religion, either with delight—as finding so high an example of its own gross ideals—or scornfully—as seeing the contrast between his office and his disposition, it at once concludes that he has "become even as one of us." The pastor at once steps down from his vantage ground and mingles with the greedy worldlings, to be jostled by them and to lose his power as well as his dignity when he becomes secularized. Called to use his gifts in the service of the Church he should be provided for in his reasonable living, but beyond this he should not be absorbingly interested in monetary matters. If he meddle in mining stocks, petroleum or the stock jobbers shambles, he is certain to defile his office. If the Lord of glory became poor for our sakes, we may be glad to remain poor for the sake of his great work and grace. Better is reliance upon the Lord than upon his own shrewdness in the money markets, where placed at a disadvantage, he is likely to be beaten. The chief design on the part of a true shepherd of men is this, that he may make and bless the seat of all their joy and sorrow, the source of all their ambition and purpose—the soul, and to keep himself in his vocational functions and life "unspotted from the world."

3. Again we may be permitted to say that the model pastor must have at least a fair capacity for leadership in the affairs of the church. The church is divinely appointed as "the pil-

lar and ground of the truth," and as the one central agency by which the world is to be rescued from the power of sin, and yet its forms of action are various and sometimes indirect. This means that the Christian pastor is to be identified as a leader with the various agencies of the Church and in some measure, with those various agencies of benevolence and philanthropy which are without the sphere of the Church. In connection with these latter, however, a word of caution may not be out of place. It is that the pastor should be on his guard against committing himself, or the influence of the Church, to ill-judged or impracticable schemes, under whatever auspices they may be proposed. The present is an age of both real and pretended reforms. There seems to be no end to projects, conventions, and organizations proposed to mitigate evils and to promote good. Some of them may be necessary, and others well meant but some others have not even these recommendations, while others lack so many of the elements that promise even a fair measure of success that they ought not to be encouraged. The direct work of the Church comprehends nearly everything that is good, and is of itself enough to absorb the time and energies of the strongest men, and in consequence, pastors should only assent to render personal or official coöperation to such enterprises of which the good character and practical tendencies are fully established.

In all legitimate lines of ministerial influence, however, this is of fundamental importance in the effective exercise of the functions of his high vocation, that the pastor shall have capacity to direct and lead men. In the past he led more because of his official position in the community. If he leads now-a days, it must be in consequence of his ability to lead men primarily because of his personal qualitities. Priestcraft and a sort of instinctive reverence for it have had their day and are done. The capacity which makes a man an officer in an army, the captain of a ship or the executive head of an industrial enterprise is the kind of capacity it is well for the pastor to have, at least, in a moderate degree. If he have it in no degree at all a profitless ministry most assuredly stares him in the face. The

greater his capacity in this respect, other good and essential factors not being overlooked or minimized, the larger will be his influence.

4. We may note again that in the model pastor there will be found a certain ruggedness of character that will inspire some endurance. Softness of character is a sure forerunner of pastoral failure. The great apostle who expended himself in tireless evangelism exhorts us to "endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." The soldier on a campaign must not be too particular about his personal comfort. He must take cheerfully what comes to him whether it be rough or smooth. He must do his duty both in foul weather and in fair, and press forward on the march whether meadows or rocks or toilsome morass be beneath his feet. The Christian pastor in the oversight of his flock frequently has rough work to do. He has sometimes to encounter rough people, living in rough places and on rough food. If his character be soft he is very likely to think much about this roughness. He is exceedingly anxious to get a more comfortable place where he shall not encounter rough people in rough surroundings. His anxiety about his lodging place and its conveniences out run the cure of souls he is about to undertake. He is greatly afraid of work and discomfort. Things must be made easy for him, for he is of luxurious tastes and not adapted to the strenuous life. He is easily discouraged by bad days, toilsome roads and dirty streets in obscure quarters of the town. He is most at home among flattering ladies, emasculating drawing rooms and with the magazines of the lighter order.

Over the gateway into his kingdom the Lord hath placed these words: "If any man will come after me let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." The pace and spirit of the times render us liable to forget this condition of discipleship sometimes even in the ministry. All men who come under the secret dominion of the Lord are to live in something of self-sacrifice. That man who has not learned the lesson of self-abnegation has no place in a vocation which is to teach men this primary principle of the Kingdom of God.

We are called to serve and not to be served. Our honor, our ease, even our salary is secondary, and our helpfulness first. Burden bearers we are by the very choice of our lot and burden-bearers we must rejoice to be as fellow heirs and co-workers with our Master. The minister who tries to save himself is doomed to failure. We will go even further and say that the pastor who thinks too much about himself, or who keeps his finger always upon his physical or mental pulse, in an attempt at any morbid self-analysis is certain not to get on well. I am fully aware that the demands made upon the nervous energy of the minister are always great, and that a great strain is constantly resting upon his physical powers and upon his sensibilities. But that is no reason why he should always be whining about overwork, and wondering whether he can do this or go there, and saying to himself in a half congratulatory way and to others. in wearisome repetitiousness, that he is so "tired."

Said a bright hostess who dwelt in a home where ministers were frequently guests: "Some ministers are such chronically tired people that they really become tiresome." She was a woman of discernment, and in some pastoral instances we have known, there was some justification for her reflection. People soon lose patience and respect for the minister who is always sparing himself or who is chronically "tired." Every good and true minister is a hard worker, but that they work harder and wear out faster than other diligent men, may be seriously doubted. Accordingly the minister who is always lugubriously pitying himself and courting the pity of other sentimental people, is not likely to be successful in any large sense. On the other hand the man who throws himself energetically into his work, who proposes to spend his energy and dedicate his powers to the cause of Christ; who is not always worrying about doing too much, but seeks by God's help to meet every demand that may be reasonably made upon his time and strength, is bound to succeed and will be sought by people who need help and comfort, and they will in turn accord him their love and trust.

The minister ought to be the chief authority in his pastorate concerning Christianity; the chief man as to its experience knowing its very depths, he ought to know it as a strong working power that has created for itself a great organization called the Church, which is exerting a momentous influence on the world around it; an authority also as to the history of Christianity, a sphere in which some of the hardest problems must be encountered. All these he should be, and more, but in, with and under all, he should be known as a model also of systematic industry and application in the one thing unto which he hath been called and set apart, viz., the work of the Kingdom of God on this earth.

5. It is worth remarking and with emphasis, that the pastor, who contemplates making of himself a model, must be a man of good manners.

The man who thinks that he can become big enough and learned enough to live in defiance of the canons of good society, we do not mean artificial society, had better not enter the ministry. Manners is a social word. If man were not a social being he would have no need for such a word in the dictionary. He would then have a manner of life but not manners, for association with others, he is compelled to adopt conventionalities which modify his liberty perhaps for no higher reason sometimes than the whims and prejudices of other people among whom he is compelled to live. For the most part manners constitute a sort of unwritten code by which we attempt to keep from giving needless offence. They are the result of ages of courtesy; they are the embodiment of gentlemanliness; they make a sort of way by which society seeks to protect itself from the offensive. I know that manners may be only a kind of outside veneer without any real courtesy or gentlemanliness within. The manners of a Chesterfield may be but a species of sheep's clothing covering up a real wolf, the garniture of the whited-sepulchre concealing a bogus and hideous interior.

Manners may be like that wonderful smile of the cat, described in one of the popular stories, which still remained long

after the cat had disappeared. They may degenerate into mere forms of courtesy and like all forms may lose their vitality. Sometimes they may even run to seed, as is the case in ultra fashionable society. But the simpering externalism of alleged high society, is not the only kind of manner worth mentioning, and the ball room model is not the only standard of excellence. Instead of expressing a real courtesy within, some forms of manners result only from posing before mirrior and consulting the tailor.

But reality stands behind good manners of the genuine order. Boorishness implies a lack of fine perception if not a lack of heart. In the end what we are will make itself felt, but first we are judged by what we appear to be. Manners never make a gentleman, but enable a gentleman to express that which is within him. They manifest the way that the gentleman generally acts, disarm prejudice and make it easier for the man to show what he in reality is. Manners are societies laws and society dislikes an anarchist in the parlor and the sick chamber and in the administration of the sacred functions of a religious teacher, as well as the bomb-thrower in the hay market.

One of the most bright and useful preachers of this country has made this sagacious reflection about some pastoral delinquencies. "Soiled linen, unbrushed clothing, muddy boots, teeth which have been left to their own destruction, finger nails dressed in deep black, mourning the loss of all things, a general unkempt, slack appearance, is sufficient evidence in some cases to demonstrate that the possessor has mistaken his calling." And speaking of the tobacco habit, he says further, that, "the distinguished divines curling smoke and great thoughts, amid the fragrant Havana are quite unanimous in their paternal counsels to the young to avoid their peccadillos."

All this being true, certainly the Christian pastor, of all men, needs to look well to his manners. He should always live and act in the reverent consciousness of the fact that he represents the first gentleman in the world. He cannot be too particular as to his habits, his person and the whole atmosphere that he

creates. It is a slur on the Master when his ambassadors are slothful, untidy or careless of those decencies which are demanded by etiquette and the evasion of which is far more due to slouchiness than to godliness. There should be a certain pride and nicety amongst those who stand for the Church as invariably obtains in what is called "good society." And all this is quite compatible with perfect inward humility and genuineness. The pastor is entrusted with a message and he cannot afford by unpleasing action or boorishness of manner to arouse opposition or even to direct attention from his great theme. There may be higher laws which will compel disregard of the lower, but we need always to be sure that there is a principle involved. The man in the pastorate however unconventional he may be in presenting truth needs to be conventional in demeanor, lest he direct attention from his message. Good conduct really makes him inconspicuous. The innate slovenliness of some men has been known to manifest itself in what ought to be the most beautiful, solemn and impressive service of the sanctuary, the administration of the holy communion. It is unhapily true that its administration is not always as impressive as it ought to be because of the meager conception of its meaning. But our interest here is with some incongruities connected with its administration. Both pastor and people should come to this holy service with becoming preparation and it may not be amiss to add that the pastor should come in becoming cleanliness.

Charles G. Finney used to bluntly tell his students never to administer a sacrament with dirty finger nails. When asked whether he thought the advice strictly necessary, that sturdy Paritan saint replied that there were men and even good men who unless reminded of that simple duty in the bluntest possible fashion would actually commit such careless sacrilege.

Even as to dress there is such a thing as good manners. True it is that a pastor's work is primary and his appearance secondary. An over-scrupulous attention to details of dress rightly conveys the impression that it occupies too large a share of his thought. When Oliver Goldsmith appeared for ordina-

tion in a pair of flaming red trousers, he was rejected without examination. "If you would save souls," said Mr. Spurgeon to his students, "you must come from the closet and not from the bandbox." The robe of righteousness must not be laid aside and the place of the garment of praise usurped by the latest fashions of the French or English court. Nevertheless the minister should dress properly. When God clothed the lilies of the field, he arrayed them in a glory greater than that of Solomon. Aarons sons were commanded to wear girdles made by the embroiderer and headdress, as the Scripture says, "for glory and for beauty." A pastor should dress as well as he can. Carelessness in dress is no indication of humility, and slovenliness may cover a large amount of pride and arrogance. Mr. Beecher once said that if he were going to be proud of his clothes at all, he should much prefer that they be good ones, for then he would have more to be proud of. Shabbiness and uncleanliness are not to be taken as the signs of abounding grace. A faithful pastor is, in the good sense of the term, intensely a society man. Much of his time is taken in associating with people. He meets all grades of them, and good manners make him at home among them all. Obsequiousness in a home of refinement is in bad taste and produces contempt, and lack of courtesy in other homes is an impertinence. Condescension, paternal airs, assumptions of superiority when in the presence of the poor, studied dignity and pomposity, are all unmannerly and doubtless an abomination before the Lord. The man of real manners and true pastoral courtesy has not different codes for different classes, but his standpoint is this, "all ye are brethren."

Thus as a good man and as a gentleman the pastor moves among his people and binds them to him with the strong cords of christian affection and genuine respect. In Knowles recently published story known as *St. Cuthberts* there is a striking portrayal of what it all comes to. The big hearted pastor, who knew the utility of the special cure of souls, says: "As the minister of a vast congregation like St. Cuthberts, I might have requested an assistant who should relieve me of the visit-

ing, leaving me only the duties of the pulpit, oceanic enough for any man. Indeed one of the stalwarts had suggested this to me, averring that I needed more time for my sermons whereat I looked at him sharply; but his face was placid as a sea of milk, which is the way of Scotsmen when they mean to score. But this dual ministry was ever the object of my disfavor, for he preaches best who visits best, and the weekly garner makes the richest grist for the Sunday mill. True and tender visiting is the sermons fuse, and what God hath put together no man can safely put asunder."

6. It is worth saying, in our day especially, that the model pastor will have the patience and hopefulness, to deal with men one by one in the cure of souls. This is not the characteristic method of the times. Much of Christian work in our day has lost sight of the idea of one man who is a Christian winning spiritual mastery over another man who is not a Christian. One reason no doubt why so little is accomplished is because so many good people have an ambition to do so much. While they are engaged in formulating plans and raising funds to convert a whole center of population, the one man who might have been saved by some other man going after him, as Andrew went after his brother Simon, dies without hope, and soon the elaborate plans all go the same way. A great deal of arithmetic has got into our evangelical estimates. The statistic habit has become epidemic. Matthew Arnold declares that "we worship the book of Numbers." The tendency to estimate success by numbers once led King David astray, and it sometimes has done the same thing with the earnest heart of some diligent and faithful pastor.

Success in our day has somehow come to mean, in the popular estimate, large figures. In business it is the largest number of dollars, in college the largest number of students, in newspapers the largest number of subscribers and advertisers, and in books the largest number of editions. It is not at all a matter of surprise that pastors should become infected with the mania of the day, and come to look upon the Church as something the success of which is estimated by the size of the

roll-call and the muster of simultaneous additions. Such an estimate of parochial success, we may be permitted to say, pulls down the spiritual life of any pastor and materializes it. We shall some day no doubt be forced back into a truer estimate of the fact that pains taken to permanently benefit one man in the aggregate and the long run, come to more than temporarily collecting a great crowd. The man who has the patience and hopefulness to persistently engage in that kind of work, unostentatious and unheralded though it be, is doing a larger work than the man who surrounds himself for a few weeks with a multitude and then goes his way. It is the quieter and less spectacular of the two methods that is nourishing "the remnant" whereby the earth shall be redeemed.

Before a body of ministers not long ago the Rev. Dr. Erdman, the recently elected Professor of Practical Theology in Princeton Seminary, in discussing this phase of our subject, brought to view the much neglected method of our Lord and His Apostles, that of personal contact with individual souls in order to effect their redemption. "Mass meetings may save souls," he said, "but there is a better method of accomplishing that end, and that is one man after one man. It is easy to preach to a vast assemblage; it is far more diffcult and more effective to sit down and tell one man that he is lost unless he accepts Jesus Christ. This is the true evangelism."

The faithful pastor who is content to keep on at this sort of personal cure of souls, in humble dependence upon Him "who, when and where it pleases God, works faith in those who hear the gospel," shall not labor in vain or go unrewarded. If his successes go unheralded and men fail to assure him of the good he is doing, let him not be faithless or unbelieving. It may be that he is entitled to the full advantage of the known and unknown results of his ministry. Where there are known results, where his successes are heralded and lauded of men, if they be genuine, he can be assured not only with the probability but with the certainty that the unknown and unannounced results of his work exceed even the known. Canon Twells, in one of his colloquies on preaching, introduces his readers to a

conversation between a rector and a vicar on results in preaching, which may serve as an indication as to what any faithful and true witness in the ministry may believe of himself and his work. At one point the rector falls into a desponding mood, like Bunyan's Christian, and the vicar plays the part of Bunyan's Hopeful. The colloquy closes with this incident, told by the vicar: "A friend of mine, a layman, was once in the company of a very eminent preacher, then in the decline of life. My friend happened to remark what a comfort it must be to think of all the good he had done by his gift of eloquence. The eyes of the old man filled with tears. 'You little know, you little know. If I ever turned one heart from the ways of disobedience to the wisdom of the Just, God has withheld the assurance from me. I have been admired and flattered and run after, but how gladly I would forget all that, to be told of one single soul I have been instrumental in saving!' The eminent preacher entered into his rest. There was a great funeral. Many passed round the grave who had often times hung entranced upon his lips. My friend was there and by his side was a stranger, who was so deeply moved that when all was over my friend said to him: 'You knew him, I suppose?' 'Knew him,' was the reply, 'no, I never spoke to him, but I owe to him my soul.'"

The pastor who goes after men in this quiet and unnoted way, can always rest upon this assurance, that he is joining forces with the Almighty, and that even though his feet may never tread among the standing corn, and even though the reapers may go to and fro over his grave to gather the fruitage of that pastor's sowing, nevertheless he too shall join in the reaping. The whole matter is expressed and illustrated in one of the passages of the history of Isaiah. God revealed Himself to that prophet in a vision. He saw the Lord sitting on a throne, and heard the seraphim crying: "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of hosts." He saw the portals of the door move at the voice of him that cried, and before the great glory revealed he felt himself undone and of unclean lips. Then God touched his lips with a coal from the altar and purified and consecrated

him to bear His message to men. He told the prophet that the people would not hear nor understand him, that he should preach to dull ears and hard hearts. Nevertheless he was to preach, and in due time the results of his fidelity as the Lord's prophet would be manifest. A long interval stretched between the preaching and those results, an interval filled with wasted cities, desolated lands and houses without men, but at last the word of the Lord bore fruit in the repentance and submission of the people. The prophet delivered his message and drew his inspiration from God and found his joy in the divine and unfailing assurances of success in God's own time.

The pastorate that never startles, never dazzles, that cuts but a small figure in the newspapers, but that year by year remains steadfast, and that diligently look after all classes, after the child and the man, the rich and the poor, the joyful and the sorrowing, those in prosperity and those in adversity, that kind of a pastorate certainly has its own blessed mission among men and always shall have.

Such, in some only of its manifold aspects, is the pastoral office, the cure of souls, a benign and gracious vocation, all right-minded people must acknowledge, whether it be looked at from the side of the pastor or that of the people. To the man who has in him the true conception of what this calling means in the amplitude of its functions and influences, any flock that may in the Providence of God be assigned to him, is, what one who knew its particular joys called "his own beautiful flock." It is beautiful for the simple reason that it is a flock, and that in a particular sense it is his flock; a group of people, a company of men, women and children, an actual family of human souls to care for, to look after, to counsel, to pray for, to help in times of trouble, to guide in perplexities, to console in sorrow, to cheer with hope and to incite to charity.

The man who joins forces with the Head of the Church in doing that work can always fall back on the assurance that the world needs his peculiar kind of work, that it cannot prosper without that work and that left undone the world is bound to suffer. The man who does that work, putting into it all the

possibilities of goodness and efficiency that are in him may always comfort himself also with this additional assurance that he is bringing nearer the day when mankind shall become the one flock of the one shepherd even of the "chief shepherd and bishop of souls." But while such views are sufficient to show the superiority of the pastoral vocation to all others, and that its present rewards are not of any inferior order, nevertheless the chief rewards of the faithful under shepherd lie beyond this present life. In that certainty he may always find encouragements to quicken his faith, and joys to over-balance his sorrows, even though it will only be when the Chief Shepherd shall appear as the Judge of the quick and the dead that he "shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away." Then "they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever."

In the contemplation of this high hope and this glad anticipation, we who are called and chosen of the Lord in this high vocation may lift our hearts toward our Lord and say:

"O master let me walk with thee
In lowly paths of service free;
Tell me thy secret; help me bear
The strain of toil, the fret of care.

Help me the slow of heart to move
By some clear winning word of love;
Teach me the wayward feet to stay,
And guide them in the homeward way.

Teach me thy patience; still with thee
In closer, dearer company,
In work that keeps faith strong and sweet
In trust that triumphs over wrong.

In hope that sends a shining ray
Far down the future's broadening way;
In peace that only thou canst give,
With thee, O master let me live."

ARTICLE V.

A ROMAN CATHOLIC VIEW OF LUTHER.

By Professor Karl Josef Grimm, Ph.D.

II.

We have seen the picture of Luther and Lutheranism as presented by Father Denifle.* No doubt many will have called out in amazement: "How is it possible to view the Reformer and his work in such a light?" Does not such a presentation contradict all the laws of historical probability? Can he whose influence reached over millions of men and for whose teaching many gave up their lives have been in reality a corrupt carnal man, a liar and deceiver? How can a moral monster succeed in drawing unto him a whole nation? Of course there were those for whom his gospel of Christian liberty meant a permit for license. He says himself:† *video monachos nostros multos exire nulla causa alia quam qua intraverant, hoc est ventris et libertatis carnalis gratia.* But what of those who, like Durer, openly confessed how the preaching of Luther had raised them out of dire moral distress and had given them strength to enter upon a new life? Were such men totally blind? Are they not fruits of Luther's gospel which can be appealed to when application is to be made of the principle of Jesus: "By their fruits ye shall know them?"

But Denifle claims that his exposition is strictly true, being based on the sources. Let us see then what are the presuppositions which he brings to his task, and the methods through which he obtains his results.

Does Denifle approach his subject with the calm mind of the historian? This question, it appears, can only be answered in the negative. It is not so much the unbiased investigator that pronounces those severe judgments; it is rather the scholastic theologian and the zealous defender of the faith.

* *The Lutheran Quarterly* XXXVI. 2, pp. 236 ff. I am indebted for Pt. II to Kaweran, Köhler, Kolde, Haussleiter, Hausrath.

†*Enders*, III, 323.

Now a just evaluation of the work of Luther seems if not an impossible, at least a most difficult task for a staunch upholder of the Papal Church. Many judgments from the Roman side about the Reformation make it plain that the sentence is already sure before the case is properly presented. The verdict is pronounced by the authority of Rome, and subsequent investigation seems intended only to confirm it. Whoever denies the authority of the Church and her teaching is a heretic, a rebel against the unity of the Church and against Christ. He who is against Christ is Antichrist. He who falls away from Rome, the center of the Church, has long before abandoned all care for salvation and becomes completely absorbed in scientific and other worldly pursuits, neglecting prayer, meditation and the means of grace. Thus without stay and support, sin has obtained mastery over him, and he becomes an instrument of Satan. This is the schema of an apostate and heretic. Now Protestantism is heresy, and Luther is heresiarch. His life and development, his teaching and work must, therefore, fit into the schema.

It is with such presuppositions that Denifle approaches his task. He comes forward as a representative of "Roman Catholic science," as *defensor fidei.* It can scarcely be expected that the brave defender of papism should judge calmly of its indefatigable and successful opponent. Denifle's conclusions are not the outcome and result of an unbiased investigation of the sources, but the sources are appealed to, to furnish the proofs for the truth of the prejudgment of the Church. And his art of interpretation in connection with his scholarship succeeds in proving the case. Luther, the Augustinian friar, broke his vows and turned heresiarch. How was he led into this dire condition? He yielded to the desires of the flesh. The desire to follow carnal lust was the main-spring of his actions and teachings. This was coupled with pride. Once in the meshes of the flesh he became blind and did not shrink from using any means whatsoever to defend his position.

Denifle begins his criticism with Luther's relation to the institutions of his Order, more especially to the monastic vows. It is but natural that this point should be in the foreground for

Denifle the zealous monk. He endeavors to show that all that Luther wrote on the subject is nothing but a pack of lies, falsifications, distortions, foolish remarks, etc. The method employed by the learned Dominican is that of Luther's contemporary opponents from the mendicant orders. Both the manner of writing and looking at things is the same. Denifle is very proud of his method, the "aristotelian-scholastic" method applied to history. He finds in it an infallible means to prove the correctness of a premise or principle assumed. One of its characteristics is a delight in details which are collected, used and grouped in accordance with a definite purpose. Denifle tears the whole in pieces, takes out what appears to substantiate his presupposition, and proclaims the fragments to be the essence of the whole.

It is but to be expected that Denifle working with such presuppositions and such a method should see things in a wrong light. The reproach which he casts into the teeth of Luther and Protestant scholars may be hurled against him; he misquotes, detaching passages from their context and mutilating them; he misinterprets them and then draws misleading and damaging conclusions "with iron consistency".

In 1534 Luther wrote to a friend: "The highest art of my opponents now is to wrest from my books such passages which may be tortured to my disadvantage, so as to obscure and hide that which stands in close connection speaking to my advanage.* This is also Denifle's art. What suits is taken out and only as far as it suits. What follows, perhaps in the next line or on the following page putting it into its proper light and perspective is overlooked. A striking application of this method we can see in the paragraph with the heading: LUTHER WISHES TO BE A HOG, THE IDEAL OF A BLESSED LIFE. We read:

> In the year 1543, three years before his death, after he had been near death as early as 1527 and 1537, and had had a foretaste of it, he writes of his experience in the terrors of death: "I know that he who ever felt the terrors or the load of death would prefer to be a hog rather than endure them forever. For a hog lies in its soft downfeatherbed in the street or upon the dunghill, rests securely, snorts

* Erl. 31. 379.

gently, sleeps sweetly, fears neither king nor lord, neither death nor hell, neither the devil nor the wrath of God, lives so altogether free from care as not even to think where the bran is. And were the emperor of Turkey with all his power and wrath coming along, the proud hog would not move a bristle for his sake. If it were stirred up, it would grunt, and if able to speak would say : Behold how you rage, you fool. You have not the tenth part of the pleasant life I have. You do not live for one hour as securely, gently and quietly as I live always, even if you were ten times as rich and great. *Summa :* the hog does not think of death, is altogether secure, leading a calm life. If the butcher comes to kill the hog, it thinks perhaps of a pinching piece of wood or stone, and does not become aware of death till the last moment, but looks forward to an everlasting life. No king, nor the messiah of the Jews (*i. e.* the one whom they are still waiting for) will excel the hog herein, nor any man, however wise, great, rich, holy, or powerful he may be." And why? "The hog did not eat from the apple which taught us wretched men, in paradise, the difference between good and evil." What an awful cynicism is not contained in these words! And yet at the same time what an irony! The very man who invented the doctrine of the Christian's certitude of salvation annihilated and altogether destroyed it. Just when it was to fulfill its purpose it forsook him, and he experienced something quite differently, namely the terrors of death, and in such measure that he would rather be a hog than endure them continually.

And now we turn to Luther and read the passage in the context. We find the words in a polemic against the Jews and their lies. * Luther combats the unbelief of the Jews, their false hope of the messiah. If God would give me no other than the earthly lord expected by the rabbis, I would rather be a hog than a man. Of what avail were all the power and splendor, the riches and pleasures of the Messiah when I have to fear death, hell and the wrath of God. Would this not be the happiness of the tyrant Dionysius? It would be far better to be a living hog than a man dying an everlasting death. "*What is the messiah of the Jews to me if he cannot help me, poor man against this awful disaster, if he cannot make my life the tenth part as joyful as that of the hog? But if I had a messiah who were able to save me from this calamity so that I would not need to be afraid of death and would be ever sure of life and could defy devil and hell and would not have to tremble before God's wrath, my heart would leap for joy and would be*

* Erl. 32. 261 ff.

intoxicated with delight; the fire of the love to God would be kindled, praises and thanksgivings would never cease. WE CHRISTIANS HAVE SUCH A MESSIAH, *and thank God, the Father of all mercies, with all our hearts; we gladly forget all sufferings and harm which the devil inflicted upon us in paradise.* YES, WE HAVE SUCH A MESSIAH *who speaks to us, John XI, 28: I am the resurrection and the life, etc., and John VIII, 51: Verily, verily, I say unto you, he who keeps my commandments will never see death. Jews and Turks care nothing for such a messiah.*"

Instead of cynicism and irony Luther's words are clearly the expression of a faith which conquers death through Christ.

An expression receives its true meaning and proper value only from the context and the circumstances which have led to it. Moreover official documents and chance expressions in familiar letters must not be treated alike. We must also take into consideration the reasons and presuppositions that may have induced a man to express himself in a certain manner and to give his thought, now this direction, now another. We must examine whether an utterance is intended to be serious or a jest or irony; whether the expression was uttered in a cheerful, normal mood or in melancholy and despondency. Denifle apparently makes no distinction between his source-material. A quotation is a quotation and has the same value be it taken from a sermon, from a didactive work, an official document, from a polemic writing, or from a letter; or be it a word passed at table and in familiar conversation.

Quotations may be heaped upon quotations, and yet the truth may be missed. The Erlangen theologian J. Chr. K. v. Hofman * has shown how a repulsive picture of St. Paul may be produced on the basis of quotations taken at random from his epistles. Paul de Lagarde † has pointed out how a bio-

* *Paulus, eine Dœllingersche Skizze.*

† *Deutsche Schriften*, 3d ed., Göttingen, 1892, p. 404. In this respect a very instructive compilation of data concerning the life and personality of Kant appeared in the *New Church Review of January*, 1901, (quoted in *Kant's Prolegomena*, ed. by Dr. Paul Carus, Chicago, 1902, p. 283 f.:) "In all his metaphysical work Kant was not pursuing a religious course and was in fact becoming less and less of a Christian. He

graphy may be written where every individual statement is true and yet the whole an immense falsehood.

Denifle views Luther in his relation to the contemporary and preceding theology. He examines him on his knowledge in patristics, scholasticism and mysticism and finds that the Reformer is not only an ignoramus but also a falsifier. Luther misquotes and misinterprets his sources; he draws conclusions that are not at all in the premises and builds his systems thereon. Now all this may be true, and, as was known before Denifle, to some extent is true. But does it follow that Luther is on this account a falsifier? Denifle misquotes and misinterprets Luther and then bases on such misquotations and misinterpretations his judgment of the abominable char-

---

was however, no more contracted in his philosophical view of the limits of reason than he was in all the ways of his life." "His body was extremely emaciated, and at last it was dried like a potsherd," said one who knew him well. He was hollow-chested, and one shoulder was too low. Not five feet high, his bones were small and weak, and his muscles still weaker (Stuckenburg, p. 93.) He had strong prejudice against the Jews (*ibid.*, p. 116.) He took no interest in other philosophers (*ibid.*, p. 124.) Though he wrote much in the field of theology, he knew almost nothing of theologians (*ibid.*, p. 359.) He did not answer letters (*ibid.*, p. 127.) Held to his views after rebutting facts were shown him, and would contradict foreigners who spoke of their own countries in a manner to interfere with his preconceived ideas (*ibid.*, p. 141.) He lived in the same small city with his two sisters, yet did not speak to them for twenty-five years because of their inferior position (*ibid.*, p. 182.) He spoke contemptuously of women and was especially hostile to those of any mental power (*ibid.*, p. 184.) One of his jokes was that there can be no women in heaven, for it is written that there was silence there for the space of half an hour (*ibid.*, p. 187,) and this from a man who always did the talking wherever he was and who listened to another with marked impatience (*ibid.*, p. 141.) He did not desire friendships, for it is a great burden to be tied to the fate of others and to be loaded with their "deeds," (*ibid.*, p. 193.) He said that he did not know the meaning of the word "spirit" (*ibid.*, p. 240.) With Hume he held that we have no knowledge of God (*ibid.*, p. 290.) He saw no use in revelation (*ibid.*, p. 335.) He identified religion with mere morality (*ibid.*, p. 338.) He never attended church and spoke of prayer as ridiculous (*ibid.*, p. 354.) His views against religion led his students to become mockers (*ibid.*, p. 358.) His old age was unhappy (*ibid.*, p. 425,) and his rigidity of habits became repulsive in the last degree (*ibid.*, p. 435.) He died February 12, 1804, after fifteen years of mental decline.

acter of Luther's life and teaching. Shall we say that Denifle is a falsifier? What constitutes falsification? The conscious intention to deceive. But this was far from Luther. His misquotations can be explained without having recurrence to such a preposterous charge. Luther wrote his work *De votis monasticis indicium* on the Wartburg without the help of library. He had, therefore, to rely altogether on his recollection of former readings. Is it not remarkable that it never for a moment occurs to Denifle, who devotes several hundred pages to a criticism of the work, to take this fact into account? Luther often quotes from memory. In the pressure of work he could not always find time to turn to books and manuscripts so as to verify reminiscences, allusions, references, quotations, and we are surprised that misquotations are not of more frequent occurrence. How many falsifiers would there be today if we would judge according to Denifle's fashion.

As to Luther's misinterpretation of the sources it must not be lost out of sight that he was a child of his time. There was scarcely a beginning of a historical interpretation. The Bible, the Fathers, the Doctors of the Church, were studied with a view of offering proof-texts for dogmatics. Every medieval book furnishes us with examples how the most incredible sense could be extracted from the simplest words. We shall not charge on that account the medieval writers with falsification. The art of historical interpretation is an acquisition of quite recent times. Luther read his sources with an eye to find proofs for *his* teaching, for the teaching of the apostle Paul. And here his opponents, on account of the historic continuity with the immediate past which they represented, were sometimes better able to interpret the sense of the medieval writers and the Fathers than Luther who read and interpreted them from the standpoint of the Pauline gospel. But if his opponents sometimes prove his superiors in the proper understanding of patristic and scholastic teaching he is their master of the interpretation of the word of the Bible, especially of St. Paul.

Luther did not break all at once with Medieval theology. He tried to hold fast to it as long as he could. He longed to

find a drop of Paulinism in the Middle ages, and rejoiced when he found it, e. g. in Huss. It showed to him that he was not an innovator and revolutionary. His conservatism brought him to see more of it in his sources than is really there. Thus we can explain how he could see in the chance expression *perdite vixi* found in a work written by St. Bernard to glorify monasticism, a proclamation of the righteousness through faith and a condemnation of the monastic life. He could not conceive that this Saint should have thought in a manner altogether unevangelical. It is the same with St. Augustine and others; only with difficulty does Luther cut himself loose from them.

Luther was a bitter foe of scholasticism. It was the ruling theology of the time, the theology in which he himself had been educated. He saw in it the arch-enemy of the sound gospel. Every new theology will always find the ruling theology to be its deadly foe.

But did not Luther totally misrepresent the teaching of the Church? Did he not condemn everything in the lump? Now it may be true that Luther's judgments are onesided, absolute, not relative. But, it may be urged, are not one-sidedness and exclusiveness means of human progress? The rulers in the realm of history are all absolute in their proclamations and criticisms. To remain in the field of religion, turn to the Old Testament Prophets, to Jesus, to Paul, to St. Francis of Assisi. Genius is concerned with the question of principles. And so was Luther. He worked with the sharp Either-Or: the Gospel or the Work of Satan. When in his review of Catholicism he came across teachings and practices that appeared to him as the work of Satan, his words came down like the strokes of a hammer; but how different did he speak, how gentle, how naive his words, when he found the least trace of what appeared to him as the Gospel!

Now if this be so a just criticism will have to ask the question: Did Luther judge wrongly in principle? Did he apply his standard wrongly to the essence of Roman Catholicism? Or is perhaps the standard itself wrong? Perhaps what Luther holds to be the Gospel is not the Gospel? These questions,

while not altogether absent from the work of Denifle, are lost in the maize of details. Criticism of details; no matter how correct it may be, is not here the essential thing. Everything depends on those questions of principle.

Denifle makes a great deal of the contradictions in Luther's character and writings. But Luther might reply with the Hutton of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer:

Ich bin Kein ausgeklugelt Buch.
Ich bin ein Mensch mit seinem Widerspruch.

Luther was not a manual of scholastic philosophy, he was a man. And a strong and unselfish man, who never desired anything for himself. The manner of his polemics did not proceed out of pure arrogance. He knew that gentle warnings were mere compliments in the ears of the "pontifices." He knew in what tone he had to speak to arouse his Germans from the stupid worship of and drowsy devotion to the power of Rome.

If we are to follow the method of Denifle we can equally show that the Bible is an immoral book and that the Prophets, Shakespeare, Schiller, and Goethe were dirty souls. Luther, moreover, cannot be separated from his time. We must not compare his writings with the polite authors of modern times; we must compare them with the writings of a Geiler, a Murner, a Rabelais.

Protestantism seeks after truth, also in the field of history. It cannot remain satisfied with legend and mere tradition. It goes without saying that this applies also to Luther and the Reformation. Any elucidation or rectification must be welcome. If the work of Denifle contains contributions to a better understanding of that important period we acknowledge them with gratitude. But we cannot admit the implicit claim that he, or a Roman Catholic theologian as learned as he, alone is capable of a right understanding and proper valuation of Luther and his work. Perhaps we are also to draw our views concerning Jesus and prohibitive Christianity from the rabbis alone? As a matter of fact Denifle is unable to enter into the real sense of Luther's religion, and it is due to this reason that he cannot follow his deduction.

Denifle asserts that Luther was a corrupt monk who had several times succumbed to his carnal desires, etc., and that this sad condition of his soul was the source and center of his theology. Now Denifle himself shows, in the quotations which he furnishes from Luther's lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, that Luther's decided leaning toward the proposition that concupiscence is irresistible, falls into the time of those lectures (betw. April 1515 to September or October 1516.) In his lectures on the Psalms Luther had, here and there, given expression to the thought that man is by nature infected with evil, sinful lust, and devoid of true faith in God. He was now confirmed by the text of the apostle Paul. At the same time the thought lost its terrors through the increasing clearness of the knowledge and experience of the fundamental significance of the mediatorship of Christ. Luther's piety and faith thus stand under the determining influence of Paulinism; they are oriented altogether differently from medieval piety.

The picture of the Reformer and his work presented by Denifle agrees in essential parts with that of the young Döllinger.* It will be interesting to hear the judgment which Döllinger pronounced thirty years later (1872) after a more thorough and impartial study of the sources. "It was Luther's overpowering greatness of mind and marvelous many-sidedness which made him to be the man of his time and of his people; and it is correct to say that there has never been a German who has so intuitively understood his people, and in turn has been by the nation so perfectly comprehended, I might say, absorbed by it, as this Augustinian monk at Wittenberg. Heart and mind of the Germans were in his hand like the lyre in the hand of the musician. Moreover, he has given to his people more than any other man in Christian ages has ever given to a people: language, manual for popular instruction, Bible, hymns of worship; and everything which his opponents in their turn had to offer or to place in comparison with these, showed itself tame and powerless and colorless by the side of his sweeping eloquence. They stammered; he

* *Die Reformation*, 3 vol., Regensburg, 1846-1848; *Luther, Eine Skizze*, Regensburg, 1851.

spoke with the tongue of an orator; it is he only who has stamped the imperishable zeal of his own soul, alike upon the German language and upon the German mind; and even those Germans who abhorred him as the powerful heretic and seducer of the nation, cannot escape, they must discourse with his words, they must think with his thoughts."

ARTICLE VI.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHER.

By Professor J. A. Singmaster, D.D.

The deeper meaning of the Sunday-school is receiving more consideration today than formerly. The outward expression of this awakened interest is seen in the constantly improving rooms and buildings dedicated to its use. There was a time when anything was good enough for the Sunday-school. Now nothing is too good for it. The outward conditions have outstripped its real inner growth. We have been somewhat like a fond ignorant mother who expresses her love for her daughter in the expensive apparel that adorns her. We are coming, however, to recognize more and more clearly that the Sunday-school ought to be a link in the training of the child, that it supplies a part of its education.

The importance of the Sunday-school in America arises largely from the fact that public education has become secularized. We do not deny that many teachers in the public schools exert a happy and beneficient influence on the child. Yet specific religious instruction is impossible in these schools supported and controlled by a State which is completely divorced from the Church. Protestantism and Democracy form a combination which excludes anything like distinct teaching of religion. In Germany, under a strong central government and with little sectarian spirit, the child receives from four to five hours training a week in the Bible, the Catechism, Church History and the like, for eight years. The teacher is a man of throrough education and is supposed to be devout. The

pastor of the parish has free access to these schools and examines the children.

The American school, however, excludes all this. To make up for its lack is a great problem, which the Sunday-school is expected to solve in part. The Catholic Church, through its parochial schools, endeavors to give its children what they believe the public school does not offer. There is some justification for its existence, in spite of our American repugnance to it. Among Protestants, the parochial school does not seem to be feasible. At all events it does not exist to a large extent.

Protestants fall back upon the Sunday-school to take up and supplement the work of the day-school by educating the religious nature of the child, without which training, education is incomplete. Were this the entire task of the Sunday-school the problem could be easier of solution. But the burden laid upon it is still greater. It is expected not only to supplement the teaching of the secular school, but also to supply the training which ought to be given in the home. The true teacher of the child is the parent. If he be godly and intelligent, the child comes to the Sunday-school with a heart and mind open to the teacher. But when the child comes from the homes of the indifferent the ungodly the modicum of instruction possible in the Sunday-school is utterly inadequate to meet the case even under the most favorable conditions. When the conditions of the school are seriously defective the child gets very little.

The importance of the Sunday-school arises, then, from its professed mission as a training school in religion. Its aim, where properly understood, is to teach the Bible, not simply for the purpose of making it known, but especially in order to awaken the soul to a consciousness of its nature, and needs, and to show it the Way, the Truth and the Life. Its aim is to build a strong, symmetrical Christian character.

The prime factor in the great work of the Sunday-school is the teacher. Let us remember that just as really as the teacher makes the public-school, the college, and the Seminary, so he makes the Sunday-school. I had almost said the teacher is everything. Yes, the true teacher is nearly every-

thing. Equip the Sunday-school with the right kind of teachers and they will solve every problem, because they will realize the needs and apply the remedies. "The Sunday-school Teacher" is the theme of this brief paper.

I. NOTICE FIRST THE TEACHER AS HE IS.

I do not wish to underestimate him or her. He is as good probably as the circumstances justify. He has come to his work, in most cases, without much preparation. He has taken up often a task which others refused. He has exercised self-denial in losing rest, in spending money, and in doing work for which he felt himself unfitted. He has stood by his pastor and his church with commendable fidelity. Where natural ability was united with love and experience he became a true teacher in spite of hindrances. The children love him and will arise after a while and call him blessed.

But the true teacher is not the rule, rather the exception. Test him by actual results, for there is no teaching where there is no learning. Visit many a Sunday-school and listen to the teaching, if such it may be called. The score of yesterday's game, the latest style, or perchance some local scandal will be found to be the theme of the teacher, who vainly tries to interest a class whose attention he has not won to higher themes, because he does not know how to do it. Perhaps the teacher is too devout to introduce incongruous matters, but not knowing facts or methods he wearies his class with platitudes and preaching.

I am sure that every pastor and capable superintendent deplores the paucity of good teachers; yea, the teachers themselves are generally most modest in their estimates of themselves. They teach because they are solicited and because there does not seem to be any one who can do better. The pastor is often in despair when he discovers how little the children know of the Bible and the Kingdom.

II. THE REMEDY MUST BEGIN WITH THE PASTOR.

The Sunday-school will never become what it ought to be until the pastors take a more profound interest in it. Many of them have long since recognized its importance. Others deem

it a secondary matter, pay little attention to it, are seldom present at its sessions, have nothing whatever to do with its management, and do not know how to address it They make a fatal mistake. The pastor ought to remember that he is the pastor of the Sunday-school. In it he comes into contact with the best part of his congregation. There he finds the workers and the children whom he is to mould for the future. He neglects it at his peril. He cultivates it to his profit. Here is a field for his best ability. Here he can accomplish what he will not in the pulpit. I give it as my experience after twenty-five years in the pastorate that no part of Church work exceeds that of the Sunday school for opportunities and results.

The true pastor is a Sunday-school man. He must be a teacher, as a disciple of the great Teacher. I do not say that he must have a class, or act as superintendent; but he must know how to teach and how to superintend. He must be an expert, an overseer. He must be to the Sunday-school what the general manager is to the mercantile or industrial establishment. He must be able to direct others, and also to detect flaws and apply remedies. He must have a lofty ideal of what the Sunday-school ought to be, and must have training and tact to bring it up toward his high standard. The Sunday-school will never realize its mission until we have the pastor described.

But, you will say that such a pastor does not exist. Then I answer, we must make him. We will not ask all the existing pastors to resign. There may be hope of some of them yet; but we will begin to make the new pastor. He will have to start in the primary department as a child, and come up through all the grades of the school, and occupy most of its offices, teaching and administrative. All this is easily possible in the life of the candidate for the ministry. It is not only possible, but expected of him. A young man who takes no interest in Sunday-school and is not recognized therein as efficient is not fit for the ministry. I say it advisedly from personal observation of too diffident or too indifferent young men who subsequently failed in the high office.

During the years of study in the academy, College and Seminary the candidate for the pastorate must keep in touch with the Sunday-school as pupil, teacher or officer. If he neglect this, he will discover to his sorrow that he has lost the habit of attendance, the love for the work, and the facility for doing it.

Moreover, there ought by all means to be somewhere in his course special training for the work of teaching, for the pastor must be pre-eminently a teacher. The Seminary curriculum ought to afford opportunity for the acquisition of pedagogical principles and methods. It belongs legitimately to practical theology or catechetics. The pastor ought to know not only the *what*, but also the *how*. Of what use is power unless it be properly applied? Theology is a miser's treasure unless it be coined and circulated in an acceptable medium.

Our many-sided Luther in his *Table Talk* has this to say in reference to the importance of a knowledge of teaching: "I would have no one chosen for a preacher who has not previously been a school teacher. But at the present time our young men want to become preachers at once, to avoid the labor of school-keeping. When one has taught about ten years, then he can give it up with a good conscience."

The intrinsic importance of pedagogy is recognized by the State in requiring a knowledge of it of the public school teacher. Every graduate of a Normal School must have a theoretical and practical acquaintance with the science and the art of teaching, obtained in the class-room, and by actual practice in the Model-School.

The need of instruction in this subject has been forced upon the attention of our Faculties and the Trustees of our higher institutions, and instruction is being provided.

The older and more thoughtful pastors already in the field ought to take up the study of child-training in all its bearings, including psychology, child-nature, and pedagogy.

We must learn from the public-school. It is thoroughly organized, has methods that are the fruit of experience. The pastor must study it, and apply its principles to the supplemental and higher work of the Sunday-school. It seems passing strange that we have been so slow to realize that the Sun-

day-school is after all a school more than anything else. Religious information must be disseminated and instruction inculcated in exactly the same way as other truth. The facts of psychology and the principles of pedagogy are as applicable to the boy on Sunday as they are on Monday.

III. THE PASTOR MUST USE READY-MADE TEACHERS.

It is not unlikely that our Sunday-school pastor will have the gratification to find some excellent teachers already in the school, teachers who have the right spirit and who have learned the art of teaching by actual experience in the Sunday-school itself or in the profession of teaching. It seems to me that Christian professional teachers might be secured in larger measure than they now are. They ought to be able to do the work better than the average Church member.

There is no good reason why the Church should not secure expert teachers for the infant school, and the Bible classes or training classes, and pay a moderate salary. It is certainly quite as proper to pay the teacher, as to pay the preacher and the organist and the choir. The expert teacher's salary would be a profitable investment. While the payment of all the teachers in any school is not feasible, and not even the payment of one in many schools; yet the larger schools in towns which have from 400 to 1000 scholars can not afford to do without a few expert teachers at any reasonable expense. The larger congregations could profitably utilize several trained lay-workers, male or female, who might combine teaching with parish work. They might give an hour's teaching during some week-day afternoon to such children as might come to the Church.

Perhaps the day will come when our best Sunday-schools will be conducted more and more upon the plans and methods of the ordinary school. When the importance of clean cut religious instruction is more fully realized, it will be seen that it is incongruous, if not culpable, to allow almost anyone to teach the children on Sundays while we are satisfied only with the best on week days.

Would it not be the wise plan to divide the school into a few large classes, give them separate rooms, engage competent

teachers, and allow the classes to pursue the rational methods which are applied to all good schools?

IV. MOST OF THE TEACHERS WILL HAVE TO BE SELECTED.

Our Sunday-school pastor or his competent assistant, superintendent or teacher, will have to *make* most of his teachers under present conditions. And he will begin with those already at work. It would be folly to turn them all out, or to proclaim their unfitness. He must use the material at hand. Of course, some must be gently eliminated. The frivolous, the down-right ignorant, the unfaithful, and any whose morals are not above suspicion must be crowded out somehow. Put up your standard. Expect much of them. Go and sit with their classes. They will retire to the ranks by and by. And do not perpetuate their kind by new admissions. It is better and easier to keep them out than to put them out.

Having eliminated unsuitable persons, the pastor will find that new teachers will be needed at once, and continually. Removals from the teaching force constantly occur, and these vacancies must be filled at once. How shall sufficient and capable teachers be secured? Shall the pastor chide the congregation for its neglect in not fostering the school, and in tones of severity call for volunteers? Never! If you love your school, I beg you, do not depend upon volunteers. You may not get them at all, or if you do, you will probably regret that they came. They will be made up, ten to one, of incompetents, who offer themselves from a mistaken sense of duty. The goody-goody element will be largely represented. Many a man or woman who has the making of a teacher in him will not come, because of modesty. In selecting teachers you must follow the directions of the Master, who said, "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest that he send forth laborers into his harvest." I fear that this preliminary step is too often neglected. The prayer for divine guidance already indicates the seriousness of the task. It puts us into the proper frame, and sharpens our insight into character and fitness. The prayer does not imply that the Lord will send them without an instrumentality to call them. As in the call to the ministry, the proof of the divine call is the call of the Church; so in the call of

the Sunday-school teacher, there must and will be the coöperation of the human with the divine.

The pastor and his helpers must be on the lookout for the right kind of persons who may be trained as teachers. In his pastoral visits, in his visits perchance to the day-school, especially in his catechetical classes, and in his Bible class (if he have one) he will come into contact with the very people whom he needs. Further, he will widen his knowledge of proper candidates by inquiring of his best teachers concerning the members of their classes. If we believe in Christ and in his providential care of his church, it seems entirely reasonable that he has available material on hand in every living congregation out of which to make teachers.

And now what qualifications should be looked for in the sought teacher?

a. Piety. The question is often asked whether respectable, intelligent non-professors may not be asked to teach. They may be apt and interesting; yet they cannot, from the nature of the case, be true teachers. They do not have the right spirit. They are not proper examples. Their influence can not lead children or young people to Christ. They have not the true life and hence can not inspire. True devotion to Christ must ever be the first qualification of the teacher of religion. The unspiritual does not only not know Christ, but he can not interpret the deeper meaning of the Book. He can only be used provided the pastor can supplement his work.

b. Intelligence. It is folly to set an ignorant person to teach. The teacher must know and understand his business. He ought to be a good Bible scholar, or at least a good Bible student. He must be acquainted with the Way as revealed, if he would lead. He need not be learned, but he must have sufficient education to merit the respect of his class and to understand his subject.

c. Sympathy. By this I mean human love, a love for children. Where this is lacking there will be feeble response and diminishing attendance. A true lover of humanity is generally a good knower of human nature with its "kinks" and foibles. A teacher must be one with his class. He must not

be alien to their life. He must enter into the joys and sorrows of his pupils.

d. Aptitude. The person sought must be apt to teach. This is largely a gift, though like all qualities it may be cultivated. Unless the root of this be in the teacher he cannot do good work, in spite of other qualifications.

e. Sex. I believe, on the whole, it is best in the grades above the primary, to have the teacher teach those of the same sex. It seems to me that women can best understand women; and men can best know men. The teacher knows the point of view, and the peculiarities and weaknesses of his or her own sex better than of the opposite.

V. MOST OF THE TEACHERS WILL HAVE TO BE TRAINED.

Having secured the teacher of the right spirit and capacity, he must be trained. The simplest way would be to send him to a training school, provided he can go. I sometimes wish we had a lay training school annex to all of our theological Seminaries. There are various schools now that profess to train teachers. With these, however, I have no personal acquaintance. We know, of course, about the Chautauquas or summer-schools, and also something of correspondence schools, these various agencies are all helpful.

Of the many religious conventions none are so useful as the right kind of a Sunday-school institute, where experienced and competent teachers meet for consultation and inspiration. These meetings have been crowded too much into the back ground by other gatherings, and need to be revived. The State Unions are doing good work for the schools through their staff of instructors.

Our Christian colleges and academies for both sexes might do more district work in the line of equiping our young people to do Church work when they return home. Alas! too many are diverted from this work in the school, and become mere zeros. Let us hope that the teaching of the English Bible in our higher schools will give us good material from which to select our teachers.

But the training of the teacher will have to be done in large measure right at home in connection with the school. Our

Sunday-school pastor must work out this problem. If he can not secure the proper instructor, he must do it himself. He can do no better work elsewhere, nor spend his time more profitably than by training others to do the same kind of work he is doing. He will thus multiply himself.

Time fails me to outline a plan in full. In general, however, I may say that teacher training demands a Normal Class, in which the *how* may be taught. This will probably be best held during the week, not necessarily the year through.

Where the teachers are many and where, therefore, there may be a number of absentees, it is well to have the candidate teachers in a Bible class which studies, the lesson one Sunday ahead of the school, that they may be prepared to act on short notice as substitutes. A teacher's meeting is also indispensable to the best school. But I cannot enter into details. I would only insist that the conditions requisite to the making of a teacher and, hence, of a good school, are possible almost everywhere. I need not say that the matter involves much thought, labor, and self-denial, nor need I add that it will amply repay the most faithful effort.

ARTICLE VII.

A LITERARY STUDY OF JOB.

By Rev. W. B. Carney, A.M.

Great books imply great authors. Themes are greater than men. Themes touch upon the infinite, the eternal; men are of the here and now. The oldest subjects are still the newest and least understood—life, soul, death, God. They are riddles unsolved, deeps unsounded, heights unattained. Like some inaccessible mountain, they force themselves upon the attention of all dwellers in the valley of life. They entice the strongest to draw near, to climb, to explore, only to dazzle the eye and bewilder the brain with the brightness of the sun glow, and create despair on the dark brink of some unspanned chasm.

How few of the uninspired minds have returned from their

searchings with any solution of life's enigmas! But great attempts immortalize. Daring ascent and majestic thought have sculptured some names high up on the mountain's granite side. One inscription is written in Greek, Latin and English—Homer, Virgil, Milton—a rare trio of languages and men, who had the same theme, sought the same end:

"To justify the ways of God (or gods) to men." Above them, in still older and nobler characters, would be inscribed a fourth name, in Hebrew—if we knew it—the author of the first and most satisfactory attempt of the human reason to explain the problem of God's relation to life's joys and sorrows—the Book of Job. This unique distinction is denied Moses, who of all the Hebrew seers was most equal to the task. It is objected that he was not in possession of so complete a solution of the problem in his day. None other of them, however, is esteemed worthy of receiving the honor. Were he known, his name, as well as his sublime outburst of faith in a just recompense for all we suffer, through one who "lives," would be "engraven" in a more lasting record than the rocks yield to an "iron pen."

Did the author write actual history, or only parable? In both Jewish and Greek Canons, Job is classed with the "Writings." The majority of the Jewish interpreters in the Talmud pronounce it historical. It is said, however, that not all the "Wise" were of that opinion. One Rabbi is quoted as saying, "Job existed not, and was not created; but he is a parable." Between these widely contrasted views lie the opinions of the present day critics. But for *some* historical foundation for the book, there is very satisfactory proof.

It cannot be classed with parables. It has an exhilarating atmosphere of reality and fact about it. It is not defined by the rules of parabolic literature. Such writings are short, introduce few characters and these for specific purposes only, omitting all biographical and circumstantial matter, that the main doctrine to be taught be not obscured thereby. The allegory, though longer, has likewise no place for extraneous facts and details. In Job, such historical and circumstantial

material is abundant, especially in the Prologue, chap. 1 and 2, and the Epilogue, 42 : 7–17. The homes of Job and of each of his four friends are given. The marauding bands are particular tribes—Sabeans and Chaldeans—not merely "robbers" as would better befit a parabolic treatment. The home life of Job, the feasting of his sons and daughters together, his offering sacrifices for them, his exact wealth—all this is a picture of non-Jewish life and customs unessential and foreign to the doctrine to be taught. If we admit the genuineness of the first two and last chapters—and only the most radical of the critics would lop them off—we have very clear and convincing evidence of a historical basis, at least, for the poem. An irreducible minimum of historical facts would include the names and homes of Job and his friends, Job's afflictions, the remarkable patience with which he endured them, and the way in which he finally emerged from them.

As external evidence, the most conclusive at our command, is the fact that other inspired writers refer to the Book as historical. Ezekiel 14 : 14—"Though these three men, Noah, Daniel and Job, were in it, (the famine) they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God." Also Jas. 5 : 11—"Behold, we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord: that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy." Evidently these writers believed in the whole Book as it stands today as the actual personal history of a real man. Would the Holy Spirit endeavor to comfort believers in trouble by reference to the example of a man whose existence was a matter of doubt, or by an allegory?

There are, however, some features of the Book which lead a thoughtful reader to question the actual occurrence of all things set forth. Among these may be mentioned Satan's interviews with Jehovah. This may or may not have occurred. The character of the numbers used to designate Job's family and possessions seems artificial. There are seven sons, both before and after the calamity; seven thousand sheep; the friends remain sitting seven days and nights, without speaking. Job has

three daughters, both before and after his bereavement; three thousand camels; three friends came to comfort him who speak three times each, Zophar excepted; unless we agree with certain modern critics who would assign chap. 27 : 7–23 to him as his third address. If we construe the "double" amount of property, the portion after Job's restitution, exactly, we feel a like sense of studied arrangement. This, however, we are not required to do. As to the round numbers used in the naming of the herds and flocks, Kitto remarks in Daily Bible Illustrations that, in Holy Scripture, round numbers are more frequent in designating large quantities than exact numerals. As to the use of "seven," he says that its frequent scriptural use gave it oft times a secondary significance of "several," "an indefinite quantity." As for "three," it is not poetic, nor is it used as often as many other numerals, in the Bible.

There is a formality and poetic tone to the announcements made by the one only servant who in each several case escapes the calamity "to tell" the dumb recipient of the quickly succeeding evils. Fear and grief do not use set speeches in expressing these turbulent emotions. Concerning the highly ornate and figurative language, and the strong and sustained argumentation, much may be attributed to the Oriental temperament and training. This is much given to picturesque and exaggerated statements. These people have time and inclination for oral and extemporaneous discussion, and thereby acquire facility which is less common among the more practical Western nations.

The most satisfactory view, undoubtedly, is the one arrived at by Luther, and accepted by the more conservative critics of today, viz.; the existence of Job, and the substantial accuracy of the Book are not to be questioned. As a record of actual facts, however, we must use it with discrimination. We can undoubtedly accept it with Delitzsch, Driver and Davidson, as "poetically treated history." Or view it with Prof. Sayce as "a Hebrew adaptation of a remnant of Edomite tradition," understanding tradition as unrecorded history.

The author, whoever he was or whenever he lived, has suc-

ceeded in giving the story a patriarchal cast. The language is ancient in form. The hero lived before the age of man was shortened to "three score years and ten." Sacrifice was performed not at a central altar, but for the family by the father as priest. The nations generally had not yet apostatized from the one true God. The oldest form of idolatry, a worship of the sun and moon, is apparently the only kind known. God was known by his oldest Semitic titles of Eloah and El Shaddai. Job's wealth, as Abraham's, is reckond in herds and flocks, horses and mules being wanting. The "piece of money" (42 : 11) given him by his friends in his returned prosperity is considered a primitive uncoined piece, possibly of the value of a sheep.

Davidson,* however, asserts that "the antique color" of the Book is "thin; and that the author is a true Israelite and betrays himself to be so at every turn, however wide his sympathy be with other peoples, and however great his power of reanimating the past." He claims that the theme of the Book is too recent, that only some great calamity, such as the captivity, could give such a despondent view of life. "The theme here discussed and the manner of discussing it necessitate a long previous history in which the doctrine of the three friends had become the current and orthodox explanation of the facts of life. The history of the Old Testament shows that only at a comparatively late period were these maxims questioned; and when we find them not only questioned but discussed in the thorough manner of the Book of Job, we may be sure it was not composed till, at least, the closing period of the monarchy." It is likewise contended that such a passage as 12 : 17–21 with its mention of kings and counsellors, spoiled and captive, imply a knowledge, on the part of the writer, of "the history of nations, if not of the actual political changes brought about by great nations, as Assyria and Babylon."

In reply, it may be said that suffering is as old as the race, and attempts to explain the cause of it as old as suffering. (We know the kings of Abraham's time were not loathe to quarrel

* Quoted in Hasting's Dictionary, Art. Job.

and take captives). And if general "disorder and misery," as well as "personal sufferings," must have been features in the life of the author, there were plenty occasions for it long before the beginning of the monarchy. When there "was no king in Israel, every man did what was right in his own eyes." There was possibly some disorder still earlier. At least, no modern man envies the lot of Noah, Abram, Jacob or Moses. We may not know of all their "personal sufferings" either.

Efforts have been made in the interests of a late date to find traces of the Law in the Book. 22 : 6 and 24 : 9 are compared with Ex. 22 : 26 as to the taking of pledges; 31 : 26–28 with Deut. 17 : 2–7 as to punishment of idolatry by the judges. Suffice it to say, however, that no conclusion can be drawn from these few similarities. In fact, it seems to me, since the Exodus and the miraculous keeping of the Israelites in their journeyings were unparalleled events in a nation's history, it is highly probable that the author of Job would have found therein illustrations of the point at issue, God's interest in the affairs of men, had they already occurred. The absence of any reference at all is significant. As to parallel passages in Ps., Jer., Isaiah, and the minor prophets, who did the copying, it is beyond any one to speak positively. The similarity, even in the suffering servant of Jehovah of Deutero–Isaiah, is not so close as to conclude that either of the Books was dependent upon the other. And if so, is not the antique character, its uniqueness, its independent mold and spirit strong presumption in favor of Job's being the earliest of them all?

It is conceded that in 1 Chr. 21 : 1, we have the name Satan used as a proper noun, with a conception similar to the one in Job. We are not asked, therefore, to date the composition of Job later than that of Chronicles, which is given as sometime in the 4th century B. C. "The references to Ophir, Job 22 : 24; 28 : 16 give a *terminus a quo* in the Solomonic period."

But reasoning thus, we are entitled to a much earlier time as a possible date. The land settled by Ophir, southeast Arabia (Gen. 10 : 29), has the most ancient and best established claim to be the land of Ophir of Solomon's day. Ophir lived

three generations prior to Abraham (Cf. Gen. 10 : 15–29 and 11 : 18–26). Why may we not, therefore, claim on this point, that the date *may* be as early as Ophir's settlement of the land of gold?

It is a noteworthy fact that, in purely secular literature, delight is taken in pushing the date of composition as far back in the life of the nation, or as early in the lifetime of the author, as possible. The sacred books of the East are jealously guarded in the shrines of antiquity. The spirit of investigators in the West to-day is to brush aside ruthlessly any appearance of age and veneration, lest we be caught worshipping the traditions of our elders. Well, when once Christianity is convinced that it is the great Prophet who is teaching and leading it thus, we may be content in realizing that we know at least, "what we worship," even if it cannot be in the venerated mountains of our fathers.

The poetry of Job is that of the Hebrew style of versification. Rhythm and rhyme are absent. The irregular musical pulse of the author's feelings is the only law followed to determine the varying length of lines, and the number of them combined to form the strophe, or poetic paragraph, whose chief characteristic is the parallelism of thought and form of expression. This style of writing is well suited for expressing the epigrammatic wisdom of Proverbs. The author of Job shows remarkable skill in adapting it to his long poem without sacrificing grace, beauty or freshness.

The strength and beauty of this master piece, consist rather in its bold conceptions, such as the councils in heaven and the greatness and cyclonic swiftness of the calamities; in the well-defined contrasts in the friends, their positive assertions and ever-increasing anger, and the blind yet patient faith of the hero, all which is painted on a back-ground of nature's various moods—the quiet shining of the star-gemmed sky, the darkness and terror of thunder and tornado—touched into warmth and life by striking similes, bold metaphors, and unmatched use of interrogation.

From the time of Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 429 A. D.,)

the poem has been characterized as "dramatic." German critics have styled it "a didactic poem in dialogue form, with dramatic development." Milton and Godet find it "epic," and G. Baur, "didactic lyrical." One is reminded, in its perusal, at times, of the chained Prometheus of Sophocles; again, of various scenes in Paradise Lost: and of events in the great Greek and Latin Epics of Homer and Virgil. But it defies classification. It is "a law unto itself, and has influenced subsequent writers whose names stand among the highest in literature, yet who, by general consent, are, merely from the literary point of view, outsoared and outshone by their great prototype." *

Job was of the land of Uz, a country whose name may be from three possible settlers:—the grandson of Shem (Gen. 10 : 23), the son of Nahor (Gen. 22 : 21,) or a descendant of Esau (Gen. 36 : 28.) It is variously located. But the country of Edom, east of the Gulf of Akabah, about latitude 30° N., is quite generally accepted by late explorers. "Three kings, according to the LXX., appear as friends of the powerful Edomite chief Job of the land of Uz. Eliphaz from Teman (between Edom and Midian), Bildad from Shuph (on the west bank of the Euphrates, north of the Kaldu district,) and Zophar from Maân." † This latter place is located a little to the N. E. of the northern limit of the Gulf of Akabah. "Elihu is from Bâzu (—Buz of O. T.) situated in Yemania." This district is on latitude 25° N., about two-thirds of the eastward distance from the Red sea towards the Persian Gulf.

The city of Job was on the edge of a desert. He engaged in agriculture as well as grazing, and was familiar with the minerals of his country. By means of the passing travelers whom he delighted to entertain, he kept informed of the remoter lands. Though a worshipper of the true God, he was in the midst of those who worshipped the heavenly bodies, whose names and splendor he knew. The Lord describes him with a rare title—"perfect and upright." He is characterized

* Hasting's Dictionary.

† Hilprecht Explorations in Bible Lands p. 747.

as "the greatest of the men of the East." His home life is beautiful and devout, free from restrictions upon his daughters such as were later introduced into Eastern social customs. Intellectually, he is far superior to the four men who attempt to argue with him.

The first test of Job's integrity—loss of property and children—is borne with sublime resignation. Disease comes, the Adversary's greater trial; but again Job's lips bless God. Time, however, tells upon his spirit. And after the arrival of the "friends" and their week long silence, he gives way to his long suppressed emotions, and curses his birthday, wishes for death, and raises the question of the Book, until this day not wholly clear—why a kind Providence permits those to be born who must live a life of great pain? It is worth noticing in passing that Job had an intimation of his coming calamity (3 : 25,) though he does not see God's goodness in thus forewarning him.

Eliphaz, presumably the oldest of the friends, essays the first reply. He is mild and sympathetic, compliments Job's wisdom and goodness, and gives the point at issue a more specific turn. Is Job's calamity due to a righteous judgment upon his wrong doing? The foolish take root for a short time only, the fruit of their labor is afterwards taken away, and we need only to wait to see all wicked thus punished in this life, he asserts.

In these opening addresses, we see the beginning of Job's sins, rebellion and a questioning of God's love and care. We see also wherein the friends are not reasoning consistently. Their general proposition that God punishes the transgressor and blesses the righteous, is admitted by all, Job included. He contends, however, that his own case is exceptional. The friends argue that it is not, and base their proof upon the fact that he suffers. They fail to foresee, the possible outcome, the actual outcome—blessing and prosperity to make up to the sufferer for all that he endured. This is one error. Eliphaz seems to be conscious of *another* purpose of God in sending punishment, viz., "chastening, which Elihu afterwards asserts

as a very common act of Providence; but lack of positive conviction, or anger, perhaps, at Job's obstinacy, causes the friends to forget or ignore this important aid in the final solution attained.

Of the vision of Eliphaz, Barnes remarks, "It is impossible to conceive of anything more sublime." Eliphaz, however, misapplies it. Its teaching is, "no man is pure, just." All men alike are, therefore, liable to punishment. Why is Job especially punished. Because of the greatness of his evils, is he, therefore, greatly evil? This opinion is not universally true, though it has always been believed. Christ met with it in His day. (See Luke 13 : 4.) It is still a common belief. The story of Job teaches us otherwise.

In reply, Job asserts that his calamity which is "heavier than the sands of the sea" and the "perverse things" said of him by his friends, justify him in his wish for death, especially since life at best is swifter than a weaver's shuttle" and "spent without hope;" and asks God why He doesn't pardon him, since his end is near.

Bildad, who replies, is less eloquent and delicate than Eliphaz, but harsher and keener. He upholds God's justice, cruelly refers to the sudden calamity which overtook the children as proof of *their* wickedness, and enforces it all by quoting from some older poem a striking illustration from nature of the hypocrite's character and fate:

> "Can the rush grow up without mire?
> Can the flags grow without water?
> While it is yet in its greeness, and not cut down,
> It withereth before any other herb.
> So are the paths of all that forget God,
> And the hypocrite's hope shall perish." 8 : 8–18.

In Job's reply, he acknowledges God's *power* over the destiny of men, but contends that He inflicts because He has might rather than right on His side:

> "He breaketh me with a tempest
> And multiplieth my wounds without cause." 9 : 17.

Job does not claim to be what was said of him by God himself, i. e., "perfect and upright:"

"If I justify myself, mine own mouth shall condemn me." 9 : 20.

He does claim, though, that God does not discriminate :

"He destroyeth the perfect and the wicked." 9 : 22.

Throughout chap. 10, he asks God for evidence of sin, the justice of punishing the innocent, and reasons for this continued and increasing torment of a life which had no say in its being brought into existence.

Zophar is harsh, rude, cruel, bitter in accusation, but adds nothing new to the contention. He calls Job's views "lies," his addresses mockings, and unfeelingly advises him to stretch out his hands to God in submission, that he may be enabled to lift up his leprous face "without spot." In his wish, "Oh that God would open His lips against thee ;" we have an intimation as to the way in which the debate will be finally settled.

In reply, Job covers the same ground—God's sovereignty—but shows that it is manifested more by His government of the world than by any recognition of merit or demerit in men. He asserts his fixed determination unmistakably in "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him," which foreshadows Satan's defeat. He sees a very pathetic and disheartening prospect for man in distress and near the verge of the tomb, inasmuch as there is no certain knowledge of a restoring and rejuvenating life:

"There is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again ;"
But man dieth, and wasteth away ;
Yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?" 14 : 7, 10.

In his awful despair, he asks God for an interview (13 : 22,) and gives us an additional clue to the final outcome.

When Eliphaz again speaks, he is less mild and polite than formerly, becomes sarcastic and personal. Job's views, he thinks, would hinder prayer and annul faith:

"Thou doest away with fear
And hinderest devotion before God." 15 : 4.

To warn Job of the final result of his obstinacy, he quotes from former "wise men" that the wicked live:

"In houses which are ready to become heaps," a very striking figure where houses are built of clay and the walls easier

for robbers to pierce than the doors. (See chap. 4 : 19 and 24 : 16.)

"Miserable comforters!" retorts Job, speaking "vain" and harsh words. Were their conditions reversed, he avers, "the moving of my lips should assuage your grief." He reaches the climax of his bold rebellion and poignant despair in the following fierce arraignment of the Almighty:

> "I was at ease, but He hath broken me asunder;
> He hath also taken me by the neck,
> And shaken me to pieces,
> And set me up for His mark.
> His arches compass me round about,
> He cleaveth my reins asunder, and doth not spare;
> He poureth out my gall upon the ground.
> He breaketh me with breach upon breach;
> He runneth upon me like a giant." 16 : 12-14.

Bildad's increased anger shows progress towards a solution rather than any new argument produced by him. Under various striking figures, he reiterates his former position, *the wicked alone suffer great calamity.* In Job's reply to him, there is a great change visible. He indirectly rebukes the harshness and ill-treatment of his friends by referring to the magnitude of his grief—property, home, children, wife, and friends—all dead or gone from him. He makes a direct appeal then for sympathy:

> "Have pity upon me, have pity upon me,
> O ye my friends; for the hand of God hath touched me." 19 : 21

The pathetic request is in vain. Will he yield to despair and curse his God? This is Satan's last resource—the contempt of the friends who came to console. From their stolid and frigid pride, he turns for comfort to his faith in his ultimate vindication, and breaks forth into the best known and most sublime passage of the Book, a clarion note of defiance and victory:

> "I know that my Redeemer liveth,
> Yet, in my flesh shall I see God." 19 : 25-27.

Though the common exegesis concerning Job's faith in the resurrection of the body is comforting to us, and allowable from the text, it seems to me not to be the natural one. The question is not one of future life or of recompense, but of vindica-

tion of his integrity in this life. The word translated *Redeemer* signifies also *vindicator, deliverer.* Job, therefore, means to say, "I know that my vindicator, my deliverer, liveth," and before I die I shall see Him on my side. "Be ye afraid of the sword; for wrathful are the punishments of the sword, that ye may know there is a judgment." (verse 29. Amer. R. V.) This is a fitting climax, thus interpreted, of the long struggle between Job and the powers arrayed against him. It marks the defeat of Satan in his attempts to make Job "curse" God to His "face." We are given a hint concerning the fate of the friends in the intimation that "there is a judgment."

From this point on, Job has his friends completely worsted in the discussion, which is seen in their ever increasing wrath and personal abuse rather than argument, in contrast with Job's abundance of material and calmer tone. To Zophar's attempt to show the futility of a wicked man's endeavor to escape from the direful "heritage appointed," Job boldly asserts the opposite: The wicked prosper, are happy, "rejoice at the sound of the organ," and at death, righteous and wicked, "both alike, lie down in the dust." For proof he appeals to men of the world:

> "Have ye not asked them that go by the way,
> That the wicked is reserved to [or spared in] the day of destruction?"
> 21 : 29–30.

Eliphaz intimates sarcastically that since Job is so wise, perhaps God is punishing him because of fear of him. He charges him with specific iniquities—forgetting the "widows" and "fatherless," of robbing "the naked of their clothing," of practical atheism in doubting God's knowledge of and interest in the world. His final remarks are milder, and offer hope of recompense in power and "gold as dust," if he will return to the Almighty who saves "the humble person."

In Job's answer, he re-asserts his integrity—"My foot hath held his steps" (23 : 11), proceeds to muse upon the ways of the wicked, when Bildad interrupts with a few trite remarks as to God's power and greatness, and man's lack in comprehending Him. This thought Job takes up and endorses in most

beautiful imagery, emphasizing, though, as heretofore, His remoteness from men:

> "How little a portion is heard of Him!"

Having waited, apparently, for a reply, he "continued his parable," re-asserting, "My righteousness I hold fast;" comments on the lot of the wicked; and closes his monologue with a contrast between works of God which can be understood, and "wisdom," which, in the sense of the principles of true and righteous government which direct the course of this world's affairs, is inscrutable."

Some of the men who are endeavoring to re-arrange the Scriptures, prefer to give chap. 27 : 7–23 to Zophar, that he may have a third speech; others would annex it to Bildad's attempt (chap. 25), to help him a little in amount. Chap. 28 is considered out of its place, even if it were a part of the original poem, because of its apparent acceptance of views which are afterwards more fully discussed. As to the matter of unity, I fail to see any gain by re-arrangement. Chap. 29 seems as much in place where it stands as if it followed 27 : 6, or 27 : 23. As to the doctrine taught in 27 and 28, it does seem that Job is wandering somewhat from his theme. But opposition has ceased, he is at liberty to muse at will upon any phase of the subject which his weakened body and troubled mind may suggest or delight in. There are many evidences in his remarks that his mind is suffering with his body. There is constant repetition and frequent change of thought, (see 27 : 4, 5 for an example), in his addresses.

Throughout chap. 30, he reviews his past and present conditions and stations among the citizens of his town, then passes on to challenge God to convict him of any one of several sins —falsehood, adultery, avarice, idolatry, murder, lack of hospitality—some of which Eliphaz had charged him with. If I am guilty, he defiantly cries,

> "Then let mine arm fall from my shoulder,
> And mine arm be broken from the bone!" 31 : 22.

No wonder "these three men ceased to answer Job!" Who can argue with one who challenges the Almighty to prove him

in error by annihilating his body? The debate is at a deadlock. Both sides are silent, neither one convinced.

At this juncture Elihu appears. His youth hitherto restrained him, but his "wrath" gets the better of his modesty. He lacks force, is loquacious, exceedingly familiar, addressing "Job" by name, and has an assumed air of superior knowledge. However, he shows a good memory in recalling remarks of Job, gives comment and advances other theories of God's knowledge and care of men. He emphasizes calamity as a favorite means of God to chasten men, and repentence as a sure way to regain His favor. He accuses Job of "rebellion" against God, of speaking without knowledge, of false accusation of the justness of Him who notes all "the ways of a man" (34 : 21), and of presuming that his calamities would have been the same had he been wicked instead of "perfect." God is just,

> "He preserveth not the life of the wicked,
> But giveth right to the poor" [afflicted].

As he proceeds to speak of God's wisdom and power, he seemingly illustrates from the manifestations of a gathering storm. He breaks off abruptly, as if himself overcome, and Jehovah answers Job out of the whirlwind—the long desired interview, at last at hand.

Both literary and theological objections are raised to the address of Elihu as a part of the original poem. It is argued that the Book has unity with this omitted; that the matter and style are not of the same high order as that of the rest of the production, and the language more Aramaic. The only new doctrine advanced, that suffering is used by Jehovah to educate and purify men, is a view of later ages. But so much of differences in opinion is to be attributed to the mental attitude and point of view of the reader, that conclusions on this point cannot but vary. Elihu reviews the whole argument. He simply states more clearly and emphasizes what Eliphaz touched on in passing. "Happy is the man whom God correcteth; therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty." 5 : 17. As to the weaker and prolix style, is it not

a youth from a far land who is speaking? Why may not all these differences of style be intentional on the part of the writer?

As to omission of his name when the Almighty pronounces approval and disapproval, we might with equal propriety infer that since God doesn't say in the epilogue what he thinks of Job's wife and her counsel, and of that very important character, Satan, that therefore the part about these two persons must be by a later hand. But we know what Jehovah thought of these three—and Elihu's views are not condemned.

His work was necessary. Job agreed to be silent only on the condition that he be convinced of his error and sin. This was reserved for the Almighty. But to hear Him, Job must cease to rage and rebel. He must be calmed and silenced. Elihu does this. God's herald of power is the artillery of the heavens. His assurance of love and care comes in a still, small voice which finds us waiting neath the shadow of a rock. Job ceased to complain, listened, and heard Him. We see His greatness in the mighty behemoth and defiant leviathan. We see the Father heart, the love of "Our Father," in provision for the sparrows and the royal apparel of the field lilies. Job saw God in the visible creation—a God who cares for all things great and small, and at once *knew* he could trust Him. Immediately he was sorry for his distrust, his complaint, his questionings. His questions the Almighty did not answer; but when we can *rest* in His arms, what does it matter? Do we care to understand? And does it concern our happiness how long we may live, or whether we shall receive "double" for all our losses. We know that, if He choose, He can give us a "hundred fold in this life." Having seen the vision and heard His voice, we are content and happy in our lot. "The reasoner and skeptic complain that the issue has been evaded; the religious man knows that he has not shirked it, but *left it behind him*, when he bows his head in self abasing prayer, after a face to-face vision of God."

ARTICLE VIII.

THE SENSE OF THE UNIVERSAL IN ART.

By Theo. B. Stork, A.M.

A clumsy expression truly, and but vaguely suggestive of what is meant, nevertheless it signifies a truth that applies to all art, music, poetry, painting, even sculpture, but particularly to the greatest of all, the novel and drama.

Art may be said to be the interpretation of the Universal through the particular and concrete. It is the soul's window, through which it peers out upon vast expanses of emotion that lie beyond the horizon of the actual, realizes by its aid what can never be its own in experience. Art blends with narrow individual experience, the experience of the race, of the world, of even the Universe itself, looming dark and shadowy out of impenetrable starry space.

In all great works of art, there is this note of the Universal, faint, almost latent at times, then at others, as in some of the highest poetry, dominant, all pervading. By it art lifts the individual out of his individuality hedged, confined, fenced about with circumstance, the petty detail that makes up existence for each, puts him in touch with that Universe that lies about him which some inner sense prophesies but cannot realize for him.

Thus there comes to him that world of the imagination or rather that inner vision of his own possibilities illuminated, transmuted by the golden touch of Art. It is a gift of the simplest as of the greatest Art. Annie Laurie has it as much as Don Giovanni. The simple Scotch song makes real for its listener the passion of the race and through it he is made to know the possibilities and depth of feeling of himself as part of the race. He is a sharer, a partner in the universal fount of feeling as he can never hope to be in any actual experience of his own. It is the touch of the Universal that he feels; for it is not any one individual and particular passion that the song gives him, but the universal ideal passion, strip-

ped of the petty, the sordid, the mean, those inseparable companions of the individual and the real in this life of ours.

To be told that there was a real Annie Laurie and that the Max Welton Braes that were bonnie were nothing more than ordinary hills, perhaps bare and steep and rough, is to bring destruction down upon the song as a work of art. The sensitive soul revolts from these facts, for they rob it of that sense of the Universal and reveal the personal limitation of the feeling that actuated it.

The robbery thus committed is two fold: First, it takes away that idealization of the feeling which is necessary to the sense of the Universal, makes it not a universal, but a particular feeling of one particular man, for one particular woman; and secondly, with this particularity it fetches in all the disillusioning details of the particular. We thus know that in fact the song was not the expression of the universal, but was inspired and confined to one instead of interpreting all passion.

By this note of the universal, Art becomes the opportunity for the feeling of emotion, less intensely perhaps, but on a higher plane than actual experience allows. The feeling is more complex, more varied than is possible to the individual and actual experience of any one person, however fortunate or gifted. By its gate the individual passes into the lives and feelings and thoughts, suffers the emotions of all, appropriates them to himself and thus in a sense becomes partaker of the universal feelings of the world.

The degree of perfection to which this reaches varies with the many shapes and forms of Art. The painting of a gray and wintry sea with some storm tossed bark, slowly ploughing its way to the horizon, gives us this in one of its lowest terms. By it we are put in possession of the feeling of the sailor in his dreary life on the lonely bark, his eyes set on the far distant land beyond the sky line to which he voyages. The novel and the drama gives us this with more intensity, greater complexity, fuller richness of detail, and asks of us more complete surrender of ourselves to possession of another's thoughts, moods, passions. We are the Dramatis Personae of our

author, but we have again that sense of the Universal thought, mood, passion, which we vaguely realize in ourselves through this presentation of the particular. The fear, joy, hope, terror, despair, the whole gamut of emotion that thus comes to us brings with it that subtile but tremendous thrill of soul that we are thus sharing, the universal fear, joy, hope, terror, despair of the world, of the race. We are thus made in our feelings part of the great universal soul of which we know ourselves a part and which we dimly and vaguely long to realize in experience, unwitting that by experience this is impossible. The Mystic, the Pantheist might declare this a natural craving of the separate entity for union, absorption in the whole, for harmony and unity with the Universe. Thus art comes to the human spirit, cribbed, confined by the bars of petty circumstance, with magic key unlocks the cage, sets it free of mean and sordid limitations and makes it partaker of the universal thought and emotion.

There are satisfactions of this craving other than that afforded by works of Art, experiences which in a weaker degree tend to give the individual this sense of the Universal, that lift him up and out of his individuality and afford him glimpses of the universal in other ways. These may shed light upon the higher, more complex and delicate methods by which Art accomplishes the same results. Any experience that brings a man in close touch with great masses and varieties of things or of people, rapidly and with sharp emphasis, contains within it that thrilling sense of the Universal which we mean. A swift railway or carriage journey over beautiful and extensive scenery has something of this in it.

And again who of us has not felt the maddening excitement of the nerves when in the midst of a great throng of men, all animated by the same feeling, and sympathizing each with the other, they cheered or cried out under the impulse of a single, universal, overpowering, and common emotion. To the artistically susceptible such an experience is overwhelming in its sense of universality, the brotherhood of common and shared feeling. In like manner there is a thrill, inexplicable

but penetrating, in looking forth from an height upon the world of landscape below, the river a silvery serpent lying with long coils against the shadowy woodland, the white thread of road winding over the hill toward some distant Church spire among the trees.

Again, when from his tiny spot of earth the individual gazes by night at the stars, the same feeling in a profounder way comes to him, that sense of the universal that tells him he is part of some mighty whole, only dimly and at rare moments perceived by his earthly faculties.

These, however, are but glimpses, imperfect and accidental. Art of deliberate and carefully studied intention makes us partaker and sharer in that sense of the universal. It gives not merely that particular and special sunlight of Claude's picture, not that special and Carthaginian splendor of sea and sky in Turner's "Departure from Carthage," or "The Old Temeraire," not the particular passion that speaks in Romeo's words and lights his Juliet's eyes, not the particular joyousness of careless, happy Zerlina in Don Giovanni's music. It gives you these, truly, but it gives you through them far more; it makes you in this sense of the universal realize for your narrow experience the sense of all sunlight in sea and sky, the passion of all lovers, the joyousness of all young and beautiful maidens. It sets an echo of infinity ringing through your soul, the deep profoundly stirring note of the Universal.

There are to be discerned in this accomplishment of art two elements. First, it is to be noted that Art casts off for men those vexing, hampering fetters of their own petty lives.

Philosophically, Art may be said to perform this great service for us; it abstracts the feeling it conveys, strips from it the adventitious and meretricious, that without which it is never known actually in experience, and that mars its purity for us, spoils its effects. Art takes the feeling it portrays and sets it like a precious jewel so that all its values may be appreciated. It idealizes particular experience for us as memory does in our recollections of the past, preserving what we enjoyed, omitting what were best forgotten. We all know

no present joys are like those of the past, cherished idealized and preserved to us by the handmaiden memory, or of the future sketched for us by imagination. And so Art, be it poetry, the novel, the drama, sculpture. painting, gives us its feeling without the drawbacks, the jarring notes that in all experience of actual feeling accompany and mar it.

In experience no man, however fortunate or well placed, escapes the irksome narrowness of his own individuality. The wearying sameness of routine, the small bothers of life, touch every life no matter how unceasing its pleasures. These very pleasures are marred by countless unavoidable mischances, the horse drops a shoe and spoils the ride, dyspepsia ruins the fine dinner, the tailor or the dressmaker makes an ill-fitting garment. These and a thousand unmentionable pettinesses vex the smoothest lives. In addition and by no means least, there is the dullness and narrowness of scene, of circumstance, of people, from which all suffer in greater or less degree and with this dullness there comes a demand and craving for that second element that Art, even the meanest, supplies. For Art not only releases us from these fetters of our own individuality, it gives us in their place, secondly, the key of the fields of imagination, makes us possessors of the lives, the sufferings, the pleasures, experiences, good, bad or indifferent, of all our fellows, in short, makes us one with the great whole of humanity, and the Universe, gives us knowledge of that universal, whose absence makes our lives dull and monotonous.

But this universality of Art has even a wider meaning than that of simple enjoyment, it has its intellectnal and philosophical side of the profoundest and deepest significance. The philosophers tell us that, "All forms of Art have this characteristic as their essence—that the moment of universality in them lifts their creation above the transitory and fleeting nature of the instant in which they are apprehended and detaches them from the relationship of place in the Universe."*

Through Art, therefore, and the feelings which Art gives us, we get a direct knowledge, according to the idealists, of reality,

* Haldane's Pathway to Reality.

of those universals which when realized in the particular make for us reality. By thinking, by perception, this is impossible; we cannot think the universal but we can realize it in this, that by experience of the particular we are compelled, in order to understand, to appreciate the particular experience, to apply those forms, that feeling, which is ours in common with all the race, with all things. But perhaps this view grows too Hegelian, too idealistic and transcendental for further urging into the depths of philosophic speculation. A few concrete examples from the poets may illustrate the points which abstract discussion can never make entirely clear. All great poetry reaches out for its highest effects into this extra-experimental region of the Universals; such as God, the future life, Immortality, Good and Evil, take these away and you take away from the greatest poems their meaning. For these ideas are all universals, not derived from or possibly derivable from experience, yet absolutely necessary to give experience intelligible reality, that is meaning. Without such meaning derived from these universals, experience is nothing, a void, a chaos. What would the Inferno, the Oedipus Tyrannus, Macbeth, Hamlet, be without these universals of all human thought; Eternal Life and its rewards and punishments, God, the Almighty power, the Judge of all the Earth, pronouncing right and wrong on the deeds of men.

It is not possible to take at random any true work of Art, however slight, that does not in some way call upon these for its power. The lover's passion, the murderer's fear, the patriot's self-devotion, all get their life from these. In "Marpessa" Stephen Phillips' dainty poem, the human lover cries out his feeling for his mistress, instinctively linking his individual human feeling of love (the particular) with the great universals of human thought and feeling, of the race and of the Universe.

> " beside thee
> I am aware of other times and lands
> Of birth far back, of lives in many stars."

Even the contemplative pleasure of a sunset grasps its highest note of feeling from the relation and suggestion it bears of

the universal. To make it real, to enable the individual man to understand the particular experience, it calls upon these.

> "And the departing sun his glory owes
> To the eternal thoughts of creatures brief,
> Who think the thing that they shall never see."

I have in mind for another example a simple story read only the other day. It dealt with the homeliest details of experience, a mother, poor, hard-working, rustic, who had lost her only son. It told of her kitchen, her visiting her neighbors, her knitting, her tramping over the muddy country roads with her shawl over her head to keep out the biting east wind. Here was nothing but the trifling mean details of every-day life, familiar to us all. Now what was the transfiguring power by which Art lifted all these out of their transient setting and made them eternal verities beyond time, above the particular, and put them in touch with the universal, the permanent? It was the making them the expression, the conduit, of a mother's grief, the instrument of conveying to the reader that great universal human feeling, the common property of the race, which we know must survive all change, which we feel is part of the eternal, the universal, and which it is the object of all true Art to give us.

Perhaps these slight examples, just because they are slight, and seem not to call on the eternal verities, the mighty universals, so obviously for their interpretation, will serve better than the tragic or the deeply serious Art of the great masters which avowedly does so.

This noble Hegelian view of Art which I have tried to sketch is finely interpreted by Mr. Haldane in his "Pathway to Reality." He remarks, page 191: "It is the function of genius to lift us in the medium of what is particular and immediate to a higher plane and so to set the world in a new light." And again, page 184, he says, unfolding the artistic meaning of a Dutch landscape painting: "It moves us as Nature cannot. The reason is that the artist has detached and fashioned the scene in such a way as to lift us above the merely sensuous. A sense of aloofness from the contingency

of our surroundings comes to us and of aloofness from the particularism of ourselves." He remarks that the peasant's cottage, with its homely details, has passed away, but that "they express and engross us in that stillness and peace of nature which they do not symbolize as a word symbolizes a concept, but embody as a universal in individual form. They lift us toward a view of the world from the platform of those who are spectators of all time and all existence."

Or we may sum it up by saying that the moment of Art is eternal, snatched out of the particular and the immediate material of our experience it is set like the precious mosaic of some lapidary by itself, forever away from all its surroundings both precedent and succeedant, it exists by itself without past or future, an eternal present expressing the universal for the mind and itself. It is above time and beyond experience in that high region where mind exists only for mind, that is for the universals of which Art is one phase and aspect.

It makes the present moment of the particular, the phenomenal, the passing experience, immortal by making it the expression of some phase of mind, the expression of the universal, yet retaining all the reality and richness that the universal by itself, unexpressed in the evanescent experience, lacks.

So in picture, in story, in poem, some particular evanescent moment of experience, a lover's passion, a patriot's death, a mother's grief, an heroic deed, or it may be some far slighter incident, is taken up, idealized, made a crystal of feeling for all time.

This all pervading interpreting sense of the Universal that touches every feeling of the soul giving it its true value and learning, the poet Browning has aptly suggested in Bishop Blongram's Apology. He is treating of the impossibility of a permanent and abiding skepticism regarding the eternal verities.

> "Just when we are safest there's a sunset touch,
> A fancy from a flower bell, some one's death,
> A chorus—ending from Euripides—
> And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears.
> As old and new as Nature's self."

In all feeling and in all art as its expression, truly may it be said that deep calleth unto deep. Our feelings are our prophets, foretelling the great universal truths of God, good and evil, eternal life. We believe these because we must if we are to understand and interpret our own feelings of which Art is the particular and highest expression.

ARTICLE IX.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITFRATURE.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

A History of the Reformation. By Thomas M. Lindsay, M.A., D.D., Principal, the United Free Church College, Glasgow. 1. The Reformation in Germany from its beginning to the Religious Peace in Augsburg. Pp. 16 and 528.

This book belongs to *The International Theological Library*, edited by Drs. Briggs and Salmond. As a history of the Reformation in Germany we regard this as the best in the English language. Pp. 1–188 are given to the discussion of the following subjects: *On the Eve of the Reformation; The Political Situation; The Renaissance; Social Conditions; Family and Popular Religions; Life in the Decades Before the Reformation; Humanism and the Reformation.*

These six chapters contain exactly the kind of information that is needed in order to make the subsequent history intelligible. The picture painted by the author has strong and distinct features. Evidently he has used both the original sources of information and the best studies of other writers. This part of the book is well worth reading.

From p. 189 to p. 416 we have a history of the German Reformation in the specific sense. But the author does not write history simply as a chronicler of events; but rather as a thinker and a philosopher, who seeks to ascertain the facts and to connect them with their causes. Hence we have before us, to a considerable extent, a philosophy of history. Here too the author has employed the best sources of information, and has seldom come short in the matter of accuracy, though he does not enter widely into details, as indeed he could not do in the space to which the nature and compass of his work necessarily confined him. We miss details for which we must look elsewhere. For instance: Less than four pages are given to the *Augsburg Confession*, and less space to the *Schmalkald League.*

Pp. 417–425 are devoted to the narrative of the Reformation in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Only the essential facts could be given in these eight pages.

The remainder of the book discusses *The Religious Principles Inspiring the Reformation.* We are well pleased with this discussion. It is clear, discriminating and sympathetic. The author has discovered the springs of the German Reformation, and has correctly set forth its chief charactertic features. A few quotations will suffice to prove the correctness of this analysis. On p. 430: "With Luther and all the Reformers, Christ fills the whole sphere of God; they do not recognize any theology which is not Christology." On p. 431, after giving Luther's description of faith: "It is a living, busy, active, powerful thing, faith," and declaring that "Christianity is therefore an interwoven tissue of promises and prayers of faith," he says: "This conception of what is meant by Christianity is the religious soul of the Reformation. It contains within it all the distinctively religious principles which inspired it. It can scarcely be called a dogma. It is an experience, and the phrases which set it forth are the descriptions of an experience which a human soul has gone through. The thing itself is beyond exact definition—as all deep experiences are. It must be felt and gone through to be known. The Reformation started from this personal experience of the believing Christian, which is declared to be the one elemental fact in Christianity which could never be proved by argument and could never be dissolved by any speculation * * * Luther proclaimed his discovery, he never attempted to prove it by argument; it was something self-evident—seen and known when experienced." P. 432. On p. 473: "With Luther all theology is really Christology." "Like Athanasius, Luther found his salvation in the Diety of Christ." "The thought of the Divinity of Christ meant more to Luther than it did to previous theologians."

Pp. 489–512 contain a *Chronological Summary of the History of the Reformation.* This is very valuable, though it needs a few corrections. P. 491: Melanchthon's *Loci* of 1535 and the edition of 1543–4 contain the *same* identical doctrine of "synergism," and express that doctrine in almost the same identical words: "Three causes are united: The Word, the Holy Spirit, and the Will, not indeed inactive. but resisting its own weakness;" and: "Only will, and God anticipates;" and: "God draws, but draws him who is willing." *C. R.* 21: p. 376 and p. 658.

P. 493: Bishop of Pomesania, and not: "Bishop of Pomerania." P. 500: Luther did not attend "the Convent of Schwabach," Oct. 16, 1529; nor was he at Schmalkald, Nov. 30, of the same year. He was at home in Wittenberg at both these dates. P. 501: Protestant Convention at Schmalkald," 1537, not 1557.

On p. 364 our author says that "Melanchthon was responsible for the phraseology" of the Augsburg Confession. This is only the repetition of an old anti-Philippistic defamation, though not so intended by the present author. Melanchthon was as truly the author of the

Augsburg Confession as Dr. Lindsay is the author of the book before us. He conceived the purpose of changing the proposed "Apology" into a confession. He named himself the author of the Confession; his contemporaries accorded him the honor of being its author, and on the marble slab that covers his ashes in the *Schlosskirche* in Wittenberg we read: *Autor Confessionis Augustanae.* Even our author, on p. 499, speaks of the Confession as "the work of Melanchthon assisted by the evangelical theologians assembled at Augsburg, and revised by Luther;" though it is not true that the Augsburg Confession was "revised by Luther" On May 11th, 1530, "the first sketch" of the Confession, yet far from being finished, was sent to Luther, who declared that it pleased him fairly well, but he did not suggest any change. He never saw any part of the Confession thereafter until some days subsequent to its delivery, June 25th.

P. 467, note, Zwingli perished on the field of battle, 1531. How could he "declare in the *First Helvetic Confession* (1536) that," etc.?

Barring thus a few slight defects we recommend this book to all who would read a good and reliable *History of the Reformation in Germany.* We anticipate both pleasure and profit from reading *The Reformation in Lands Beyond Germany,* by the same author, which, we are informed, is *in press.*

J. W. RICHARD.

The Apostolic Age. By James Hardy Ropes, Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Harvard University. $1.25 net.

The historical method of viewing the literature of the New Testament has called forth numerous books on the Apostolic Age.

The growth of the early Church and the expansion of Christianity by Pauline labors secure illumination by a critical study of the origins described in the Acts.

Prof. Ropes calls himself old-fashioned enough to believe the Lucan authorship of the Acts; but it is scarcely needful to be apologetic for this traditional opinion as though in the light of modern criticism nothing traditional may be held without the suspicion of being unscholarly. But while Prof. Ropes admits Lucan authorship he deems the Book scarcely authentic history, it being much embellished by freedom of composition. He gives probability to the South Galatian theory, and identifies Acts XV with Gal. 2. He allows the view that II Thessalonians may possibly not be genuine, and also rejects the Pastoral Epistles as not being purely Pauline, but admits fragmentary Pauline elements as the basis of the composition. He regards the Epistle to the Galatians as probably composed at Antioch before Paul started on his second missionary journey, and the Epistles of the Imprisonment as written while Paul was imprisoned in Rome.

Undue caution in expressions of opinion is constantly employed by the author, manifesting a lack of personal conviction in regard to many controverted points. It is not well to be assumptious in opinion, but lack of conviction never produces conviction. One should be tentative with judicial judgment. The historical method has its certainties as well as its probabilities. Historical treatment of the New Testament fails frequently to distinguish between method and principle. Christianity is not simply a development, though it results in development; it is not merely a moral renovation, but produces that result. A thing is not to be entirely subsumed under its consequences or results; the method is not to be identified with the originating principle. Development does not account for primal cause. The historical method must see more than method, else it fails of truth. Historical method is too frequently a journey pursued by one who becomes oblivious of the port he has left, and is indifferent to the haven to which he tends; it is all journey, much unconcerned about whence or whither.

The author seems tentative and timid lest he should offend some master of method, or fail to keep step in the rank of progressive development. More judgemental and less Gamaliel temperament would give added tone to the careful presentation.

Prof. Ropes concludes his book with a chapter containing an excellent resume of the literature on the Apostolic Age. He shows himself conversant with many of the best writers in the historical treatment of the Acts, although he does not mention Ramsay, Chase, Weinel, or Clemen.

M. COOVER.

The Origin and Permanent Value of the Old Testament. By Charles Foster Kent, Ph.D., Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University.

This is a very interesting and instructive little volume of 270 pages. As a matter of course it is written from the standpoint of the Higher Criticism, but it is far less radical than one might expect to find it. All through the language is temperate and the spirit reverent, and the aim is evidently constructive rather than destructive. It is safe to say that if all the so-called "Higher Critics" had written in a similar spirit and strain, they would have excited much less of predjudice and done much less harm.

Professor Kent seems freely to admit a special divine inspiration of the writers of the Old Testament Scriptures. In the chapter on *The Place of the Old Testament in Divine Revelation*, page 59, he says: "In seeking the ultimate answer to our question, How were the Israelites prepared to be the chosen people, we are confronted by a miracle that baffles our power to analyze; it is the supreme fact that the Spirit of the Almighty touched the spirit of certain men in ancient Israel so that

they became seers and prophets. This is their own testimony, and their deeds and words amply confirm it."

A much earlier date is allowed also by Professor Kent to the New Testament writings than by many others of his school. In the chapter on *The Influences that Produced the New Testament* he says pages 79, 80: "Thus the second half of the first century after the death of Jesus witnessed the birth of a large Christian literature, consisting of epistles, gospels, and apocalypses. The work of the next three centuries was the appreciation and selection of the books which today constitute our New Testament."

We desire to call special attention to the last two chapters of the book on *Practical Methods of Studying the Old Testament*, and on *Religious Education*, both of which contain some valuable suggestions for the improvement of the prevailing methods of Bible study in the Sunday Schools.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY.

Old Testament Introduction, General and Special. By John Howard Raven, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Languages and Exegesis, Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America, at New Brunswick, N. J. Pp. 362.

For too long a time the radical and destructive school of Higher Critics have been having things all their own way. No wonder they have grown presumptuous, and having undermined the integrity and authority of the Old Testament, at least in their own judgment, are now proceeding to do the same destructive work upon the New Testament. We are glad, therefore, to see signs of a reaction, at last. We are beginning to have some books on these subjects of a high character from conservative authors. This book by Dr. Raven is a notable example of this.

In the preface, Dr. Raven says that the book was written because, in his own work in the classroom, he realized the need of "a conservative text-book which covers the whole range of the subject." This need his book meets admirably. The student will find in it a clear and calm discussion of all the "burning questions" concerning the Old Testament, the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the two Isaiahs, the date and authorship of the book of Daniel, &c., &c., and in all cases the conservative and traditional view is maintained and ably defended. This is not because the author has not read and duly considered the views of the radical critics, but because he has done so and has found them wanting. He shows perfect familiarity with their positions and arguments, and in most cases allows them to speak for themselves by quoting their own words. But he also shows himself entirely qualified to meet them on their own grounds, and when we remember how much noise they have made in the world, and the calm assurance with which they main-

tain their views and deride the scholarship of all who presume to differ with them, it is surprising to find how easily their arguments may be met, and the difficulties they have raised removed.

While Dr. Raven's book gives evidence of ample scholarship, the style is remarkably simple, technical terms are largely avoided, and hence it can be read understandingly by any laymen of ordinary intelligence. We commend it, therefore, not only to pastors and theological students but also to others who are interested in the subject, and especially to Sunday School teachers and other Bible students, whose minds may have been disquieted by the recent assaults upon the integrity of the Scriptures, and the oft repeated assertion that "all modern scholarship" has gone over to the ranks of radical and destructive criticism.

The publishers have done their work well. In paper, type, and binding, the volume is all that could be desired.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Licht des Lebens. Ein Jahrgang von Evangelien Predigten aus dem Nachlass des seelingen D. Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther. 8 vo. Pp. 688.

The above is another volume of sermons from the apparently inexhaustible manuscript remains of Dr. Walther. The sermons are based on the Gospel Lessons of the Church Year, and in form and content are models of popular biblical instruction.

To those preachers, among us, who discard the pericopal system because to them it offers a too narrow field for homiletic effort, this volume, and those of a like nature which have preceded it, by the same author, ought to prove a revelation. Dr. Walther knew how to preach a pure gospel in a way to reach the masses. The sermons before us do not speak to men of a bygone age, but to men of today. They rebuke the sins of the times in which we live, and in them, the blessed gospel, freed from modern doubts and negations, stands for the building up of the Kingdom of God and the coming of the reign of the Prince of Peace.

Although a prince among dogmaticians, and one ever ready on occasion to use with full command, a sharp and incisive sword on the field of theological controversy. These sermons exhibit the other side of Dr. Walther's great nature, and present him in the light of a gentle and loving shepherd, with an all-consuming love for Christ, and a burning desire to edify the church and build up her waste places. They present the gospel in its simplicity and power in language that stirs the heart, and that at times appears matchless in doctrine and eloquence. To all who can read the German we would most earnestly commend this volume of sermons.

R. H. CLARE.

LUTHERANS IN ALL LANDS COMPANY, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Luther's Church Postil Gospels. Advent, Christmas and Epiphany Sermons. Translated now for the first time into English, with introduction, Walch's Analysis and Bugenhagen's Summaries. By Prof. John Nicholas Lenker, D.D., assisted by various Lutheran scholars. 8 mo. pp. 455. $2.25.

This is the fifth volume of Luther's Works as edited by Dr. Lenker, and the tenth in the proposed series. It is uniform in style and make-up with the preceding volumes, and appeals to the eye. We again heartily commend these volumes to the English reader. Luther cannot be bound by time or translation. He is ever free and alive. His sermons flash and glow with the true light. Their simplicity is proverbial. Filled to overflowing with gospel truth they must remain edifying to the end of time.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

THE GRAFTON PRESS, NEW YORK.

Some Trinitarian Forgeries, stated by a Monotheist. 12 mo. pp. 101. $1.00 net.

The best thing about this little book is the fine printing. The contents are a blasphemous attempt to convice the reader that the doctrine of the Trinity is "a coarse forgery perpetrated by the wilful mistranslation of the original Scriptures." The revisers, however, are in some instances more honest than the makers of the King James version, according to our Monotheist. A single quotation will suffice to show his method. "'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.' How coarse the forgery is in this case will be plain when we give the following absolutely literal translation: 'In (a) beginning was the word, and the word was with the God, and the word was (a) god'"

In short, our Monotheist is a Unitarian, who spells the Godhead of Jesus with a little "g." He is a subordinationist in the line of the ancient Arius, whom the youthful Athanasius vanquished at the Council of Nice, A.D. 320. This sickly heresy of Monotheist has been nursed by rationalism through all these centuries, but has never attained any vitality, and never can. The Scriptures and all history cry out against this fearful error.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. NEW YORK; AND WARTBURG PUBLISHING HOUSE, CHICAGO.

Annotations on the General Epistles of James, Peter, John and Jude and the Revelation of St. John. By Revere F. Weidner, D.D., LL. D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary. Two volumes in one, pp. viii, 380; lxv., 365. $1.75

These helpful annotations on the text of the Catholic Epistles and Revelation are preceded by plain and brief introductions to the several Books. The view as to authorship, genuineness, and the general exposition, is traditional and conservative, after examination of opposing views.

Dr. Weidner rejects the Hieronymian and Epiphanian views of the relation of James to Jesus, and accepts the Helvidian theory that the brethren of Jesus are his younger brothers, sons of Joseph and Mary. The book of James is regarded as the first New Testament writing, and composed *circa* 50 A. D.

Peter's First Epistle is accepted as written from Babylon literally interpreted, and not metaphorically from Rome. Dr. Weidner does not discuss the writing as by Peter himself, or by the hand of Sylvanus, nor the theory of Pauline likeness in the Epistle as due to Catholic Evangelism, or to the free hand of Sylvanus in penning Peter's epistolary message.

The *Elect Lady* of John is taken literally and personally, and not metaphorically. The revelation of St. John is treated in the Futurist conception, rejecting the Preterist, Historical, and Spiritual theories. The positions of the older dogmaticians and exegetes are mostly adhered to in the exegesis of the text. 1 Peter 3 : 19 is held to be a proclamation of victory and judgment in Hades, and not a proffer of grace, despite the acknowledged affiliation of this verse with verse 10 of chapter 4 which is evangelistic as well as proclamatory. The good Lutheran view of 1 Peter 4 : 6 is maintained that the love which covers a multitude of sins covers the sins of the one that is loved, and not of the lover.

The theological positions of the author are visible in the annotations, and are healthy in these times of evasive treatment of Biblical conceptions and statements. Not infrequently, however, the author has allowed his theology to overawe his exegesis and to dominate his hermeneutic. It is better to hold dogma in abeyance till the exegesis is grammatically and historically established, and let doctrine be moulded accordingly. The latter is Lutheran in principle.

In the introduction to Revelation a careful list is given of the able commentaries treating the apocalypse, and describing the doctrinal position and exegetical method maintained by the various commentators.

Dr. Weidner's work is a good students' guide to the literature of the Books annotated, and is a clear and excellent Biblical treatment for the lay reader.

M. COOVER.

THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

OCTOBER, 1906.

ARTICLE I.

THE LORD'S SUPPER IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By Professor Reinhold Seeberg, D.D.

(Translated by Henry W. A. Hanson, B.D.)

Jesus Christ instituted two Sacraments—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Already Paul placed them together. (1 Cor. 10 : 1–4). Both ordinances are connected with Jewish customs—Baptism with the Jewish Proselyte Baptism, the Lord's Supper with the Passover-feast. This relation is not exceptional, for Christ always made use of Old Testament words and conceptions, since he lived among, and devoted his efforts to, the people of Revelation. The adoption of these forms, therefore, signifies nothing more than does the acceptance of such conceptions as the "Sovereignty of God," "Conversion," "Faith," "Last Judgment," etc.

But these external (sinnenfalligen) forms with their symbolical elements were capable of being connected with the thoughts of the contemporary heathen world—they were capable of being interpreted in the sense of the then flourishing mysticism. Superstitious magical elements were consequently read into the simple institution of Christ. It was thought, for instance, that the Spirit united himself in some *bodily* way with the water, or that, by the utterance of the words connected with the institution of the Lord's Supper, the bread and wine were transformed into the body and blood of Christ. Such errors have a tenacious existence. It is, therefore, a weighty concern to every Christian to arrive at a definite idea as to just what significance

our Lord himself attached to the Lord's Supper at its institution. While this concern, as to the original significance of the Lord's Supper, is all important, there exist among Christians the most diverse conceptions of it. On the other hand, suppositions force themselves into the circle of the Christian laity, as though Christ had never instituted the Lord's Supper for repetition, so that there can be no talk of the promise of Christ to confer special spiritual gifts upon those partaking of the Sacrament.

Hence it is an undertaking of no little consequence to examine, from a purely historical standpoint, the question, *What was Christ's conception of the Lord's Supper?* To the laity the answer may seem very simple: Examine the simple meaning of the words of institution, and all is clear. But already the fact that the words of institution, preserved in the different records *differ* very materially, shows the "*simple*" solution a failure. In truth a somewhat complex method of investigation is necessary to arrive at an historical answer to the question which we are considering, as the reader will himself see in the following lines.

Our starting point is the fact that Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper in the form of a Passover feast. But this assertion will be, at once, contradicted. It is the famous contention whether Christ took this last meal with his disciples upon the day when the Jews ate the Passover, or on the day preceding.

The tradition in the Synoptics speaks unquestionably in favor of the first supposition—the tradition in John's Gospel is generally understood in the sense of the second. The fact is as follows: That Christ was crucified on a Friday is shown clearly in the Synoptics and John. (Mark 15 : 42. Matt. 27 : 62. Luke 23 : 54. John 19 : 14). The Passover was usually eaten upon the 14th of Nisan. According to the Synoptics, Jesus also did this. The day of the crucifixion is therefore on the 15th of Nisan. According to John 18 : 28, the Jews did not go to Pilate in the Praetorium on Friday morning lest they be contaminated by the heathen house and made unfit *to eat the Passover*. If one takes these words literally,

then the day of Christ's death was the day of the Passover feast, which is the 14th of Nisan—and Christ ate the last meal with his disciples already on the 13th of Nisan. Still it cannot be denied that the term "*to eat the Passover*" may be understood more generally of the entire Passover celebration. For this and other reasons one of our greatest theological authors, Th. Zahn, asserts, at the present time, that there is really no difference in the dates as given in the Synoptics and John—that used in the Synoptics being the same as in John. But that remains uncertain. One must therefore reckon with the possibility of a difference in dates. There can, however, be no question that John gives the correct date, since it would be a more natural mistake to place the meal upon the day of the usual Passover than a day earlier.

We have, of course, no positive evidence that it was permissible to celebrate the feast of the Passover a day earlier than the appointed time. But that Christ, in his position to the Law, at the close of his earthly career, could have intended this change, cannot well be doubted. The entire question is of less importance to us. As far as we are concerned, the only point under consideration is whether Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper under the form of a Passover feast. And this can be proven by various considerations, and is of the greatest importance for an understanding of the manner and character of the meal. Hence we dare not allow ourselves to be vexed at the amount of labor which is necessary in order to look more carefully into the details of the question.

We possess, alas, no accurate portrayal of the Passover-feast during the time of Christ. The arrangement of the meal which is still used at the present, is, it is true, in large measure of later origin. Still as far as the method of procedure is concerned, the ceremony must have been very similar in the time of Christ. This is evidenced by the coinciding testimonies given in the New Testament. The chief points are the following: The father of the house begins with returning thanks that God created the fruit of the vine. Then the first beaker was drunk. After this the father washed his hands and thanked

God for the creation of the fruits of the earth. The set table was then brought in. Then the youngest in the company asked why this night differed from all other nights—why only the unleavened bread and hyssop (Bitterkraut) were eaten, and why they ate the meal *reclining*. The house-father answered with a narrative of the Exodus out of Egypt. Hence especial mention was made of the Passover—"it signifies that God passed over the houses of our fathers in Egypt." The unleavened bread "signifies that the dough of our fathers had not time to rise before the King of kings revealed himself and delivered them." The hyssop "signifies that the Egyptians embittered the life of our fathers." Therefore is the meal celebrated. In each age every man was morally bound to represent to himself that he was led out of Egypt. Not only our fathers did the Holy one—praised be his name—deliver from Egypt, he also delivered us with them. Then, with a prayer of thanksgiving, the second cup was drunk—and the father broke, with thanksgiving, the bread (Mazza). The hyssop was then eaten with a sweet broth and with Mazza or unleavened bread. Then followed the meal itself. After this a long prayer was offered up and the third cup followed a thanksgiving prayer, which bore the name of "Cup of Thanksgiving." Then followed other prayers and hymns.

This is the course of the Passover feast. If the Last Supper was conducted in this, or a similar way, then its character as a Passover-feast is definitely shown. We see—(1). That Jesus sent Peter and John in advance to prepare the meal in the room of a well-known house. (Luke 22 : 7–13. Mk. 14 : 12–16. Matt. 26 : 12–19).

(2). The meal was opened with the drinking of a cup. (Luke 22 : 17).

(3). Bread and the cup were accompanied with a special thanksgiving. (Lu. 22 : 17–19. Matt. 26 : 26–27. Mk. 14 : 22–23. 1 Cor. 11 : 24).

(4). The washing of feet (John 13 : 2) at the beginning of the feast, awakens, at once, the supposition that there was also

the opportunity of hand washing, and presented the occasion for the symbolical act of Jesus.

(5). The reclining at the Supper is emphasized. (Mk. 14 : 18. John 13 : 23).

(6). "*The bite*"—not *a bite*—which was dipped in (John 13 ; 26), corresponded to the sweet broth with hyssop or the bread which was given with the hyssop.

(7). According to 1 Cor. 11 : 26, "after the supper" Jesus passed the cup. This cup is termed in 1 Cor. 10 : 16 the cup of Thanksgiving, which is, however, with the Jews, the third cup and is passed after the meal proper.

(8). Matt. 26 : 30 closes the meal with songs of thanksgiving.

(9). Among the early Christians the celebration of the Lord's Supper always occurred in the evening, since Jesus instituted the meal "during the night in which He was betrayed."

If one keeps these observations in mind, it seems clear that Jesus held this last meal with his disciples in the form of a Passover feast, however much must remain uncertain as far as details are concerned.

II.

Before we proceed more closely to present the preliminary measures of this last evening we must bring ourselves into the clear, on the subject of the words of institution, which are presented in diverse forms. I will place the traditions together.

1. 1 Cor. 11 : 23–25..

"For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it and said, Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you : this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me."

2. Matt. 26 : 26–29.

"And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it

and brake it and gave it to his disciples and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it: For this is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins. But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you, in my father's kingdom."

3. Mark 14 : 22–25.

"And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and break it and gave it to them and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them: and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many. Verily I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God."

4. Luke 22 : 14–20.

"And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the disciples with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer: for I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. And he took the cup, and gave thanks and said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves: for I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come. And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it to them saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. Likewise the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you."

We have placed at the beginning the words from 1 Corinthians because they present the most trustworthy tradition. Paul said with a full consciousness of the weight of his words that he received this tradition from the Lord—that is—he is entirely convinced that they really represent the institution of Christ. His testimony is the oldest, since 1 Corinthians was written before our Gospels. Internal grounds also argue for the original form of many words in Paul's Epistle.

It is, first of all, clear that the form of the cup-words (Kelchworte) have a more primitive stamp than the Synoptic tradition. No one to whom the form, Bread is body and the cup is blood, was handed down, would disturb this parallelism and write, "The cup is the New Testament in my blood." On the other hand it would be entirely possible involuntarily to transpose these words that they would correspond exactly to the words concerning the body. Positive knowledge adds, also the observation that the cup was first passed "*after the supper.*"

How is it, however, with the words relating to the bread? Paul adds to the words, "This is my body," as found in the Gospels, "which is (given) for you." (The German Bible uses "*was broken,*" but these words are not original according to the best Greek texts). Judging from the expression, these words go back to an Aramaic tradition. In the Greek a verb was used which was as questionable as the German word. Paul likewise preserved these words which were brought down by tradition. But in spite of this, the primitiveness of these words is exceedingly doubtful. They fail in all other sources and why they should be omitted, if they were original, is inconceivable—especially since there is a similar parallelism with the blood, whether one speaks of the new covenant, or of the shedding of blood for the forgiveness of sin. It might well be the case that very early the need arose of saying with the body what is later said with the cup—namely, that it was there for the use of the one receiving. The words "which is for you" would have therefore a primitive significance which appeared more easily than the original understanding of the cup-words (in Paul), which did not especially emphasize the "*for you,*" but only indicated it through the mention of the covenant. The words in reference to the body are an amplification, similar to the words previously used by Matthew in reference to the cup. This will, I think, be confirmed in the exposition of the words of the institution. Then the original words of the institution relating to the bread are only, "This is my body."

Matthew and Mark are entirely in harmony with each other

and also, in essentials, with Paul. Worthy of note is the mention of the circumstance that all the disciples should drink, or, had drunk. Of greater significance is the fact that both Evangelists add (a word) to the words of institution—which moreover, Jesus especially emphasized, namely: that first in the kingdom of his Father would he again, united with his disciples, drink of the fruit of the vine. Luke placed this expression at the very head of his account and premised a similar expression concerning the entire Lord's Supper.

Since the weighty expression is, in Luke, connected with the meaningless first cup and not with the cup of the Supper, it is most probable that he preserved the original connection. For no one separates a significant expression from the very thing to which it refers in order to connect it with something of no importance.

In reading Matthew and Mark on the first cup nothing is as natural as to let the expression follow in reference to the second cup. In reality, the transposition is, as will be shown, unimportant and it was permissible since Christ himself used this expression only in reference to the *common cup*, which must hence refer to the third, as to the first, cup. With Paul the words are not repeated since they do not belong to the words of the institution proper. But an echo of the expression is perceptible even in Paul, "For as oft as ye do eat this bread and drink of this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death till he come." (1 Cor. 11 : 26). Also here is found a reference to the time of completion, a feature which has always been, in some form, preserved in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. It is, however, certain that the words contained in the institution have a relation to the Lord's Supper and that Luke has preserved their original position for us.

But in the remaining points, the tradition as preserved in Luke prepares difficulties. In a manuscript of the Gospels which possesses many and marked characteristics (peculiarities), this very expression to which we hold so tenaciously is entirely lacking. According to it, Luke spoke only of the first cup at the beginning of the meal and of the bread. The insti-

tution of the supper is accompanied then only with the words, "This is my body." That the words relating to the cup, which our German text has in agreement with the majority of the Greek Mss. are original with Luke, cannot hence be questioned. The words are, as is readily seen, entirely independent of the tradition of Paul. This is definitely shown in a most simple externality. Luke speaks at first of "*cup*" without the article, as do also Mark and Matthew; here it is suddenly, as with Paul, "*the cup*" with the article. Consequently, the sentence is not so carefully constructed as is usual with Luke.

If one reads carefully the concluding words, Paul says nothing about the shedding of blood; the redactor of Luke did not wish entirely to abandon this term but connected it unfortunately with the words copied from Paul, in that, instead of speaking of a shedding of blood as in Matthew and Mark, he speaks of a shedding of the cup!

There is, however, in various old translations of the New Testament a third text on this point. Here the absence of the cup of the Supper is relieved by using the expression concerning the first cup in Luke, *after*, instead of *before* the cup. "And he took the bread and gave thanks and broke it and gave it to them saying, This is my body. And he took the cup and gave thanks and said, Take, divide among yourselves. For I say unto you that I shall not henceforth drink of the fruit of the vine until the Kingdom of God comes." Nothing is here clearer than that this form of the text is the product of necessity One feels the absence of the Supper-cup and remedies it by transposing the first cup, whose significance is no longer understood, and changing it into the Supper-cup.

No one can show how the first short text, above considered, could have originated without the Supper-cup—it is simply inconceivable. If one of the two forms of the longer texts is original why is the Supper-cup omitted, or why does the one of the longer forms replace the other? On the other hand, it is very evident how, if the text omitting the Supper cup is original one sought to help himself by using the first cup in Luke or the words in Paul as a supplement. We must, how-

ever, hold fast to the fact that Luke has reported the institution of the Lord's Supper originally with only the words, "This is my body." Our more useful text is indeed very old for already the heretic Marcion (140 A. D.) was acquainted with it, if the enthusiastic Paulinist did not himself place it at the conclusion.

III.

What took place in the night of our Lord's betrayal? On the morning of the day—it was Thursday—Jesus sent Peter and John ahead to prepare the meal in the house of a friend. Much favors the idea that it was the home of Mary the mother of Mark—a house in which the Christians later held their meetings. Mk. 14 : 51. Acts 12 : 18.

Towards evening Jesus came from Bethany into the city. The expressions characterize his frame of mind during this last meal. "Having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end." John 13 : 1. And with words, in which joy and sorrow are strangely blended, he took the cup for the first time; he had desired greatly to partake once more of this meal with his disciples. He knew that this would be the last meal for a long time in which he would be united with his disciples in sad fellowship. Something like the voice of sunset permeates these words—the sun goes down in order to rise in another world.

But at the very beginning of the meal a sharp dissonance interrupted. The disciples contended as to who was greatest. That would manifest itself in the order of sitting at the table. Judas later occupied the seat next to Jesus. That is noteworthy! One might infer from it that he was a participant in the dispute. At the one side of Jesus sat John, to the place at the other side Peter might have laid claim; which claim Judas challenged. The inner unrest, the anxiety from the clear eyes of Jesus pierced his own and forced him involuntarily close to him whom he wished to betray. Judas asserted in boisterous words the value of his own services—to him was due the one place beside the Master, the other was left without

contention to the personal friend. It is true that Luke 22 : 24 reports this dispute *after* the supper, but Jesus' word that he was the servant of the disciples, clearly places a parallel to the foot-washing, reported only by John, which occurred at the beginning of the feast. (John 13 : 4). And the remarkably excited rebellion on the part of Peter against the foot-washing suggests the thought that he would render his own modesty prominent in opposition to the pretensions of Judas. Judas won in the contention. We can picture a part of the table. Beside Jesus, on the same cushion, with head inclined upon our Saviour's bosom, was John. (John 13 : 23). On the other side of Christ, Judas had taken *his* place, for between the two a subdued conversation occurred. (Matt. 26 : 25). Besides John, Peter had placed himself, since he could also speak in a whisper to John. (John 13 : 24).

The strife was scarcely over when the Lord arose for a wonderful deed. He had according to the ritual, as house-father to wash his hands. But he did more. He laid aside his upper garment and binding an apron about him, he began as a slave to wash the disciples' feet. He went probably first to Judas, then to John and then to Peter. But then Peter broke forth, he will have nothing of it; "Should *you* wash *my* feet?" But Jesus assured him that he needed this service; so he consented. Jesus showed himself to his disciples as a servant, giving them an example just the opposite of their disgusting wrangle.

Then perhaps the question as to the meaning of the meal was broached and Jesus answered it. Perhaps he spoke of Salvation and Revelation as was the custom. But no pen has preserved these words for us. Then Jesus took up one of the mazzas lying before him and breaking it, he divided it and accompanied it with the words, "This is my body. This do in remembrance of me." Only a short time previous had he said that henceforth he would no longer be with his disciples. Now they heard that they should repeat this meal, thus preserving his memory, and the bread should be his body. Judas also received this bread and heard these words. Then the un-

leavened bread, with the sweet broth and hyssop, was eaten. Judas received from Christ's own hand "*the bite*" and Jesus said to him, "What you do—do quickly" John 13 : 26–27). After he received the bite he departed quickly for he knew that Jesus saw even his thoughts. "But it was night," adds John, (13 : 30). And Jesus continually spoke wonderful words upon the service of love, his glorification, the hour of his departure and upon his new commandment. John has preserved much of it reproduced in his style.

Then the Paschal meal itself was partaken of. One noteworthy ceremony must be especially emphasized. In the midst of the evening the Paschal lamb was eaten. The blood of this lamb was once in Egypt the medium of salvation. Yet Jesus attached the institution not to the eating of the lamb, but to the bread and wine, before and after the Supper proper, This is however intelligible. Along with the bread the thought of the institution came to him; through bread, not through meat, was his presence to be mediated. But the wine corresponded to the bread.

On the other hand, the special preëminence of the blood explains itself from the thought which came to the Lord in partaking of the lamb. More definitely we do not know. Whether Jesus himself developed the thought of bread, which should be his body, mentally during the eating of the lamb—if he intended that the disciples meditate further upon his sayings, is a question of opinion—definitely we do not know. But we do know that once more after the meal he recurred to the matter. In connection with the Cup of Thanksgiving—the third cup—he spoke again concerning his presence with his disciples in the future, the cup should be to them the New Testament in His blood. The stream of hymns and words flowed on until the company stepped out into the dark night of the South and the *Son of Man* with unbroken consciousness of exaltation went forward upon the road to the Cross. What was discovered and spoken in that hour finds an echo in the wonderful words of parting, which John alone has preserved for us. Further into it we cannot go.

IV.

Another question weighs upon our hearts! What then did Jesus mean by the institution with which we have become acquainted? One thing is clear. He founded a *memory feast* which should be repeated—he expressed a promise which endures. So the disciples who shared that hour understood; and corresponding to it they formulated the words of the institution as Paul received them out of their circle—in accord with which that meal has been continually repeated in Christendom. Already the disciples of Emmaus had, concerning the breaking of bread, received the consciousness of the Lord's presence with them. (Luke 24 : 30–31). In the Lord's Supper we are not concerned with a transient emotion nor a material likeness, but with an institution and a promise.

But what meaning has it? One hopelessly closes the way to an understanding when he takes away the words of the institution from their connection and their entire setting, and then twists and interprets them like paragraphs out of a law book. At present the strife over "*is*" and "*represents*" is, historically speaking, fruitless, because "*is*" at the same time signifies "*represents.*" (Seven cows are seven years. Gen. 4 : 26) —and because the word "*is*," in the Aramaic language which Christ spoke, is not usually employed, Jesus could have said nothing else than "this (is) my body."

The historical understanding which alone concerns us here, must first of all rightly grasp the setting, frame of mind and feelings of the hour. Jesus had begun the celebration with the thought that he would not much longer mingle with his disciples in earthly fellowship. At the end of time, when the Kingdom of God was realized on earth, then would he first drink again of the fruit of the vine with his disciples. Two pictures were stamped upon the souls of his companions at the table. *Now* united with Him, He with them and they with Him, and then again upon the horizon of time when eternity dawns and when the great feast of Joy, of which the prophet spoke (Is. 25 : 6. 55 : 1. Ez. 34 : 14. Luke 22 : 30)

and which was not far distant—in Enoch (62 : 14) for instance we read, "The Lord of Spirit will dwell among them and they will eat with the Son of Man, the Messiah, with him lie down and arise through all eternity"—the table would be reunited, but in the glory of eternal completion. But what lies between? Far on stretched the street—he who is their life is not there, he belongs to another world. It is true he comes again, but in the near future the disciples were to be orphans. "Lord, we know not whither thou goest, how can we know the way," said Thomas on that evening. (John 14 : 5). Or is this meal capable of repetition—this hour, of being retained? It is true that the meal was capable of being repeated, but He of whom it treats is absent. And in the sadness of this consideration sounds his words, that they should repeat this meal in memory of Him and "This is my body."

In this connection what else can this expression signify than the promise that whenever the disciples break that bread, with that bread He, Himself, will be present. The bread should supply them with just what was missing; *His body, His personal presence.* The bread which the disciples should eat, keeps the memory of Christ alive and is to them *the body of Christ.* That is a thought to which the spirit of the hour corresponds. Henceforth the meals once held in common are to be without Christ, and yet He is present—the bread is his body.

The word "body" which the Saviour used, had in the language of His age, as also in the German of the Middle Ages, a wider import than at present. *The body was the entire person,* not only the visible organism of the individual. That Christ's body was to be present, signifies therefore nothing more than that *He, Himself,* was to be there. Jesus does not speak of his "flesh." The "flesh" is necessary as the complement of "blood." "Man is flesh and blood" Matt. 16 : 17, Hebr. 2 : 14. No, Jesus used the accepted conception of the body. The word relating to the body does not consequently prove that first one part then another part, the blood, would be present in the Lord's Supper. The expression concerning the body is much more definite, it signifies the entire presence of Christ,

it says that *He, Himself*, would *personally*—as we say—be present.

But it is clear that the institution of the supper was concluded with the expressions concerning the bread. The determining feature was clearly and definitely expressed and this thought needs no supplementing. This observation is indisputable. It is substantiated by the fact, 1. that Christ speaks of "*body*" not of "*flesh*," 2. that the expression relating to bread and that relating to the cup, do not directly follow each other, but the entire time of the evening meal intervenes between the two: it relates not to two co-ordinated factors in a transaction, but the relation is this—that to the comprehensive Institution itself a more definite explaining clause is added. This is very clear in Paul where the chief conception of the new covenant is in the cup. 3. So also the traditional words of the institution in Luke are comprehensible. The institution for him was fixed and definite with the expression relating to the Bread or with the assurance of the presence of Christ—the words relating to the cup he could, as adding materially nothing new, omit. As a result in the earliest years of the Christian era the Lord's supper was termed the "*Breaking of Bread.*" It is moreover by no means accidental that Mark and Matthew present it conspicuously; the cup was definitely given for all, and all had drunk; therefore one could infer that there were at the time people who held the cup as necessary. Also the existing custom among the rigid ascetics of the old Church, of using water instead of wine in the Lord's Supper, shows a peculiar freedom in reference to the cup. We can now understand it.

But what do the words of Christ, referring to the cup, mean? In general the answer is now easily given. The words relating to the body say that the Lord would be present, so the words of the cup define the manner and purpose of his presence. Jesus said "This cup is the New Testament in my blood." Attention must be called to the fact that "*in*" here, as frequently in the language of the Bible, has the significance of "*through.*" The meaning of the word is therefore this—this cup, that is, the wine in itself signifies or brings the new cove-

nant (the corresponding Greek word *diathcke* is perhaps better rendered through "constitution" or "order") which exists in virtue of the blood of Christ; Christ's blood is that which makes the cup the New Testament. That in itself can mean only, since Christ's blood was once shed, the cup is the symbol of the new dispensation instituted by Christ. But on the basis of the general understanding of the New Testament, there is doubtless a further consideration to be added to this thought, namely, the presence of this blood which established the covenant. Consequently the blood of Christ shed upon the cross should be so effective and present that it makes the cup the bearer of the new covenant. In view of this thought, there exists no diversity of Matthew and Mark in defining "my blood of the covenant" as the contents of the cup.

In order to understand this thought, we must associate it closely with the words relating to the Bread, the explanation of which it is designed to be. *The bread is the body of Christ* i. e. *the Lord will be present in this meal.* If it signifies further that the new covenant established in his blood would be there, it defines more exactly that the Lord is there as he who, for the sake of sin, suffered death and who thereby brings sinners the gift of a new dispensation. "The New covenant" is, according to Jer. 31 : 31–34, a sharply circumscribed conception: God writes his law upon the heart, or lets his will, as the Holy Ghost, operate in the heart of man, and God forgives sins. A new aim is placed in the heart. When the old nature is done away with, that is the new covenant. Matthew gives clear expression to the one side of this when he says of the blood of the covenant that it is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins. Of the necessity of His suffering and its redeeming import which it had, as well as of His Resurrection and Return, the Lord spoke frequently with His disciples during the closing part of his ministry, Matt. 16 : 21–28, Matt. 17 : 23, 20 : 18–28, 24 : 3, 27, 37. It was consequently no incomprehensible thought for them, that He, who had passsed through death would continually bring them the fruit of His death. If they had found time to reflect in this evening hour upon the words

of Jesus they might have more fully understood the true meaning of them. But just these words relating to the blood as material as it is, led into another sphere.

Jesus' presence at the Lord's Supper refers not only to a friendly fellowship or friendly visit, but to *the experience of the profit of His historical life.* He is present and he will be operative in us as he who realized the new covenant through the surrender of his life, and who now gives the new and does away with the old. In the highest and deepest would the human heart be governed by this fellowship, the inmost needs of the soul would be kindled and calmed, the sins disclosed and grace participated in. The presence of the Christ—the Christ indeed, who established the new covenant through His blood—*that* is the promise of the Lord's Supper and the import of the words of the Institution. If one has fallen to the rash conclusion that we could also content ourselves with the bread as the kernel of the Institution, our observation of the cup words, will have shown how mistaken such a conclusion is. Not without a reason did the Lord deem it necessary to add these words. It is upon the face of it self evident that Christ's presence is a presence of Grace (Gnadengegenwart), but the world finds it needful to have this continually presented to consciousness in every conceivable form and relation. So the words relating to the cup explain to the soul the purpose and significance of Christ's presence or more practically, in receiving the bread the soul centers itself upon the feeling, the Lord is present; in receiving the cup they lift up themselves in gratitude and prayer for forgiveness and new life. They would not be wanting in a beaming countenance which proceeds from a joyful heart, who discovered upon the heights of existence the succor and strength of life divine. If this is the significance of the words of the Lord's Supper another question over which such contention has taken place, will easily solve itself—whether then the first Supper was really *a Supper.* The body and blood of Christ, in the physical, or if one prefers, in the glorified sense, the disciples surely *did not* receive; only sophistries of the worst kind could be used as proofs to substan-

tiate such a view. Was therefore the first Supper no Supper? It was indeed a Supper and moreover, it was *the Supper.* Christ, the redeeming Lord, who forgives sins and gives a new life, sat *real* and *present* in the circle of the disciples—he was as *effectively* and as *really* present as he is with us in the Lord's Supper. But one might perhaps, ask, what had this presence to do with the bread and wine? I believe a great deal—in that the Lord gave to the bread and wine a *definite form* and a *special significance.* It brings the disciples to the consciousness, therefore, of what his presence in this hour meant to them. It is not the presence of a mortal approaching death, but it is the presence of him who remains with his own until the end of the world and it is not the presence of our earthly master, but it is the presence of Him who gives up his life and thereby makes his disciples participants in the new dispensation. What they receive and experience in partaking of the bread and wine is clearly expressed in the words of the Institution. Through this Supper the entire meal received its character; it becomes a royal feast. The Lord who enters into death is the eternally living God—and he from whom life was taken is he who voluntarily surrendered his life that he might inaugurate a new order of life. That, the words of institution, combined with the bread and wine, enabled the disciples to experience. *This experience* is, however, the *gift* of the Lord's Supper—the redeeming sovereignty of the present Christ, it was also the gift of the first Lord's Supper. Through reflection on what the disciples should have by reason of Christ, it became very clear to them what they had received in this hour. The first Supper was then a *real* Lord's Supper.

Yet one question may be suggested! For explanation we will enter upon it even though it does not, in the narrow sense, belong here. Later ages have asked the question whether the Lord's Supper, was only a symbol or whether it presented *reality*, whether it is to be rendered by "it signifies" or "it is." Severe struggles have taken place over it, and the question even now weighs heavily upon many hearts. But we no longer stand under the pressure of this point of view of the struggle,

we quietly direct our steps to the words of Christ and examine whether they will give us an answer. They answer adequately and fully. If one says that the Lord's Supper is only a symbol of the presence of Christ, one does not arrive at the import of the words of the institution. No! *The Lord's Supper is the presence of the Living Christ* as it is in the Apology of the Augsburg Confession. All the importance falls upon the personal presence of the exalted Lord a mystic fellowship takes place between him and those receiving, *He, Himself*, not only his body and blood is present.

But now if one says on the other hand, the bread and wine are no longer bread and wine, they are transformed into body and blood, or the body and blood are in some way substantially concealed in them—both are medieval Roman Catholic doctrines—it is an error. *Bread remains bread and wine wine*; in these elements Christ's body and blood are not concealed. As He presented these elements to his disciples they were in themselves nothing more than signs and symbols of the present Christ.

And yet as symbols they were the bearers and mediums of the really present Christ. It stands related to this fact in a similar way as to the words. The audible words are signs and symbols of the occasion, they are not *the thing* nor do they *contain* the thing—but they bring the thing—they pour reality into our hearts. They are in themselves transcient likenesses, nothing else than bread and wine, but through them one soul is presented to the other, and through them the deepest gifts are poured from one heart into the other. It is very similar with the bread and wine. In themselves they are symbols, as the baptismal water is in itself "mere water," but the institution of Christ brings about that this medium becomes the mediator of His presence. What we have in our hand or mouth that is the material sign, but what Christ is, and gives to our souls, *that* is the real operation of His saving and elevating presence and sovereignty.

V.

We have attained simple, comprehensive thoughts. It would

be useful, if we could find substantiation for them from early Christianity. It is first of all a highly interesting liturgical relic upon which we settle our glance. Paul wrote at the end of 1 Corinthians an autograph farewell greeting: "The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand."

"If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ let him be Anathema, Maran-atha The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. My love be with you all in Christ Jesus. Amen." 1 Cor. 16 : 21–24.

Preceding these words is the injunction to kiss "with a holy kiss" (ver. 21). That can be no empty form of speech. Paul would hold it for a certainty that the hearers, after listening to the reading of the letter would interchange kisses. Such a kiss took place regularly in the early Church before the Lord's Supper. Since also the Aramaic words *Maran-atha*, i. e. "come Lord" are likewise a liturgical form, one is justified in inferring that they and perhaps even more of the related words originated from the liturgy of the Lord's Supper. This form is employed in the conclusion of another New Testament book. "Amen. Come Lord Jesus! The Grace of the Lord Jesus be with you all." (Rev. 22 : 20–21).

But it can be shown still more conclusively that the *Maran-atha* stands really related to the Lord's Supper. We possess a very old liturgical hand book, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, which probably originated between 100 and 120 A.D., but several constituent parts of it are far earlier. In this booklet the prayers used in celebrating the Lord's Supper are given. At the end of the last of these prayers the content of which was used immediately before the reception of the Sacrament, it says, "Come Grace, and vanish this world, Hosanna to the God of David. If one be holy let him come, let him who is not, repent! Maran-atha! Amen!" The one prayer prayed that the Grace (which here signifies the gift of Grace as e. g. Eph. 3 : 2, 1 Cor. 16 : 3, 2 Cor. 1 : 15) would come and that the world vanished so that he would not think of it, not be anxious about it, but be able to concentrate all his attention upon the gift of Grace. He then breaks out in the call, with

which the Lord himself was once greeted upon his entry into Jerusalem (only here he is termed, "God of God" instead of "Son of David" Matthew 22 : 43); then followed the injunction that only the holy (saints) should come and immediately before the reception of the holy sacrament Maran-atha, "Come Lord," was used! That was then, indeed, what was expected, the coming of the Lord, his real presence. Preparation for the Holy Celebration led up to this expectation and prayer. The *Maran-atha* is therefore—as is now certain—a constituent part of a Sacramental prayer.

That is an excellent substantiation of our understanding of the words of institution. Just what was expressed in the words: "This is my body" as a promise, finds exact expression in the "come Lord," as a believing prayer. The soul awaits the personal presence of Christ, as is promised. The booklet of which we speak knows not only of the "spiritual food" but also of the "spiritual drink" and immortal life appears as the peculiar gift of the Lord's Supper. The Aramaic form of the words *Maran-atha* shows that not only Paul already gave them as usual but that they go back to the beginning of Christianity. How the Apostles in Jerusalem understood the Supper is shown by both expressions, they are mirrors supporting our explanation of the words of Institution. It may be mentioned that the form and thought lingered still in the old gnostic "Acts of Thomas." "Come and have fellowship with us" was also used preparatory to the Supper. Even so the personal presence of Christ is presupposed when Paul narrates the wanderings of the children of Israel in the wilderness, according to a Jewish legend they had drunk out of a rock which accompanied them and adds, "But the rock was Christ." (1 Cor. 10 : 4). For it is clear that he related all with the purpose of making it correspond as much as possible to the Christian conditions. Of weight is also Rev. 3 : 20, "See I stand before the door and knock, if anyone hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him and will sup with him and he with me." These are words which rest upon

the original understanding of the Lord's Supper, as to the personal presence of the Lord in the Supper.

VI.

After we have learned the original import of the Lord's Supper, arises the question as to whether the Lord's Supper had undergone a development before the time in which the New Testament books originated. The celebration of the Lord's Supper was originally just what the name signifies. In the evening they voluntarily gathered for the "Agape" or Love-feast. The character of friendly and fraternal fellowship blended naturally with the religious purpose. The spirit of this circle was full of religious thought, the minor questions of daily life adjusting themselves at convenient moments. A wonderfully high spiritual atmosphere must have existed on such evenings. The Spirit of God had awakened great enthusiasm in many of the participants which expressed itself in words of doctrine, injunctions, prophecy or in ecstatic utterances. Then moreover, such as the Apostolic letters were read in these evening gatherings, for it is scarcely accidental that the summons concerning the "holy kiss" is appended to several of the New Testament Epistles; again it is possible that wandering teachers and missionaries related their experiences here. The meal was partaken of and at the close the fraternal kiss was exchanged and they turned in prayer to the Maran-atha and the consciousness of the presence of the resurrected Lord sealed in their hearts what they had heard and learned.

Whoever carried a sin in his conscience communicated it to the brethren and learnt in joyous certainty that his Lord had forgiven him, and all were moved in their inmost self by the power of the new life. As soon as they experienced the presence of the Lord and in this fellowship drank the cup of Immortality, the consciousness of eternal life revealed itself. Still peaceful earnestness and a strong joy of salvation from this sinful and transient world, continually penetrated the heart. The secrets of the soul which were grasped from their Lord, were here experienced. How rich indeed is the New Testament

language in expressions of holy feeling and emotion, of varied experiences and strivings of a pious soul. We are today not entirely capable of appreciating this psychological realm and much of it has become empty expressions to us because we are no longer accustomed to differentiate so closely.

The external form of the gatherings easily reveal themselves. The Supper of Jesus was a Passover-feast, but his institution without consideration of the Passover-feast, made use of bread and wine, the two simplest elements of every meal. The meal was eaten very early and was then followed by the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Bread and wine which in the last Supper of Jesus were separated from one another by the meal, were thereby enjoyed as today one after the other. What Paul said concerning the Agape in Corinth substantiates this. There were people who were drunk before the celebration proper was reached and who therefore received the bread and wine in an unworthy frame of mind (1 Cor. 11 : 21–28). The matter is made still clearer in the "Teaching of the 12 Apostles." First of all thanksgiving was expressed for bread and wine, which gave the entire meal its religious character. Then later, when all were satisfied, followed the Lord's Supper's prayer itself. The conclusion of which has been above considered. The wonderful charm of an intimate circle must have dwelt upon this gathering. But it conceals also great dangers. The social features might prevail and cliques arise. The rich mingle together as upon an ordinary society picnic and the poor look hungrily and enviously on. When it came to the celebration the rich were boisterous and the poor abashed and insulted and both were lacking in the proper disposition. In the eleventh chapter of 1 Cor. we find a portrayal of this. With righteous anger did Paul combat this. "These houses are there only for eating," he said, consequently the meal is here incidental. And combating this unworthy worldliness which caused the bread of the Lord's Supper to be eaten like every other bread, he said that it was instituted in memory of the death of Christ. The climax of his injunction is in the words, "For as oft as

you do eat this bread and drink of this cup ye do show forth the Lord's death till he come."

He further referred to the fact that whoever ate and drank unmindful of the body of the Lord, ate and drank judgment to himself. Death and sickness in the community Paul attributed to this.

These observations of Paul are historically of the greatest importance. Paul has, I. called special attention to the worshipful character of the meal. II. He has given the meal the character of a proclamation of the death of Christ. III. He has made known the moral requirements for the enjoyment of the Lord's Supper. That corresponds entirely to the method of Paul. This powerful spiritual man had a deep aversion to everything disorderly or superabundant, he was above all temperate and practical. The Holy Spirit, who like an electric fluid moves through time, unites himself with the Word of the Evangelical Proclamation and with the appointed Baptism. Corresponding to this he lays special stress upon the worshipful character of the celebration of the Lord's Supper. And he always interpreted the presence of Christ, as definitely and as concretely as was possible, and Christ who had given his blood for salvation is one upon whom they should all think; his redeeming death is to permeate the soul. These three points present an advance. But this advance signifies no departure from the thought of Christ but it develops and adopts all according to the concrete needs. In connection with the first and third is this self-evident. But in connection with the second point, Christ himself has defined more fully his presence which he promised the disciples through the new covenant established by his death. One could not recall that hour without remembering the darkness of "the night in which he was betrayed," without pondering over the fact that through His death, one acquires the gift which His presence brings. Paul was right in his restriction, for thereby he gave a deeper insight into the matter. That the Lord lives, that the *Maran-atha* was real, was for him, as for his teaching, a self evident presupposition which needed no special expression.

Only one point in the interpretation of Paul—and this the simplest and most self evident—gave occasion in later history for serious and fatal error. That is the expression, "he eats and drinks judgment to himself." One continually confronts the misunderstanding that Paul considered the Lord's Supper was a kind of secret deadly poison to the unworthy participant. The matter assumes thereby a rather gloomy aspect, and the result is that one interprets the term "worthy"—which Paul moreover *did not use*—in a sense of moral perfection and thus made it a deterrent to the participants of the Lord's Supper. Still the matter is very simple. The "unworthy" are those who take part in the Lord's Supper without the necessary earnestness; who partake of the bread as of any other favorite food without "discerning the body." Of the frivolous, Paul says that they eat judgment to themselves, not *the Judgment*; and he refers also in this relation to the sickness and death in the community. It is entirely clear that *the* judgment and condemnation are not here spoken of, but that the Apostle speaks here of the *earthly punishment* which they should bring to consciousness and thus through this judgment be saved from condemnation. He expresses this in perfect clearness in 1 Cor. 11 : 31–32.

It refers *not* to an eternal casting off, but to a *disciplinary suffering*. It does not assert what holds true for the Lord's Supper only, but it should be the universal truth that God disciplines those who regard lightly that which is holy that He might thereby rescue them for eternity; the bodily death can be such a bodily discipline as enters to rescue the soul (1 Cor. 5 : 5).

Just as here the reference is to *eating* judgment to oneself, one can threaten the unworthy hearers of the Word also with *hearing* judgment to themselves. In this incitement of Paul's, is rooted the custom of the confession of sins before the communion, concerning which custom *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* already speaks. That this confession later became a special rite with us is known, but cannot be further considered in this place.

We can, unfortunately, follow the process no more closely, since the same tendency which we have already seen in Paul gradually divested entirely the social character of the "Agape" and transformed it into a constituent part of the external cult. Already in 150 A. D. was such the case according to the testimony of Justin the martyr. After the reading of the Gospels on Sunday morning and the leader had preached, the Lord's Supper was celebrated. The Lord's Supper had ceased to be a meal and did not take place in the evening. The familiar and social harmonizing character, the sincere and intimate tendency vanished and instead existed a fully developed ritual—a doctrine of the Lord's Supper. "We are taught" said Justin, "that the food is the *flesh and blood of Christ.*" Then remained over of the old common meal, (Gemeinschaftsmahl) the "holy kiss"—but the time came in which occasion was given to warn of Judas' kiss—and the gifts which were given for the poor. The Agape robbed of its kernel, was transformed, it became either a wanton Supper or a meal for the poor. It was internally necessary that the Lord's Supper separate from it; externally came the slander reported by the Jews and believed and repeated by the heathen, that the Christians ate the flesh of a child, and wild unchastity—the kiss—followed upon their gatherings. Yet one can look upon the separation only with a sad spirit—a bit of fraternity was thereby lost. Will the time come, when Christianity will consider the restoration of the old Agape—the renewal of fellowship of the deepest kind?

VII.

But still a second line of development in the history of the Lord's Supper had its origin in the New Testament. We have seen that the bread and the wine were naturally taken together as parts of one holy rite. In the bread, the body was received, and in the wine the blood of Christ.

Already Paul writes, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of

Christ." (1 Cor. 10 : 16). The word which we render participation "*koinonia*" signifies fellowship in the sense of participation as well as communication. The latter would be the sense here, bread and wine is a gift which consists of the body and blood of Christ. Body and blood are communicated; together they form the Christ whose coming is awaited. This is really no material change of the institution of Christ; both are to serve as the *medium* of his presence. But a new light comes into the matter: the form of expression involuntarily causes a concentration of attention upon the presence of the body and blood rather than the *one person* of the Lord.

But first in opposition to this stands the term "body." The body is the *whole*, the blood only a *part* of the body. When one had accustomed himself to coördinate the two, nothing was more natural than to use the term "*flesh*" as identical with "body." Flesh and blood are the two coördinate constituent parts of the material man. Thus the logic of evolution led to the new form "flesh and blood." It confronts us first in John's Gospel.

John spoke in the 13th Chapter of the last Supper; but he did not repeat in his own way what the Synoptics had related; he supplemented it historically. But it was his method to study the life of Jesus with the eyes of religious contemplation. What he experienced in the exalted Christ, that he found again in the earthly sojourn of the Lord, and what the Lord expressed much later, that John saw already fully contained in earlier incidental intimations. He must, as he did, let Jesus speak his own language, for that, which the exalted Christ accomplished in his heart through his earthly words, determined his understanding of these words. One who appreciates this peculiarity of John's Gospel will not be surprised upon finding Jesus' view of Baptism expressed in the conversation with Nicodemus (John 3), and his view of the Lord's Supper in the words of John 6.

Christ stated in that discourse that he is the "true bread of life," through which life is given the world. (6 : 32–40). In opposition to the objections of the Jews this thought was still

more narrowly understood. "The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world (51). Again the Jews contended and again the thought was more narrowly defined. "And Jesus said unto them, Verily, Verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life: and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed and my blood drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him." (John 6 : 53–56). Then murmured also the disciples and Jesus said, "Doth this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before. It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life." (6 : 61–63).

It is a wonderful section. From it one can learn the whole of John. Our relation to the Lord's Supper is unquestionably intended. The connection of the discourse is clear—it centers itself upon the Lord's Supper. Christ is the real, true and appointed bread; and more, this flesh is not only *the appointed food*, it is also *real food*, it must be eaten and the blood drunk. Thus was the circle drawn continually closer, continually compacted, and the whole heaven shone suddenly upon him. The Lord returns again to heaven, he is Spirit, the Spirit created eternal life—the disciples themselves experienced that in the words which Jesus had spoken to them. That is the connection of the passage. In order to understand the thought correctly it is necessary to arrive at John's fundamental conception. The Word, the eternal spiritual Logos, became flesh. (1 : 14).

Now all is clear. Flesh and blood is the form of the Lord's Supper in John, we eat and drink flesh and blood, and thereby Christ enters into us and we in Him and we have eternal life. But this does *not* mean that it depends upon the flesh and blood—these accomplish *nothing*—but it means that the heavenly Christ is the Spirit (2 Cor. 3 : 16) and enters into us and gives us eternal life *through this fellowship*.

The fundamental thought is clear and it reproduces Jesus'

thought full and simple: the exalted Lord, the Spirit, comes to His disciples and brings them the new eternal life. But the Lord is no other than he who wandered as flesh and blood among men, the historical Jesus. That was indeed the fundamental conception of John—the first letter, continually gives utterance to it in opposition to opponents—the heavenly Christ is Jesus and Jesus is the heavenly Christ. Then too the *man Jesus* continues to live; and to partake of him means nothing else than to appropriate his life-giving spirit.

So John thought. He conceived the *person Jesus* as bodily in heaven, but the divine spirit served as his being and activity. The corporeality in some way came into contact with his disciples, but the Spirit was its being and content. Characteristic are the parallels with Jesus' words: as the external words were the only media of the revelation of spirit and life, so flesh and blood are only the media of the personal activity of the life creating spirit. Questions which might suggest themselves to us did not trouble John. To him, the word of the Lord, that he would be bodily present, and yet as a divine spirit, sufficed. As the heavenly *Logos was* effective as *person*, *so he is now* also. The holy paradox of the appearance and working of Christ continues in the Lord's Supper. What he once brought humanity through his words, namely *eternal life*, that and nothing else, he brings also now in the Sacrament.

At the end of the apostolic age we meet once more with Jesus' conception of the Lord's Supper, clearly comprehended and rightly adapted. And yet the form of John was fatal to history, for the form, as such, was new and presented occasion for a misunderstanding of the institution of Christ. John said, "Flesh and blood;" this to him meant *the person*, still it opened the door to a serious misconception, as though not the personal Christ but only his flesh and blood are the characteristic gift of the Sacrament: As though these "*glorified*" constituent parts of Christ passed as a medicine into one in order to permeate and render *immortal* his *mortal life*: as though the words "*the flesh accomplishes nothing*" had never been written. New problems and questions which had very little in common with

the simple import of the institution of Christ, attached themselves to this.

They began to consider how the bread could be body and came finally to the conclusion that the material elements were *transformed* into heavenly elements. Then followed the reflection upon the unfathomable question as to how the body of Christ could be omnipresent where the Lord's Supper is celebrated, and thus were occasioned contentions which were far enough from the simple thoughts of Jesus. But all these questions extend beyond the field of our theme—they were as necessary as the shell which protects the kernel—many historical forms have this purpose, but every age needs the kernel. The outward form changes with the age.

Perhaps many readers expected in conclusion a restatement of the various theories of the Lord's Supper as they have stirred the world from the time of Justin, Iranæus and Origen to Luther, Zwingli and our own time. But these questions cannot be discussed in passing, since in order to understand *why* such questions arose many things must be considered—and without the mastery of these questions it would be useless to answer them. The history of doctrine of the Lord's Supper is a problem in itself, it must here suffice if we have learned to understand the institution of Christ as it was understood by the disciples. In one of our church confessions, as we have already stated, the gift of the Lord's Supper is expressed in the word's "*the presence of the living Christ*," consequently *that* is the kernel of the institution.

May we still today count upon an understanding of these words? Can we still present the Lord's Supper to the modern world as the highest gift; or has it become an antiquated symbol, strange and powerless, only laboriously roused to apparent life, through sentimentality. So not a few religious people think. It is no effective counteracting force if others hold fast because of their reverence for the old forms and also force their families to do the same, because they are conservative minded. Of course it is well meant and it can also result in good. But a merely conservative tendency is not sufficient

for us. The decisive question always remains, Is it really of importance to *me*—do *I* experience blessing and strength? It depends upon personal faith, experience and possession. No custom can replace it, no doctrine can arouse it, and no earthly power can give it. Christ gives it.

Christ gives it. It does not follow from this that we now be silent and wait, if Christ gives it. He gives it, but he gives through *our* word. Of Christ and his gift are we to speak; not dead words, not unintelligible and meaningless forms are we to use nor are we to maintain ourselves upon any earthly authority. How often does an empty, meaningless form hinder him, to whom it is addressed, from understanding and appreciating it? Words upon the accepted traditional faith often become an obstacle to faith and the fences, which should protect that which is holy, conceal the entrance to it.

Therefore should we hold fast to the words of Christ. They are simpler and more powerful than anything else. Therefore we should speak out of the internal understanding that we have obtained from these words, and before speaking, we should embody this understanding in our life.

And the others, primarily the young, who are lacking in that understanding of the matter, who see and hear only forms and rites and who find nothing, that they hear or learn, substantiated, these are to cherish the *holy earnest*, the natural joy of those who strive to obtain the prize, as the guide which God has placed along their life's pathway. They are not to selfishly close up the mind and to use the vanity of their explanation as cotton to stop their ears. They should endeavor to come to the foundation of the matter; which foundation is the word of Christ. Our respect for the family, for the community of Christ, and for our Lord himself, we cannot show sufficiently through external participation or contemplative silence, but through the internal movement of investigation, search and struggle. The Lord's Supper is worthy of it and Christ who gave it places every Christian who participates under obligation to such an earnest quest. To this end also this little book

proffers its assistance. It is not written for the curious, but for those who crave a new life.

Or is the matter such that all investigation and search are meaningless and useless? If the sun has set, who cares to seek its rays. If Christ is dead, a hero of a past age, who should seek his living presence. But the sun has not gone down and Christ is not dead. It is not other, than it once was. The Lord lives, they who hear or read his words, discover it. A *mighty overwhelming will* forces its way into their souls; they experience the power of a present personal life, they realize that they are in the presence of their God. They can escape Him, but, they do so condemning themselves, with a guilty conscience. He lives and works; thousands proclaim the sovereignty of the Lord of humanity, of the eternal will, their hearts filled and moved with blessed rejoicing, and innumerable are the evidences of his presence in quiet faith, in pure love and in happy hearts. We hear it and it permeates our inmost self—*The Lord of the world's history is my Lord.*

My Lord! Miracles encompass his course through the world today—real miracles—when he forms new men out of Sinners, when he makes the despairing strong, the faithless rejoice and transforms the invalids into *whole* (well) people. *He is my Lord.* Should it then be an impossibility for him to come near me in the hour of celebration—to press into my heart with the glorious power of his person and with the gifts which first open to me the hidden needs of my soul in order to satisfy it! Yes, why should it be impossible when he has promised it and has observed all his promises?

Also what he has promised as to the Lord's Supper will become a reality in us. It is so simple. Let us pray *Maranatha*, "*Come Lord*" and let us have faith to experience, "This is my body."

ARTICLE II.

"CHRISTIAN BELIEF INTERPRETED BY CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE."

A review and an appreciation of Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall's Barrows Lectures of 1903–1904.

By Edwin Heyl Delk, D.D.

Whether we accept or reject the modern point of view in the realm of theological thinking we, as a group of students and watchmen in the Kingdom should familiarize ourselves with its content, method and spirit. What we Americans call *The New Theology* had its rise in Germany. To Ritschl, more than to any other modern theologian must be attributed the systematic formulation of the primacy of "value judgments." His distinction between "religious" and "theoretical" thinking furnishes the *motif* in all later subjectivism in the sphere of theological thought. Sabatier in his *Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit* denies the finality of the traditional Roman Catholic and Protestant sources of authority, i. e. Church and Bible, or the philosophical basis presented by Ritschl. Foster in his latest book, *The Finality of the Christian Religion*, a work which involves a destructive criticism of authority-religion and a constructive treatment of Christianity as an inevitable outgrowth of human nature is based upon so called "religious" reasoning in distinction from that objective, phenomenal method of approach to Christianity which we have been taught to consider as the only legitimate and safe form of procedure in the study of historico-biblical questions. Dr. Cuthbert Hall's book *Christian Belief Interpreted by Christian Experience* is not purposedly based on the subjective method of interpretation, and it is still further removed from the New Theology in the content of its teaching but in its spirit his book belongs in that class of latter day studies of religion which has value-judgments as the basis of its methodology. To point out the common foundation underlying all religions and to present the

claims of Christianity to be regarded as the ultimate religion is the purpose of the book.

Dr. Hall was noted as a lucid preacher, a devoted pastor and later as an executive officer in one of our leading Theological Seminaries. When he was asked to write a series of lectures upon the Barrows Foundation, to be delivered in India, he at once commenced a book study of the Hindu people. His earlier general acquaintance with the main formularies of Hindu thought was reinforced and broadend by three years of special research for his book. His knowledge of the people quite as much as their thought brought him into a sympathetic attitude and the main line of his study was not to look for the blemishes in Hindu thinking or practice but recognize the worthy and helpful thinking which the Orient may bring to the final interpretation and actualization of Christianity. But there was a weakness in all this study at long range—a danger which is illustrated in Max Müller whose estimate of the Hindu religion would have been modified if he had ever visited India and seen the Hindu worship and life at close range.

Besides the sympathetic intellectual attitude of Dr. Hall towards Hindu character and thought he adds a most gracious spirit and winsome manner of expressing his respect for and intense interest in their religious problems. No one can resist the charm of his attitude and literary style. There is little wonder that he has been recalled to deliver another series of addresses in the Orient. Added to his openmindedness and subtle charm of style is a spirit of devotion which is so distinctly characteristic of Oriental thinking.

Six lectures make up the book. The first chapter of the book is devoted to a discussion of The Nature of Religion. Dr. Hall begins with a gracious recognition of the religious temper of his Indian audiences. It is because the study of religious beliefs has become a scientific comparison of relative spiritual worths that new interest has been added to the whole subject of religion. The fresh interest arises from three further causes. We are now convinced that beneath all racial differ-

ences mankind is essentially a unit. The same fundamental needs call for satisfaction and the religious problem becomes enlarged by the very unity of the race. Further the condition of the human race is not fixed but advancing as towards a goal. Every form of faith, therefore, acquires an evolutionary significance as a contribution toward the progress of mankind. Thirdly Dr. Hall insists that it is not by a study of animism that the origin of religion can be best learned, but from a study of its highest forms and that these point to a yearning for the Infinite which is common among men. This world-wide yearning and aspiration found in the noblest faiths can be accounted for only on the ground that it is God in man calling forth the innate religious attitude.

Hindus naturally look askance at any Occidental attempt to teach them religion. They may rightly claim a higher antiquity for their faith. Then there is a lack of correspondence between East and West. The difference of philosophic point of view is another barrier to a free approach to common problems but Dr. Hall claims to speak not as a Churchman but a university man; not as a controversalist but in the spirit of gentlesness and fellowship. He begs of his Eastern auditors to make three corrections in their accustomed estimates of Christianity. There should be an elimination of the political entanglements of Christianity—its relation to Western militarism and civil propaganda. The disentanglement of Christianity with ecclesiastical forms and sectarian disputes is needed for a true consideration of its value. Further, the moral unworthiness of its nominal representatives must be eliminated before a candid and fruitful examination of the essence of Christianity can be commenced. Christianity is not a product of the West. Christ towers above European civilization and is independent of it. There must also be a historical retrospect which recognizes that the Aryan people were the common ancestors of the Indian and the European. The Christian religion was not derived from either the Aryan of the East or the Aryan of the West but from a Semitic people. Israel was unique—"a destroyed nation but an indestructible people." The extraordi-

nary supremacy of Judaism in religious thinking has impressed her beliefs upon all mankind. Asia not Europe is the cradle of Christianity. The philosophical adjustment recommended is not the surrender of intellectual inheritance, but the broad minded effort to understand the intellectual positions of others. As men we should open our hearts to the understanding of one another.

The second lecture is entitled: "The Christian Idea of God." The goal of all knowledge is God. Empiricism would limit our knowledge to phenomena and supplies no basis for a philosophical conception of God. The fundamental postulate of Christianity is that there is a God and that he may be known. Hinduism apparently makes the same declaration at least it has the same aspiration. "He who knows Brahma attains the highest." This correspondence of purpose between Hinduism and Christianity relates the faiths, however, much they may differ in the conclusions reached.

Both ideas "God" and "human personality" must first be defined in terms of Christian belief. The deistic or transcendent method intensifies the distinction between God and the world. Christian theism is unable to entertain this view of God because of its dualistic conclusion. A transcendent God is but the crude assertion of such an anthropomorphic idea as is repugnant not only to pantheism but also to Christianity. On the other hand the method of negation, i. e., denial of the reality of phenomna leads to a concept of an undefinable Absolute without attributes or qualities. It is difficult for us to appreciate what fascination this conception of the infinite has for the Oriental mind. The explication of this tendency to denude the idea of God of all attributes and to conceive of Him as pure being is one of the most interesting and instructive portions of Dr. Hall's book. The idea is a reflex of the opinion entertained by the Hindu of life itself. Escape from all the weariness and confusion of existence is a state to be longed for. All life is illusion. Surely then one mark of the infinite is escape from all the possibilities of disturbance, and the attainment of a colorless calm undisturbed by any elements of personality. The Supreme

self is the only reality. All personal distinctions in the phenomenal world is a limitation of the infinite. Pure being is freed from all attributes suggested by human personality. So impressed was I with this explanation of Hindu pantheism that I wrote to Dr. Hall asking him for a further statement upon the subject and venturing to ask if he thought climatic as well as racial peculiarties were not at work in creating this attitude of mind. This is his reply by letter.

I am somewhat terrified by your proposal that I should undertake to comment in any way upon my own book, which seems to me so inadequate, but it is entirely possible for me to reply to your two questions.

First—The tendency of the Hindu mind is to find its chief interest in the contemplation of a metaphysical Absolute as the only Reality, and throughout the various philosophical systems of Hinduism runs the common disposition to regard all personal distinctions occurring in the phenomenal universe as essentially unreal because their reality would constitute limitations imposed upon the Absolute. You can readily see that this line of reasoning accounts for the disposition to eliminate from the idea of the Absolute all personal attributes on the ground that such attributes, if existing, would be in the nature of limitations.

The Hindu does not object to deities possessing personal attributes; even many Hindus consent to my position taken in the Lectures attributing to God the various personal attributes which in Christian thought are associated with God, but the Hindu declines to accept that characterization of God as final, or rather as ultimate, and says "Back of all this that you have described there lies the real Absolute, which is Pure Being, undifferentiated by any personal qualities whatsoever.

Under the influence of modern conditions this extreme position of philosophical Hinduism is being insensibly modified and not a few Hindu thinkers are moving toward a conception of God which involves attributes of personality. I think that the tendency as a whole is in a measure connected with climatic conditions and the racial qualities of contemplation

and introspection naturally developed under those climatic conditions."

Let us see now how Christianity is differentiated from all pantheistic systems of religion by its method of reaching a conception of the Infinite one and by its estimate of human personality. Pantheism aspires toward the complete elimination of content, its ideal being *simplicity* of being. Christianity also advances by the path of negation toward the Supreme Self, but having eliminated finitude and reached the concept of the Simple Absolute, it proceeds to fill the Simple Absolute with the attributes of Infinite Personality, an inexhaustible wealth of qualities and mode of being—the fullness of Him that filleth all.

Christianity differs also in its estimate of *human* personality. The Idealistic Monism of the Hindu finds no reality in personal being or experience. From the Christian point of view, the individuality of God carries with it the logical necessity of the individuality of man. Self completing of divine personality involves its expression in terms of corresponding finite intelligences. Here appears the necessary definition of the second phrase of the title of this series of lectures. What is this "Christian Experience" and what is its value as a basis of computing religious truth? Dr. Hall takes the ground that, for his purpose, in the present course of lectures, it is not the objective or historical value of Christian truth upon which he builds his argument but upon the subjective and relative worths—the personal experience of the Christian believer.

By experience he means the totality of what the individual self in man thinks, does and suffers. Of course Dr. Hall contends for the reality of personal experience as over against the pantheistic diction that experience is delusion. The term religious experience would express the sum of effects realized through feeling, conscience, reason, and conduct in the self-consciousness of a believer in a religion. "Christian Experience" is a term which describes the totality of effects realized through feeling, conscience reason and conduct in the self consciousness of one who yields himself intellectually, ethically and spiritu-

ally to the ideas affirmed in Christianity. Christian Experience stands for the measure in which Christianity makes life in this present world more worth living, sustaining it with rational consolations, enriching it with productive ideas, broadening it with educative convictions, equipping it with social adaptations, inspiring it with glorious hopes. The Christian religion rests its appeal to the individual life upon its belief in God and its belief in man. God is transcendent, immanent, and one. The four elements suggested for consideration are: The Timelessness of God. His Presence. His Character and His Manifestation. The last paragraphs of the second lecture are devoted to an explication of this Christian conception of the timelessness of God as over against the method of pessimism, fatalism and theosophy in dealing with time-relations. God is shown to be independent of time-relations and the Christian can exclaim "The eternal God is thy refuge."

Lecture Third entitled "*The Lord Jesus Christ the Supreme Manifestation of God*," develops the three other elements suggested—Presence, Character and Manifestation. The timelessness of God has little religious significance apart from the presence of a self-conscious, self-determined life. The whole earth is filled with God but it is not the non personal undefined God of pantheism. God's life in the world gives continuity and significance to the world and individual life.

The presence of God is to be viewed in connection with the character of God. There are two notes in the character of God of supreme significance to non Christian faiths and which constitute the glory of the Christian revelation. "God is light" and "God is love." Man needs the light of God upon his ethical problems. To know God as love both in character and relation is to transform all the horror and unfaith of life. The self manifestation of God is the outcome of his loving personality. This manifestation is made through nature, through history and through the spiritual illumination of man. The Holy Scriptures is the epitome of this evolving, progressive manifestation of God. The fullest self-revelation of God is made in the person of and the sacrifice of the Lord Jesus

Christ. God's moral character is manifested most conclusively in the terms of concrete personality. The Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ is not the birth of a hero, but the revelation of the character of the Eternal under the form of time. A still further distinction must be urged in this manifestation of God in Jesus Christ, i. e., that it is a revelation of the eternal principle of Sonship that is in the Deity. This manifestation of Jesus is the answer to the Oriental desire of escape from life itself. Jesus offers a way of escape through *fullness* of life. "'Tis life whereof our nerves are scant, More life and fuller that we want." "I came that ye might have life and have it abundantly" is Christ's reply to the human need.

The fourth lecture is entitled "The Sin of Man and the Sacrifice of Christ." The *fact* of sin persists whatever interpretation is entertained of it. Our conception of sin is determined by our conception of the nature of God and of finite personality. The primary message of Christianity is deliverance from sin through a Saviour which is Christ the Lord. The contest between evil and good is recognized by both Hindu philospher and Christian prophets. "The good that I would I do not, but the evil that I would not that I practice." What is the way of escape? Is it along the path suggested by Buddha? There is a half truth in Karma. The righteousness of cause and effect in a moral order, the justice of suffering as a sequence of sin, the nobleness of submission to retributive pain have not duly tempered Western character nor curbed the pride of individualism. But Christianity does not regard moral evil as a metaphysical necessity, inherent in the nature of things, so that the existence of evil is necessary to the existence of good and the estate of sin, the condition determining the evolution of virtue. Essential Christianity locates the seat of evil in the will of man. Prof. James says "The willing department of our nature dominates both the conceiving department and the feeling department. Our wills are ours. The self assertion of the ego is not sin. It is the exercise of man's most god like prerogative. Righteousness is the self-assertion of the finite ego in accord with the Divine order of being. "Sin"

says Dr. Clarke, "does not dwell in the fact that man still retains a nature akin to animals below him, but in this, that the nature that is akin to God yields to the nature that is common to man and beasts."

"I come" says Christ "not to call the righteous but sinners." Sin at base is rebellion against the will and person of God. The sinner spurns the love of the Infinite Father. Christianity recognizes the fearful resultants both socially and individually of sin, especially in the inner character. The world-old note of sadness is being superceded by a new note of faith and promise. It may appear as social reform, a new sense of brotherhood or a dream of universal peace. There has been a growing appreciation of the value of human life. Where to obtain power for the realization of social ideals is the quest of thoughtful minds. Jesus is the answer to our problem. Christ with His gift of immediate life and power is the answer to our impotent despair. This is not an academic question, but a question of fact. No aspersions are cast on Hindu faith but with kindly finger we point to Jesus Christ and His Holy Sacrifice as the true spiritual redeemer. It is this experience of the life giving Spirit in the individual and social life which may be verified on the open pathway of contemporaneous conduct to which we appeal. He condemned sin by His death "the last sufferings of Him whose Spirit was holiness and whose life was love disclosed, arraigned, convicted and condemned that madness of self will in man which stops not at the denial of its best Friend, the crucifixion of its Redeemer. His sufferings were a self-expression of the love of God."

The fifth lecture on the "Ideas of Holiness and Immortality interpreted by Christian Experience" begins with a resume of the work accomplished by Christ. To say that holiness is the ideal of Christianity is to say nothing distinctive. Other faiths exhibit the same ideal; other faiths produce examples of piety. It is only by ascertaining the connotations of the term, in each instance that we discern its specific relation to life and its contribution to a solution of the great and terrible problem of moral evil. In primitive stages of religion, even such a funda-

mental word as holiness lacked ethical or spiritual meaning. W. Robertson Smith says "While it is not easy to fix the exact idea of holiness in ancient Semitic religion, it is quite certain it has nothing to do with morality and purity of life. Holy persons were such, not in virtue of their character but in virtue of their race, function, or mere material consecration. But the essence of the Christian conception of holiness, like the essence of the Christian conception of sin is not external and ceremonial but inward, ethical, spiritual." The seat of the moral evil is in the will; even so the seat of holiness is in the will. The essence of holiness is normal relation to God. Undoubtedly the deepest and broadest element in that foundation is the absolute beauty of the character of God. In the person of Christ all moral beauties and glories meet. It is the holy perfectness of Self-Hood—not that he speaks the truth but *is* the Truth; not that He goes about doing good; but that he is Incarnate Holiness.

In correlation with this element of the Christian conception of the Holy Life stands the moral reason of man, with its power to estimate ethical values and to make rational appeals to conscience and will. For man is of common essence with God, in God he lives and moves and has his being. In attributing to God and man a correspondence of moral essence not shared by animals, Christianity makes philosophical implications that lead away from one of the most ancient, most widely diffused, and most influential conceptions of religion—the transmigration of souls and their reincarnations within the bodies of animals.

The characteristic attitude of the holy life toward sin is determined by the Christian conception of sin. The attitude of the holy life toward sin, therefore, involves the elements of appreciation, antagonism and sorrow. The appreciation of sin is progressive in Christian experience. Its gravity is increasingly known and felt. With the appreciation of sin is coupled antagonism towards it. Because of the life in Christ it measures the selfishness that can subordinate religious and social duty to the sway of passion. With appreciation and antagonism is

joined, in the holy life, sorrow for sin. It is impossible for one who enters the Orient in a sympathetic spirit, to look without emotion upon the detachment and concentration of mind, the renunciation of externals, represented in the mighty paradox of Yoga—the extinction of self in order to the attainment of self. It has its kinship with Jesus' words: "He that loveth his life loseth it, and he that hateth his life in this world keepeth it unto life eternal."

But beneath the transitory form of life which to the Christian as well as Hindu seems but as the vapour that appeareth for a little while and then vanisheth away, is reality, the reality of the divine intention. A man is an incarnate thought of God. In Me God expresses what he expresses in no other. I am an individual. With this idea of individuality is joined consecration. I will yield my whole being to his will concerning me. The further fact of stewardship due to a suffering Saviour becomes a duty and joy. Further, prayer is both the expression of this individual relation and the instrument by which the soul comes into more perfect communion with God. The full significance of that loving spirit does not appear until we consider it in its attitudde toward society. The mind that treats life as something to be escaped and illusory may develop on non-social lines. Indeed it would logically lead to calm indifference to want and suffering. Esoteric solitude is easily substituted for social service. With Buddhism, the Christian ideal of the noble path is love, beneficence, compassionate, patient, magnanimous social love. The human being—not a caste not a race—should be the unit of value, because of what a human being stands for as an individual. Every religion must entertain some thought concerning the soul after death. The idea of immortality, says Max Müller, "was the common property of all Indian philosophers." This life is a brief step on an endless pathway. The Hindu Karma, however, with its endless incarnations, is indeed more than impressive it is oppressive. To get the Christian point of view, it is necessary to recall the postulates that have conditioned all our thinking in this study of the lectures; the Personality

of God and the reality of the finite individual, the soul of man not an illusion, but a veritable emination from the Absolute. Upon this basis Christianity builds its joyful doctrine of immortality. Man is, in a sense, necessary to God, just as God is necessary to man; each soul is precious in God's sight as a means of His self-fulfillment. A communion like this is not born for death. The more profound and penetrating it is, the more complete God's self-importation and man's capacity of receiving it, so much the more clearly is man bound up with the abiding-ness of God. The gift of God, the royal bounty, is eternal life. And this gift, in all its fullnes of good, is made the sure possession of each obedient soul in and by Christ, the manifested God, the Incarnate life-giver. "I am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die." To the Christian the soul is the off-spring of God, and its individuality is not a blinding veil to be rent in twain and cast aside; it is a glorious endowment to be maintained forever. Death is but a physical incident in life. The eternal life of personality is realized here and now by the enlightened Christian. To Christian experience the value of this belief, as adding to the worth of existence is inestimable.

The sixth and closing lecture is titled "*Reasons for Regarding Christianity as the Absolute Religion.*" The author takes for granted that all who are interested in human well-being desire the best for their fellows. The wide and scientific discussion of all human schemes of betterment necessitates a comparative study of religion. Never in the West was there a more firm conviction of the essential truth of Christianity. Our author now defines his use of the word "Absolute." There is nothing of the monarchial idea to be associated with the conception. By absolute he means a universal religion—one not provisional, local, temporary or approximate, but abiding, fitted for all time and peoples and climes. The note of universality must dominate its conception of God and the social ideals and knowledge.

"The characteristics required of any religion to meet the tests of universality," the author enunciates, are "suitability of origin, breadth of philosophical method, strength of moral initiative, and hopefulness." These are to be found in Christianity. Its first qualification helps it to meet the objection that "the West will never abandon its religion in favor of one imported from the Orient, nor will the proud and thoughtfnl East ever humble herself to acknowledge the supremacy of a Western cult." Says Dr. Hall:

"No humiliation of national spirit, in any quarter of the world, would occur, should there be an intelligent movement of convergence upon the religion of Christ as the common basis of thought and effort for the time to come. If the circumstances attending the origin of any faith could prophesy universality, such a forecast of destiny appears in the religion of Jesus Christ. It sprang neither from the ancient and powerful seats of Oriental empire, nor from the palaces and universities of Europe; but from Palestine, a land whose political individuality long before had been obliterated, lying midway between East and West, the highway of nations, the cross-roads of the world."

Christianity meets the second test of breadth of philosophical method in its "thinkableness in terms of more than one intellectual system."

"No other thought concerning Christ's relation to mankind appears to enter his mind than that his illuminating words and his sacrificial work alike are for the use and advantage of the undivided human race. That those who were most closely associated with him in the days of his flesh and best understood his thought thus apprehended it, appears from the whole range of the Apostolic teaching. They conceived their message to be so broad that it could be translated without difficulty, not into the vernaculars of the lip only, but into the vernaculars of the mind, of all races. For Christ himself was not, in their thought, ethnic, but universal; not the citizen of a local state,

but the Incarnate Representative of Humanity even as also the Incarnate Manifestation of Deity."

Concerning the third and fourth qualifications we read:

"The religion of Jesus Christ finds the reason for its existence, not in ceremonialism, not in the propitiation of gods, not in despair, but in the effort to make man better. It rests on the assumption that good not evil, is the normal lot of man; that love, not hatred, is the temper of the heart of God; that sin, not fate, is the barrier standing between man and happiness, the plague whose poison courses through the world. The religion of Jesus Christ exists through its strength of moral initiative. But for this it would have perished in its youth, for all faiths conspired to crush it out.

"With this strength of moral initiative, the religion of Jesus Christ joins hopefulness, which is the fundamental condition of social recovery and reform. * * * A ceremonialism that becomes an end in itself, existing to perpetuate a method of antiquity; a bitter creed of fear that makes of one's mortal life a weary effort to avert the wrath or caprice of god; a doctrine of despair that turns thought inward, in sad refusal to believe in external reality, in mute, submissive separation from the glorious energies that gather volume with each new struggle for victory—these are religions which have won immortal distinction in history by their loyalty to the past, by the sincerity of their adherents and the brilliancy of their leaders, by their enormous contributions to the religious development of the world. But, in the unfoldings of time, and with the advent of forces, scientific and social, that have opened the world, developed its resources, augmented its knowledge, and altered its point of view, that which humanity waits for as the character of redemption is a religion of hope, a religion in line with the future, a religion in sympathy with all the people, a religion that develops individual character and educates men to know and claim and exercise their God-given rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. And of such a spirit is the religion of the eternal Son of God."

The closing word's of Dr. Hall's notable book are these. "Not from us but from Christ and from His Holy Scriptures

of truth shall the deep spiritual insight of the East receive the revelation that shall be incorporated with its own traditions and assimilated into its own institutions. In the day when the vigor of the West and insight of East shall be joined by a true union of hearts for the interpretation and practice of the faith of Jesus Christ, then, and not till then, shall the Unspeakable gift of God be understood, appreciated, and expressed on earth."

Such, in crude outline, is the body of fact and reasoning which Dr. Hall presents in his book. In and of themselves the lectures are worthy of our careful study but it is because they are illustrative of the modern point of view in the treatment of Christian apologetics that they find their chief claim to our consideration. There are three reflections I would like to suggest before I close, what I fear has been, a prosy paper. The first is a consideration of the modern basis of Christian theologizing contrasted with the older method of constructive theology and apologetics. The second is the mention of the missing note in this book i. e. passionate suffering and sacrifice in the redemptory work of God in Christ. The third is the needed balance which such a purely intellectual estimate of Hinduism should receive from a practical, first hand knowledge of the every day beliefs, cultus and life of heathendom in India and other eastern countries. First as regards the modern basis of presenting the claims of Christianity. When I say "modern point of view" I refer to that university group of historico-philosophical writers which has given up a belief in an authoritative, objective revelation in sacred literature and base their thinking upon a psychological and ethical interpretation of the Christian beliefs of both the Biblical writers and the Ecumenical creeds. In method, content and spirit they differ vitally from the older theologians. It is ours to ask how much of truth is there in their contentions. Must thinking men surrender the older position and go over to the extreme position of the subjectivists. Let us see. Evolutionism and Historical Criticism of a materialistic and naturalistic type have destroyed for this group much of the credibility of the Biblical sources of theology. The comparative study of re-

ligious beliefs and the psychological analysis of tribal myths and legends warrant, so these gentlemen think, the conclusion that from some primal fetishism or spiritism there has been developed the higher expressions of religious faith. Further, that in a critical study of the Old and New Testament undeniable traces of myths, legends, witchcraft, thaumaturgical wonders apocalyptic visions and dogmatic purpose tend to distort the historical reality of the Biblical narratives. This attitude toward the Holy Scriptures is shared to a considerable extent by men who are not only sincere theists but who claim to be distinctly Christian in their belief. "Value judgments" psychological, historical and religious have taken the place of a theology based on an infallible body of literature. the dominance of the purely *historical* point of view in estimating the value of Biblical truth has produced two antipathetic schools of theological writers. One of these has reacted so violently from all philosophical and historical certitude that it has made "Christian consciousness" the norm and organ for the determination of Christian truth. It harks back to Kant and his "Practical Reason" for its justification. It finds in Ritschl, Herrman, Sabatier and now Foster its chief exponents. Like all great movements of thought it contends for a truth but as I firmly believe only a half truth. It is the natural reaction from an objective dogmatism and has ended in an idealistic subjectivism. The truth or rather half truth it represents is this i. e. the final test of the genuiness and inspiration of the Bible is not determined by the fact that a book is canonical. The canonicity of certain Biblical books is still in debate between different Christian bodies. The fact of the exclusion or inclusion of certain books in the Bible was determined by a consensus of Christian judgment—a judgment based on Christian insight, feeling consciousness. Now, we are told, this same "Christian consciousness" has been further developed and certain accretions of early Christian belief must be eliminated in order to secure a true portrait of Jesus Christ and his original deliverances concerning God, the world and man. The ignoring of philosophy and a strictly historical method of investigation is thus superceded by an ethico-Christian subjectiv-

ism which seeks to re-establish the main beliefs of Christianity on the basis of spiritual needs and experience and Christianity's satisfaction of these needs and aspiration of life.

On the other hand, the purely historical school of which Harnack is the present protagonist and who finds a close second in Prof. Schmidt of Cornell University still seeks by a literary and psychological analysis of the Christian documents to separate the Christ of dogma from the Christ of history. But as Loissy has pointed out Prof. Harnack has given us a Protestantized, individualized portrait of the Occidental Christ and has not escaped from the subjectiveism which must always accompany any individualistic literary attempt to recover the historic Christ. The attempt to eliminate the metaphysis of St. John lands the purely historical writer in barren phenomenalism which ends in a portrait of a mere Galilean saint satisfying neither the philosophic, or theistic thinker. My own conviction is that there is no inherent contradiction between a truly balanced Christian consciousness and the historico-philosophical view point. History, philosophy, and Christian consciousness are all needed for a true interpretation of Holy Scripture.

Just here an answer made to my second question asked of Dr. Hall may be of great value in giving poise and comfort to our old fashioned belief in the value of metaphysics. He says, "The interest of the Western mind being very largely focused upon the external and phenomenal universe, relates itself naturally to the historic data. The interest of the Hindu mind being, for reasons aforestated, focused inwardly upon a conception of pure being, it follows naturally that questions of fact and history are matters of relative unimportance.

In approaching the East with a religious message, I have felt it to be my duty to take note of these varying intellectual tendencies and my general position is that the introspection which characterizes the East is just as necessary to a full interpretation of the Christian content as is the interest in historical data which characterizes the mind of the West. My objective point has been that which appears in the closing sen-

tences of the sixth lecture, namely, to point out that East and West are mutually necessary, the one to fulfill the other, to the end that a completely adequate interpretation of Christian religion may be brought about.

The weakness of the West is its tendency to dwell on the historic surface of things and to disparage the mystic impulse which is persistent in the soul of man. The weakness of the East is to give all its interest to the indulgence of the mystical tendency and thereby to undervalue not only historical facts and distinctions but (which is infinitely more important) ethical facts and distinctions."

Dr. Hall believes that the full Apostlic message is the only form of the gospel history which will satisfy the Hindu mind.

The second reflection I offer upon Dr. Hall's book is that he has made an inadquate presentation of suffering as the constant and imperative note in the redemptory nature and action of God. I wish to be absolutely fair to Dr. Hall at this point as in all other points which I have tried to present. The writer of the lecture does refer to the suffering Christ and speaks of the vicarious nature of that suffering but I feel that the note of sacrificial suffering which is struck is not adequately sounded. I am not pleading for any special theory of the Atonement but contend that in any adequate presentation of the Atonement wrought by Jesus one must relate the suffering of the Son to the very constitution of God. I am not afraid of the old doctrine of Patrapassianism. There was a truth at the core of what was once looked upon as a heresy. God did suffer in Jesus Christ if He has any of the true father's nature, concern and love for His sinning, lost children. Dr. Hall may have been tempted to keep back the idea of a suffering God because of its likelihood of arousing repugnance in the mind of his Hindu audiences, or he may have contemplated a further development of the redemptory work of God in Jesus for a later series of addresses. We feel keenly however that the lack of a strong presentation of the passion of our Lord is a defect in Dr. Hall's splendid book.

The third and final remark I wish to make upon the value of such a book is this i. e. That its purely intellectual treatment

of Hindu theology needs the balance of a first hand, practical knowledge of the popular cultus and life of the devotees of Hinduism. The early Avestas and the popular beliefs of the man in modern Beneares, are two very different things. A religion which inculcates the thought that a woman is less worthy to enter the temple than a cow, that tolerates the degrading phallic symbolism of its shrines, that gave its living children to the Ganges, that applauded the immolation of living widows on the funeral pyre of their dead husband, that still stretches its penitents on a bed of spikes, that calls unclean men and women who, by the accident of caste, are born into a different social stratum of society, that has no genuine pity for starving men and women, that makes slight distinction between the truth and a lie, which taught that a Brahman might steal from a lower caste without fault and made a peccadillo of murder when committed by a Brahman, however much it may contain of mystical, and impressive thought must never be treated apart from its grossness of cult and moral monstrosities of real life. It is well for us to recognize the good in all the great ethnic faiths but we must always bring religious thinking to the practical ethical test of Jesus—"By their fruits ye shall know them." For the patient, submissive spirit of the Indian we have the tenderest sympathy but for his pessimism and prison bands of caste we have only pity and condemnation. India's true hope and assurance of progress lies only in the proffered liberty wherewith Christ can make her free. I confess I fail after a careful consideration of actual Hinduism to see what specific practical contribution Hinduism has to offer in the interpretation or actualization of a fuller, truer, Christianity.

ARTICLE III.

THINKING THE THOUGHTS OF GOD.

By Rev. Jesse W. Ball, A.M.

More than half of human history, it has been said, is wrapped up in the first commandment of God to the human family to "replenish the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the heavens and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth," (Gen. 1 : 28). Man's dominion rests upon his likeness to God; for just as He is supreme over all in power and authority, so to man, created in His image, He gave authority over the earth and its creatures. Why should we not, then, look upon the great achievements of man in extending his knowledge of the world, and in bringing into his service the various elements and the forces which work through them, why should we not look upon these as so many indications of the relation normally existing between man and his Creator, in short as evidences of the divine image in Man? Two features of the divine image appear to be clearly indicated by St. Paul when, for example, he exhorts (Col. 3 : 10). "And have put on the new man which is renewed in *knowledge* after the image of him that created him," and when again (Eph. 4 : 24) he speaks of the new man as "created after God in *righteousness* and *true holiness*." Therefore our catechism answers the question, "In what did the divine image consist?" by saying, "The divine image consisted in knowledge, righteousness and true holiness." It may be that the knowledge referred to has to do primarily with knowledge of God and of religious truth. But surely "knowledge after the image of Him that created him," involves something more, potentially at least, if not actually realized. And since all knowledge is so intimately connected, part with part, is not all knowledge in a true sense knowledge of God and of religious truth. In this spirit, Lord Tennyson wrote:

"Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies,
Hold you here root and all in my hand,
Little flower—but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all
I should know what God and man is."

These two aspects of The Divine Image in man, knowledge and moral character, are worthy of our serious study and reflection. Our subject today connects itself with the former, which I trust I may be permitted to treat in a manner perhaps unusual in theological discussion, our subject for to-morrow with the latter.

When Kepler was working over the observations of Tycho Brahe, particularly those relating to the planet Mars, and could find no other solution of the observed irregularities of its orbital movement, he determined to try the ellipse as a possible explanation. To his surprise he found the result that which he had been seeking. The planet was moving in an elliptic orbit having the sun as one of the foci. Subsequent observations showed that all the planets move in similar orbits and that a straight line joining any given planet with the sun always sweeps out equal areas in equal intervals of time. Kepler's laws are said to have been second only to Newton's great discovery of the law of gravitation in fruitfulness for astronomical science. It is said also that when he had verified his great discovery Kepler exclaimed in rapture and delight, "O God I think Thy thoughts after Thee." Perhaps in that utterance there might have been found a discovery even greater than that of the movements of the planets, namely that in all really scientific discovery, and in all logical reasoning that is perfectly conclusive, there is in a true sense a Thinking the Thoughts of God.

Another discovery in astronomy which deserves to rank with that of Kepler, namely the discovery of the planet Neptune, points in the same direction. Not long after the planet Uranus had been discovered by Hirschel it became evident that the planet had been observed, though not recognized as a planet, as early as 1690. When the effort was made, however, to compute its orbit accurately it was found impossible to recon-

cile the earlier with the later observations. As a result the earlier observations were rejected. But even then discrepancies between the observed and calculated places soon appeared and increased constantly. In explanation more than one astronomer at last put out the suggestion that the irregularities might be due to a hitherto undiscovered planet. The first serious attempt to deduce the position of this hypothetical body was that of Adams in 1843. By October 1845 he had constructed an orbit for the new planet and assigned it a position differing by less than 2° from its actual position. No search for it, however, was undertaken. Meanwhile the French Astronomer, Leverrier, had taken up the problem and by Aug. 31, 1846 had determined the orbit and the position of the disturbing body. He thereupon requested Dr. Galle of the Berlin observatory to search for it. On the same evening, Sept. 23, 1846, he found, close to the position indicated, a strange body showing a small planetary disc, which was soon recognized as a new planet, known now as Neptune. The error which led to this remarkable discovery never exceeded 2′, a quantity not noticeable by the ordinary eye.*

To many no doubt these and similar facts serve merely to illustrate certain brilliant achievements of men of science. But how, we may fairly ask, are such achievements possible. What is their significance? Here are discoveries made, not by accident, but by direct effort and calculation from the felt necessities of thought, discoveries not in the immediate world which lies about us, but upon the outer edge of our solar universe, at distances measured in terms of the speed of light and otherwise practically inconceivable. Here it is found that the movements of the heavenly bodies occur in terms of our knowledge of space relations, that they are capable of being measured in the forms with which we are familiar, and with such exactness that hitherto unknown bodies have been located with wonderful definiteness. Their relative positions with reference to the sun, moon and earth and to each other may be accurately foretold years in advance, so that eclipses may be indicated to the exact day and hour. Or past events may be

* See Berry's Brief History of Astronomy, p. 371.

similarly constructed. How can we resist the conclusion that the same mind that formed the worlds and built the universe, of which our earth is so small yet important a part, determined also our inner world and gave to our minds forms of thought that correspond with His own thoughts as expressed in this vast world of ours? And may we not say further that the impulse to trace out these relations is in a measure inspired by Him? It is not surprising, therefore, that an astronomer of reverent mind should find himself thinking God's thoughts after Him.

The growth of astronomy has depended largely upon the development of mathematics. Number and order are present in all things. They may be traced in the arrangement of the leaf spiral upon the supporting stem. They lie at the basis of the musician's art and are the secret of his power to enchant. They are involved in all measurement and constitute the very framework of almost every science. It was this fact of number and order that so impressed the ancient Pythagoreans as to be made the foundation of their philosophy, so that they hold number to be the very essence of all things and already in that early age spoke of the music of the spheres. Plato felt their influence and it may be clearly traced in his Idealism. But how is a science of mathematics possible. Kant brought out very clearly that the mathematical relations which are found in everything do not exist alone in our outer world, but are likewise forms of our thinking, having their basis also in the mind. Experience can not give the exactness of mathematical science; for it can at best furnish approximations, more or less accurate. The constraining force of geometrical reasoning, for example, is due rather to the very constitution of our minds. But is it not wonderful that mathematics which of all subjects is the most exact, more than any other the product of pure thought and accurate reasoning, is yet also found in the very framework of the universe, that number and figure with which we deal abstractly are involved in all existence? Is it not so because in the creative mind itself these things have their primary being?

Leaving this line of thought for the moment let us follow

another which is more closely connected with investigations and experiments that are much in the public mind at the present time. The brilliant results that are being obtained in plant breeding reveal an ability not only to discover certain laws of growth but also to control these, in a measure, so as produce entirely new results. At last the school-boy's prophecy seems to have been literally fulfilled, "There a'n't goin' to be no core." The success of the navel orange prompted similar efforts toward perfecting the apple in the way of eliminating the hard pockets containing the seeds. Mr. John F. Spencer, of Grand Junction, Col., is credited with having carried his experiments to a successful conclusion. It is claimed for the seedless apple that it is also wormless, since the worms that injure the apple crop draw their sustenance from the seeds. Likewise it is said that it is immune from the late frosts that play havoc with the fruit-grower's calculations, and that it can be grown in almost any climate.

An experimenter of greater note is Mr. Luther Burbank of Santa Rosa, Cal., to whom the Carnegie Institution has awarded the sum of $10,000 a year for a period of ten years in recognition of the value of his work. His method of plant development is thus described in an address delivered before the International Plant Breeding Congress, 1902; "Plants having numerous representatives in various parts of the earth possess adaptability in a much higer degree than the monotypic species; for having been subjected to greater variations of soil, climate and other influences, their continued existence has been secured only by the inherent habits which adaptation demanded; while the monotypic species, not being able to fit themselves for their surroundings without a too radically expensive change, have continued to exist only under certain special conditions. Thus two important advantages are secured to the breeder who selects from the genera having numerous species, the advantages of natural pliability, and the numerous species to work upon for still further variations."

Mr. Burbank's aim is described by Mr. W. S. Harwood in his book, New Creations in Plant Life, as being three-fold:

1. "The improvement of old varieties of fruits, flowers, grasses, trees and vegetables.

2. "The merging of wild or degenerate types of plant life with tame or cultivated ones, in order that the union may be of service to both.

3. "The creation of absolutely new forms of life, unknown to the world before; the highest act of the plant breeder."

Mr. Harwood also gives us the following partial list of the most notable products of Mr. Burbank's experiments: "The improved thornless and spiculeless edible cactus, food for man and beast, to be the reclamation of the deserts of the world; the primus-berry, a union of the raspberry and blackberry, the first recorded instance of the creation of a new species; together with the phenomenal berry created from the California dewberry and the Cuthbert raspberry; and the plumcot, the union of the plum and the apricot, all three the accomplishment of what had been said to be an impossibility; * * * * the shasta daisy, a blossom five to seven inches in diameter, made out of a wild field daisy, a Japanese and an English daisy; gladioli of greatly enhanced beauty, taught to bloom around their entire stem. * * * * A poppy so increased in size that it measures ten inches across its brilliant bloom; an amaryllis bred up from two or three inches to nearly a foot in diameter; a calla increased in size until it measures ten to twelve inches in breadth and then, the process being reversed, bred down to less than two inches; the white blackberry, a rare and beautiful fruit and as toothsome as beautiful; thousands of varieties of lilies. He has greatly improved the plums, pears, apples, cherries, grapes, quinces, and peaches by selection and breeding; has developed many varietes of flowers, improving them in color, hardiness and yield; and has added much to the productiveness and edibility of vegetables."

These products have been developed in the soil and climate of California and it may be a question whether they would have sufficient hardiness to endure a more severe climate and less productive soil. In addition there has been a disposition in some quarters to detract somewhat from the claims made for Mr. Burbank. But after all proper allowance has been made

there can be little doubt that we are just at the beginning of splendid results from intelligent selection and inter-breeding among plants. In the partial control of the growth and development of plants have we not indeed something more than simple discovery, something beyond the retracing of thoughts? Is it too much to affirm that here is something akin to the exercise of creative power?

The recent award of one of the Nobel prizes to Baron von Baeyer of Munich serves to remind us that similar results have been obtained by the synthetical chemistry. For he is known for his contributions to organic and industrial chemistry, for the discovery of aneline dyes and the artificial production of indigo. *The Popular Science Monthly* (Jan. 1906) said of him, "His great work in synthetical chemistry entitles him to belong to the group of those who have already received Nobel prizes in chemistry — van Hoff, Fischer, Arrhenius and Ramsay."

It is said that nothing less than a revolution was created in one of the leading industries of England by the synthetic formation of alizarin, a substance used in dye stuffs and formerly extracted from the roots of the madder plant. A staple trade of France, Holland, Italy and Turkey with England amounting in one year to £1,250,000 sterling was thus destroyed. A half century ago alizarin was the most important of the natural dye-stuffs used by the calico printer and the turkey-red dyer. The chemist has changed all this and incidentally has put an end to an industry which had been carried on for thousands of years.

Vanillin, the aromatic principle of the dried fermented pods of certain orchids belonging to the genus *vanilla* can now be synthetically prepared. It is in fact made on an industrial scale in Germany and threatens to supplant the natural product as a flavoring agent in chocolates and confectionery.

Salicylic acid used, as an antiseptic and formerly obtained from oil of wintergreen is now synthetically prepared on an industrial scale.

A considerable number of the odoriforous principles of plants such as bitter-almond oil, oil of mustard, and the sweet-

smelling principle of meadow sweet (Spiræa ulmaria) have been prepared similarly. So also tartaric acid, the principle of unripe grapes, and citric acid, the principle which gives sourness to lemons, limes and oranges.*

By the aid of chemistry the task of man in subduing the earth has been wonderfully simplified. It has been of immense service to the agriculturist, the miner, the inventor, and to almost every other of the useful arts and sciences. It is itself the result of patiently pursued efforts to comprehend and control the primary elements and the manner in which they combine.

While upon this phase of our subject it is worth while to note, in passing, the progress that is being made in medical science along one line in particular. Hitherto most curatives have been drawn from the mineral and vegetable kingdoms. Physicians are, however, paying more attention now than ever to learning to use, for the prevention and cure of diseases, the agents developed and employed automatically in the animal organism itself. Recently, (Dec. 1905) the Bulletin of Pharmacy contained an editorial of unusual interest in which it is said:

"The antitoxine are the most brilliant examples of this class of nature's own remedies for her own diseases, and of these diphtheria antitoxin is the most familiar and effective. The diphtheria germ, gaining entrance into the human or animal body, and developing its peculiar poison or toxin, causes the organism to protect itself by the counter-formation of an *anti*-toxin, and this, unless the attack be a virulent one, will offset the effect of the *toxin*, without the patient's knowledge. Why, then, not develop this *anti*-toxin in potent form in a horse's blood by giving him more and more of the toxin, or poison as he becomes immune through the development of more and more of the protecting agent? And why not administer this potent *anti-toxin* in cases where the human body has been attacked with an infection, so virulent that it can not itself manufacture enough of the life-saving agent of nature? These questions

*See History of Chemistry, T. E. Thorpe, Sc. D., F. R. S., Prof. of Chemistry in Royal College of Science, London.

have been brilliantly answered, not only with anti-diphtheric serum, but only in less degree with other serums or antitoxins. The average mortality of diphtheria has been reduced from 50 or 55 to about 10 per cent., and thus has this dread disease been robbed largely of its terrors."

Mention is made also of the discovery of adrenalin, the curative agent for Addison's disease, invaluable also as a "blood checker" in surgical operations of the eye or nose. The editorial concludes:

"Only the very outlines of this large subject have been sketched in the foregoing, and only a very few remedies of the class under consideration have been mentioned. A volume would be required to cover the field properly, but it is hoped that our remarks will prove suggestive and will in a measure prepare the mind to receive the discoveries which are sure to be made in increasing number in the relatively new field of biological and physiological chemistry."

We find especially in the moral and religious progress of mankind likewise a tracing out of the thoughts of God for mankind. But convenience and the limits of our time make it preferable to leave for further and fuller development than would be possible in this hour the moral and religious life in their relation to the divine life. We shall find that the relation is not different from that indicated in the general development of the subject of this hour.

I leave with you therefore as worthy of being followed out more in detail at your leisure the lines of thought pointed out, for the field is practically without limit.

In doing so, however, permit me to call attention to that present trend of thinking represented by Lord Haldane, Minister of War in the new British Cabinet, and by others, who, viewing the universals of thought and language, find these to be universal and necessary because grounded in the Absolute, the final Reality, or God. Our forms of thought and sound reasoning have their logical force and carry with them conviction, because they are the traces, the manifestation, the evidences of the pervading activity of the mind that governs all and is immanent in all. The human mind is formed after the pattern of

the divine. In so far then as science arrives at permanent results, in so far as it discovers and formulates truth, it also reveals the true Reality. Science is, to that extent, revelation, an unfolding revelation of God in this age, much as the prophets and apostles and our Lord Jesus gave to the world the revelation of God upon the side of the religious and moral life in the past. Thus is sought a basis for the harmony of science and religion, in which the truth of neither shall be denied. I do not feel called upon to expound and defend this view of the world in detail. I simply bring it to your attention as something worthy of being noted and followed in its development.

This at least is evident, that, far from assuming an attitude of hostility or of easy indifference to the marvelous development of science in our age, or of leaving to the descendants of Cain the task of subduing the earth, the proper attitude of Christian men is that of following in a sympathetic spirit the progress of scientific achievement and of contributing thereto, always applying the apostolic rule to "prove all things" and "hold fast that which is good." In this way we shall most fully realize the destiny and proper activity of man. In this manner we shall come not only to realize, but also to fulfill the high place in the grand economy of God, portrayed so beautifully by the sweet singer of Israel in the eighth psalm:

"When I consider thy heavens; the work of thy fingers,
The moon and the stars which thou hast ordained,
What is man that thou art mindful of him?
And the son of man that thou visitest him?
For thou hast made him but little lower than God,
And crowned him with glory and honor—
Thou makest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands;
Thou hast put all things under his feet.

* * * * *

O Jehovah, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth."

ARTICLE IV.

THE MODERN "GEMEINSCHAFTS" MOVEMENT OF GERMANY.

By Rev. Richard Schmidt.

An adequate English translation of the German word, *Gemeinschaftsbewegung*, seems impossible; and an intelligible popular definition of the thing, very difficult; hence the unwieldy title of this article.

The term *Gemeinschaft* means association, communion, mutual interest; the thing stands for a voluntary banding together, for the purpose of exercising religious activities of various kinds. Thus, "Consecration" or "Christian Endeavor" movement (apart from the organization known by that name) might convey some idea of the subject of the article. The modern movement in Germany may be called the "Awakening of the dormant power of the Laity and the assertion of the same, independent of the regular channels of religious life, and of the established Church.

I. ORIGIN.

In the city of Zürich, Switzerland, we find as early as the beginning of the 16th century, private associations for the study of the Bible, and for other spiritual exercises. Under the pastor's direction, professors and students of the university and others met at regular intervals. The laymen were permitted to take active part.

These Swiss *Prophezeys* were the precursors of the "Prophesyings" of the English Puritans.

Then we find similar associations in Holland. These received even official recognition by the Synod of Dort.

In 1665 the first *Gemeinschaft* in Germany was founded within the old Reformed congregation at Mühlheim on the Ruhr. Others soon followed, especially in the Reformed and Mystic circles along the lower Rhine.

However, the main sources of the modern Gemeinschafts-

movement are found in the German Pietism and in the American-English Methodism and Evangelism.

Pietism, from the days of Spener, was kept alive in various parts of Germany, particularly in the different private associations of the little kingdom of Württemberg. These, despite grave errors and dangers, justly charged against them, exerted a most salutary influence, and proved a God-sent leaven against Rationalism, Socialism, and other destructive agencies. These Pietists also proved their faith with their deeds, by either beginning or by zealously supporting various "Inner-Mission" activities.

The Methodists had begun their mission work in Germany about the middle of the 19th century, planting vigorous congregations in Bremen Frankfurt, Heilsbronn and Karlsruhe. From their view-point, the work was a gratifying success, but to the State Church, it meant a grievous loss. Many of the best and most consecrated Lutherans, found in the warm spiritual atmosphere of the Methodist meeting house and class room, what they did not have, or did not suppose themselves to have in the State Church and joined the Methodists. Theodore Christlieb, professor of theology at the University of Bonn, had been pastor of the German congregation, at Islington, London, England, 1858 to 1865. There he had acquired an intimate knowledge of Methodist practices and of English Church life in general. He issued a pamphlet *Zur Methodistischen Frage in Deutschland*, (the Methodist Problem), in which he shows a full appreciation of the gravity of the situation, but he also warns the clergy of the State Church from falling into the method of wholesale condemnation of the Methodists and other sects, which invaded the Fatherland. "Do like the Methodists and make Methodism superfluous" was his advice.

We now observe the Oxford movement as the outgrowth of the first Moody and Sankey campaign in England. Its leader, Robert Pearsall Smith, another American layman, had been associated with Moody for a time. A number of Germans attended the Oxford meetings and caught some of the fire of enthusiasm for greater consecration and holiness by faith.

Returning to Germany they started an agitation for *A German Oxford.* Inspector Rappart of St. Chrischona and Otto Stockmayer were especially active. They induced Pearsall Smith to visit Germany. His way was paved by preliminary or preparatory meetings in a number of large cities. When he came in March 1875, first to Berlin, the largest churches and concert halls could not accommodate the throngs of people. Prominent pulpits, which never before had been open to a layman, were opened to this American merchant; and many pastors and leaders of the State Church attended, some even taking active part. Dr. Bædecker was chief interpreter, as Smith spoke in English only.

Some voices of caution and warning were raised by pastors Knak and Asmis, Dr. Waugemann and Dr. Ruperti (at one time pastor of St. Matthew's German Lutheran Church of New York City). The latter declared that "the Church of Germany was not so bankrupt as to be compelled to live off the alms of the sects."

But these earnest voices were drowned in the chorus of loud praise and commendation, in which even men like Dr. Fabri, pastors Buechsel, De C. Roi, Court preacher Braun, Jellinghaus and Dr. Hegel, president of the Berlin Consistory, joined.

Following Smith's visit, there was inaugurated a regular Evangelistic campaign after the pattern of the Moody meetings. Dr. Theodore Cristlieb organized the association for the evangelization of Germany. Dr. Adolf Stoecker secured the services of F. von Schluembach, a former officer of the German army, but at that time an American Methodist preacher. He, together with Elias Schrenk, a former missionary to Africa, held large and enthusiastic meetings in most of the large cities. In some cities the antagonism of the clergy and the apathy of the civic authorities frustrated the attempts to hold such meetings, but on the whole, throughout Germany the wave of enthusiasm was strong and general.

Schluembach also founded the Young Men's Christian Association of Berlin, which has grown to be a great power for good and a blessing to the young men of the German Capital.

II. ORGANIZATION.

The time was considered opportune for a permanent general organization of the evangelistic and consecration forces at work in Germany. A free conference was called at Gnadau, a little Moravian colony near Magdeburg. The time was May 22nd 1888. The call was signed by Dr. Christlieb and other prominent members of the Evangelistic Association, among whom were three influential, consecrated laymen, members of the nobility, Counts Edward von Pueckler, Andreas von Bernstorff and Jasper von Oertzen. The names of pastors and theologians of note follow, as Dammann, Jellinghaus, Mueller, Gess, Coerper, Dietrich, Schrenk, Stockmayer, Samuel Keller and Christian Jensen of the Breklum Seminary.

The purpose of the conference is given as follows: (1) Stronger emphasis of the doctrine of Sanctification; (2) Coöperation of the Laity, spiritual association, or mutual assistance toward a higher Christian life; and (3) free evangelistic work by all who love the divine Saviour.

This conference has been held every two years, about the time of Pentecost (Gnadau Pfingst-Conferenz). The attendance soon outgrew the accommodations of little Gnadau, and the meetings had to be held in larger places. The Conference organ is the monthly *Philadelphia*, edited by Rector Chr. Dietrich (Stuttgart) and pastor Ferdinand Brockes, (Bern), with 8000 subscribers.

The Conference has seventeen paid officials, among them several travelling pastors and evangelists. At the Gnadau Conference the prevailing sentiment is friendly, if sometimes critical, toward the existing State churches. The members wish to remain loyal Lutherans, Reformed or Evangelicals, as the case may be, though they reserve the right to act independently of the church authorities. Only members of the State churches have the right of voting at Gnadau, Methodists Baptists, etc., are welcome as guests only, though guests receiving the lion share of attention and consideration, at times.

However, as the Gemeinschafts movement comprises many Free-Church, Methodist and Baptist elements, Gnadau could not accomplish the impossible, i. e., bring all the divergent

Gemeinschafts interests into one organization or conference, and hold them continuously.

The Free Church and sect people in the "Gemeinschaften" made no secret of their antagonism toward the State churches, particularly—the pastors of the same, whom they called—*Staats-Beamte* (government officials), who could, not, if they would, properly care for the spiritual interests of the people. The State church was the modern *Babel;* to flee from it, the duty of every loyal servant of Christ. The various sects or denominations, which had invaded the Fatherland, were there by divine commission, and claimed at least the same, if not superior rights with the historic churches of the German Reformation.

These sentiments produced a call for another conference of all Gemeinschafts interests. The place selected was Blankenburg in Thuringia, where a Miss Anna von Wieling had for several years previous gathered Christian people of different denominations and nationalities into blessed and interesting meetings. She usually had prominent English speakers with all the paraphernalia of a warm and spirited revival meeting. Large numbers attended the annual meetings of the Blankenburg Conference; in 1901, 900 delegates; in 1905, 1400. The official organ is the *Allianz Blatt* with a body of able editors and contributors.

Here the principles of the *Evangelical Alliance* and the *Society of Christian Endeavor* prevail, and equal recognition and full liberty of utterance are accorded to representatives of all denominations and sects. Loyal members of the State Church are invited and welcomed, but naturally they do not feel at home at Blankenburg.

Within the past few years, a third attempt at general organization of all Gemeinschafts forces has been made. The move is really an attempt to reconcile and affiliate the Gemeinschafts people, (chiefly laymen) with the positive theologians of the universities, or in other words, to give this great movement some theological and scientific back bone.

Differences of opinion on cardinal doctrines, notably on regeneration, and later on the Inspiration of the Bible,

led to heated controversies between Dr. Lepsius and pastor Jellinghaus on the one side, against Count von Pueckler, pastor Brockes, Rubanowitsch and others. These controversies revealed an utter lack of appreciation of theological science and an absence of the historic spirit on the part of leading Gemeinschafts men. Their discussions degenerated into personal quarrels, fiercely attacked all theology as something human, and therefore sinful. Even Luther's and Bengel's theology according to Rubanowitsch, was not a God-given help, but a human weakness, for which they had to seek divine pardon. Pastor Paul at a conference declared that "he had not seen his old Adam for a long time," whereupon a brother uttered the pious wish: That brother Paul might have a grievous fall, so as to become acquainted again with his old sinful nature. Some openly declare themselves to be entirely free from sin and vessels of holinesss, though, it is said, even their ardent admirers find it difficult to believe that.

Thus both at the Gnadau and at Blankenburg Conferences, the position of calm and sober theologians and the university trained pastors of the State Church, was made more and more uncomfortable. In 1902 under Dr. Lepsius' leadership, men like von Bodelschwing and Adolf Stoecker, Dr. Warneck, pastors Dammann and Jellinghaus, and professors Cremer, Kaehler and Luetgert called a conference of Gemeinschafts interests to the Luther city of Eisenach in Thuringia. Von Bodelschwing and Stoecker brought the great "Inner Mission" forces to this conference. Since that time annual conferences have been held, and a great interest was manifested. Representatives of the Gnadau Conference were present at the first meetings and brought greetings. They also expressed the firm hope, that nothing might be done at Eisenach, which would disturb the friendly relations and the coöperation with the Mother-Conference at Gnadau. This hope was frustrated, when in 1904, the Eisenach Conference resolved, "to gather all conferences and associations which labor on the basis of the Church of the Reformation into an active coöperation and organization." This completed the rupture with the Gnadau

Conference (which claimed to be doing the very thing Eisenach proposed to do).

Whether Eisenach will accomplish, what it resolved, remains to be seen. So far the success attained, (numerically at least) is not very great. Some call the Eisenach people "Officers without an army." Certain it is, that the pastors of the State Church, and the leaders of positive theology, as well as the consistories and governing bodies of the Church, and also the various Inner Mission forces find at Eisenach a worthier recognition and more sympathetic appreciation of their labors and difficulties, than they found either at Gnadau or Blankenburg. Germany has also quite a number of other Gemeinschafts organizations, some of considerable proportions and activity.

Some of these are older than either general conference; some are distinctively Confessional, Lutheran or Reformed. The association of East Prussia under the leadership of the educated peasant, Ch. Kukat, is said to be more Lutheran, than Luther, the small catechism and the old Lutheran hymnal and prayer book virtually taking the place of the Bible with these humble peasants.

This complex picture of the organization, or organizations of the modern Gemeinschafts movement may in a certain sense be likened to the organization (if that word can be used) of the Lutheran synods in this country. Here we have also three large general and various smaller bodies and each one claims to possess the elements of a general and all inclusive organic union of the varied divisions.

III. ACTIVITIES.

The Gemeinschafts people are exceedingly lively and active. There is scarcely an agency of church work in Germany that has not been touched and benefitted by their enthusiasm. It is not only singing and praying and pious talking, that occupies them, but they also raise large sums for the propagation of their movement, and consequently their organizations multiply throughout the Empire. Home and Foreign Missions, Orphans' Homes, Hospitals, and Prison Work, etc. also

receive large assistance from them. The literary activity of the movement is astounding; provinces have their local papers, besides the general organs; and pamphlets and booklets on the particular views and phases of the movement are legion.

The affairs of the local association of a city or province are usually managed by the *Brueder-Rat* (Brother-Council) elected by and from the membership. The pastor's membership and voice therein is desired but is not deemed essential to successful activity.

A complete table of statistics of the movement has not come to the writer's notice; the figures published by the various conferences and provinces, however, came as a revelation to him. Those in this country who are not informed, and therefore think the movement to be of a sporadic nature and of small consequence, and believe it to be dead or dying, are likely to share the writer's experience and receive a distinct shock of surprise, when the varied activities of the movement are once brought to their notice.

IV. APPRECIATION.

Between the abundant fulsome praise of this movement and the bitter condemnation, some of both coming from very estimable people, it is indeed difficult to arrive at a right and fair appreciation of this movement.

Many, otherwise calm and sound men hail this movement as a "new Pentecost," "another Reformation" "the greatest movement for Germany since the Reformotion," etc. Some Gemeinschafts people claim Luther, as the father of their movement, and quote from his writings, passages supposed to contain the germs of the Gemeinschafts-Idea. And it is true, Luther has said repeatedly, that a better provision should be made for the needs of the more mature and advanced Christians, whom the ordinary preaching service cannot fully satisfy.

The present condition of most of the State churches of the various parts of the Empire, furnishes a dark back ground for the exhibit of Gemeinschafts-work. The State Church, notably that of Prussia, with its subjugation to the secular government, its theology blighted by the prevailing Rationalism and Ritschlism of the universities, its clergy often influenced by political

considerations, and overburdened with numerous perfunctory and administrative official duties, has been largely forsaken by the masses of the common people. Many of the people regard the Church as their bitter enemy, and call the clergy the "Black Police."

A writer in Dr. Adolf Stoecker's *Reformatton* cries out: "God have pity! The Church of the Reformation should be a People's Church, and she is fettered like a Prometheus, to the bleak rock of the modern State."

Certain it is, that in the Gemeinschafts-movement, we have the awakening of a mighty force, which rightly developed and directed, may become a veritable "Godsend" to the German Fatherland. Some of the sanest and best men are anxiously watching this movement and are asking themselves: Will the conservative element and sane judgment prevail and make it an adjunct of inestimable value to the Church, or will it follow the trend of some leaders and from indifference to the Church fall into antagonism and irreconcilable enmity? Weighty voices of prophecy can be heard for either issue. Let us hope the former will prevail. The criticisms of men of unquestioned consecration and orthodoxy, as Dr. Adolf Stoecker, Prelate, Weitbrecht, Professor W. Walther of Rostock University, Pastors Paul Fleisch, Zeller, and others ought to save the movement from stranding on the shoals of Methodism, Donatism, Darbyism Perfectionism, etc., which are found in varying degrees within the stream. It is also certain, that the German people as such will not generally follow a movement, which is largely composed of English-American Emotionalism. These elements will have to be modified before the movement can hope to conquer the nation. Pastor Zeller, of Madgeburg, says: If we desire to win the "Deutsche Volks-Seele" (national soul or spirit) we must not approach it with English methods. Prelate Weitbrecht sends out a ringing call: Wales or Wittenberg? urging the German Christians to forsake English-American Revival hymns and Cnristian Endeavor methods and to return to the priceless treasures of the Church.

ARTICLE V.

THE CHURCH. ARTICLE VII OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

By Rev. L. B. Hafer.

INTRODUCTION.

Inasmuch as the discussion of a confession, or of any part of it, is so largely affected by the stand-point from which we view the confession, we may be allowed by way of introduction to state the relation that the confession sustains to the faith of the confessor. That the confessions, so far as their relation to faith is concerned, are very frequently mistaken, can scarcely be doubted. By many the confession is looked upon as final and authoritative. For them there can be no real examination of symbols. About these hangs an air of sanctity, which seems to say, "come not too close," and so in unquestioning credulity they accept what has been held and taught by the fathers of former centuries. Then there are others who look upon the confessors from an outside position, and who charge the latter with blind credulity when there is no ground for such accusation. Again there are others who look at the confessions with eyes so blinded by prejudice that they can see nothing good in the confessions because they happen to have been framed by men of a different age, temperament and nationality. If we are to form any fair opinion of the confessions of the Christian Church, we must find a better way of coming to them.

We approach the confession, not in any sense as the source of authority. That belongs solely to the Word of God. This is forcibly stated in the introduction to the Formula of Concord: "We believe, teach and confess that the only rule and standard according to which at once all dogmas and teachers should be esteemed and judged are nothing else than the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testament."*

* Jacobs' Book of Concord, p. 491.

"Other writings, of ancient or modern teachers, whatever reputation they may have, should not be regarded as of equal authority with the Holy Scriptures, but should be altogether subordinated to them, and should not be received other or further than as witnesses, in what manner and at what places, since the time of the apostles, the doctrine of the prophets and apostles was preserved" (Ibid). "In this way the distinction between the Holy Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testament and all other writings is preserved, and the Holy Scriptures alone remain the only judge, rule and standard, according to which, as the only test-stone, all dogmas should and must be discerned and judged, as to whether they be good or evil, right or wrong" (Ibid. 492).

The confession then is not a source of faith, but an expression of the same. As such it is always open to examination. It presupposes a study of the true source of faith, the Word of God. The expression can not consistently be in advance of a knowledge of the Scriptures. "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God" (Rom. 10 : 17). To make an elaborate confession without knowing that the substance of that confession is in the Bible, is either to repeat a formula to which we attach no meaning, or else to believe on the basis, not of a divine Revelation, but of the fallible interpretation of Revelation. We proceed through the Word to the confession, which is only a statement of the doctrine of the Word as we understand it.

It is legitimate to compare our faith with the faith of others. For this purpose we use the confession. It is not to determine our faith, but to give a sense of fellowship in the faith. The writer finds himself in happy accord with the seventh article of the Augsburg Confession, which is the subject in hand. It is a definition of the Church that will not soon be forgotten. To it the great mass of Protestanism would cheerfully subscribe. It is a grandly liberal definition. It lifts the eyes from non-essentials to the fundamentals of the kingdom. No one who subscribes it can consistently be a bigot, saying to those who may disagree with him in regard to some of the minutiae of

doctrine, "come not near to me, for I am holier than thou," (Is. 65.5). The article is liberal because it is Scriptural. The outgrowth of a liberal gospel, which makes the yoke easy and the burden light, it demands an interpretation in keeping with that liberal basis.

In the examination of a confession we reverse the order followed in the formulation of it. We will consider in order: (1) The doctrinal content of the article; (2) The Scriptural basis of the article; (3) The bearing of the article upon the polity of the Church.

I. THE DOCTRINAL CONTENT OF THE ARTICLE.

Between the German and the Latin version of the article are slight variations of language, but no essential difference. We use in this discussion the familiar translation of the Latin edition which is found in the Book of Worship.

"They likewise teach, that there will always be one holy Church. But the Church is the congregation of the saints, in which the gospel is correctly taught, and the sacraments are properly administered. And for the true unity of the Church, it is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrines of the gospel, and the administration of the sacraments. Nor is it necessary that the same human traditions, that is, rites and ceremonies instituted by men, should be everywhere observed. As Paul says: 'One faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all,' etc."

The article speaks of the Church that "will be." It recognizes the Church as it was at that time as one Church. In telling what the Church "will always be," it assumes that what it will always be it always has been since the time of its institution. Concerning this Church the following declarations are made:

(a) The Church is a unit.
(b) It is a holy Church.
(c) It is a permanent Church.
(d) The Church is a congregation.
(e) It is a congregation of saints.
(f) In it the gospel is correctly taught.

(g) In it the sacraments are properly administered.

(h) The bond of the unity is a common faith in the gospel.

(i) Unity is not destroyed by a diversity of ceremonies.

It is to be noted that this definition and description is of the Church "invisible." Objection has sometimes been made to use of the terms "visible" and "invisible" in speaking of the Church. Recently a question has been raised in reference to this by Dr. Jacobs of the Mt. Airy Lutheran Seminary. He says: "This distinction is not found in our Lutheran Confessions, nor is it used by Luther." * This is a surprising statement, for while the exact terms are not used, the distinction is made in the Augsburg Confession itself. The eighth article treats of the Church visible. Melanchthon plainly states that this is correct, when in the Apology he says: "For this reason, we have added the eighth article, lest any one may think that we separate the wicked and hypocrites from the outward fellowship of the Church" (Book of Concord, 161). And again he says: "But the Church is not only the fellowship of outward objects and rites as other governments, but it is principally a *fellowship of faith and the Holy Ghost in hearts* (Ibid. 162). What else is this than the declaration that while the wicked have part in the *outward* fellowship, the Church "visible," they have no part in the *inner* fellowship, the Church "invisible?" Nor is it correct to say that Luther did not make the distinction. Indeed it was a very pillar of the Protestant defense. In the Smalcald articles Luther says: "For, thank God, today a child seven years old knows what the Church is, viz. saints, believers and lambs who hear the voice of their Shepherd" (Ibid. 335). Neither this nor the seventh article of the confession can be said to describe the Church as we see it. It is plainly the Church as God only can see it. Dr. Jacobs himself makes this distinction. He says: "Only God can tell with certainty who they are who truely believe, and therefore, are true members of the Church." † Dr. C. H. L. Schuette, of the Joint Synod of Ohio, has stated the matter thus:

* *A Summary of Christian Faith*, 379.

† *A Summary of Christian Faith*, 379.

"Against Rome, as has been shown, it is denied that the Church, even on earth, is in substance anything other than a spiritual and therefore invisible body———; and this must be insisted on against all materializing tendencies wherever found. *

II. THE SCRIPTURAL BASIS OF THE ARTICLE.

Having noticed briefly what the article teaches, we turn to an examination of the specific declarations in the light of the Holy Scriptures. We will take them in the order given above.

The Church is *one*. It is to be remembered that we frequently hear in the New Testament of "churches." Luke speaks of ordaining elders in "every Church" (Acts 14 : 23). Paul uses the same expression (1 Cor. 4 : 17). We also read of particular Churches, "the Church that was at Antioch." Such references are frequently made (Acts 13 : 1 ; Rom. 16 : 5 ; I. Cor. 16 : 19 ; Philemon 2 ; 1 Peter 5 : 13 ; Rev. 2 : 1, 8, 12, 18 ; 3 : 1, 7, 14). The plural, "churches" is used in at least thirty-five places (Acts 9 :31 ; 15 : 41 ; 16 : 5 ; 19 : 37 ; and eighteen references in the epistles of Paul, together with thirteen instances in Revelation). All these references, however, must be interpreted in the light of a complete Revelation. They are all but parts of the *one* Church. Jesus said : "On this rock I will build my Church" (Matt. 16 : 18). This clearly indicates but one Church. Paul declares that God gave Christ "to be the Head over all things to the Church" (Eph. 1 : 22). And further that "Christ is the head of the Church" (Eph. 5 : 23). As further indicating the unity of the Church he at other places uses the term "the Church" (1 Cor. 12 : 28 ; Eph. 5 : 24). He also speaks of it as "a glorious Church" (Eph. 5 : 27), and, if further testimony is needed, the Master himself said plainly : "There shall be one fold, and one Shepherd" (John 10 : 16).

The Church is *holy*. This is not absolute, but relative holiness ; holiness is the end of the Spirit's work in the Church (Eph. 5 : 26, 27). If the Church were now absolutely holy, there would be no room for growth or edification ; yet Paul

* *Columbus Theological Magazine*, Vol. VIII. No. II.

points this out as one of the great things to be aimed at (1 Cor. 14 : 4, 5). He tells the elders of the Church at Ephesus to "feed the Church of God" (Acts 20 : 28). The great reward is not to one who has no struggle with sin, but to the one that "overcometh" (Rev. 3 : 5). But though the Church is not absolutely holy, yet the term "holy" is properly applied to it, for the Scriptures themselves use the term. "For God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness" (1 Thes. 4 : 7). "And that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness" (Eph. 4 : 24). "Serve him without fear in holiness" (Luke 1 : 74, 75). Our Lord has "called us with an holy calling" (11 Tim. 1 : 9). We are to be a "separate people" (11 Cor. 6 : 17). The writers of the Scriptures, whom we know to have been marked by the same imperfections that cling to men today, are distinctly called "holy men of old" (11 Peter 1 : 21). The writer to the Hebrews assures us that "the Father of spirits" has chastened us, "that we might be partakers of His holiness" (Heb. 12 : 10).

The Church will *always abide.* "Upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail againt it" (Matt. 16 : 18). David declares that God's kingdom "is an everlasting kingdom" (Ps. 145 : 13).

The Church is a *congregation.* The term everywhere used is "ekklesia" (assembly). The scattered Hebrew Christians are cautioned not to neglect "the assembling" (Heb. 10 : 25).

The Church is made up of those among whom *the gospel is correctly taught.* Paul asserts that regardless of hindrances he will preach the gospel; and he was not ashamed of it, calling it "the power of God unto salvation" (Rom. 1 : 16). He tells the Corinthians that it is the power through which they have been "begotten" unto spiritual life (1 Cor. 4 : 15). To the Galatians he writes: "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed" (Gal. 1 : 8). The preaching of the gospel is clearly made the determining mark

of the Church (John 8 : 31 ; Col. 1 : 23 ; Gal. 2 : 5 ; II Tim. 2 : 15).

The Church is characterized by the fact that *the sacraments are properly administered* therein. The Scriptures lay continual stress upon the preaching of the gospel, yet not to the exclusion of the use of the sacraments. In the commission to the disciples Christ couples teaching and baptizing (Matt. 28 : 19). Baptizing is declared to be a condition of salvation (Mark 16 : 16). And it can readily be seen that baptizing was a common practice among the apostles (John 3 : 26; 4 : 2; Acts 2 : 38, 41 ; 8 : 12, 13, 16, 38 ; 9 : 18 ; 10 : 48 ; 16 : 15, 33 ; 18 : 8 ; 19 : 5 ; I Cor. 1 : 16). Paul looked upon " one baptism " as the natural sequence of " one faith " (Eph. 4 : 5). While there are fewer references to the Lord's Supper, the disciples were instructed to " do this in remembrance of me " (Luke 22 : 19 ; etc). The use of this sacrament is also shown to have been a common practice by the apostolic Church (Acts 2 : 42, 46 ; I Cor. 10 : 16 ; 11 : 20, 23).

The bond of unity in the Church is a common faith in *the doctrines of the gospel.* This is made a concomitant of repentance (Mark 1 : 15). Paul calls the spiritual relationship of the Philippians a " fellowship in the gospel " (Phil. 1 : 5). The necessity of the gospel for the reality of the Church is clearly shown by several of the passages quoted above (Col. 1 : 25 ; II Cor. 11 : 4 ; Gal. 1 : 6, 8).

The Church need not have everywhere the same *rights and ceremonies.* Paul charges the Colossians not to judge one another in regard to these things (Col. 2 : 16, 17). He tells the Romans : " The kingdom of God is not meat and drink " (Rom. 14 : 17). The apostles in council decided that burdens of this character should not be laid upon the Christians " (Acts 15 : 28, 29). Paul insisted that the Galatians should stand fast in liberty (Gal. 5 : 1).

This is a conclusive array of evidence. Whoever teaches any other doctrine of the Church must base it upon something else than the inspired Scriptures. This article rests upon

eternal truth. We therefore proceed to consider it in its relation to the activities of the Church.

III. THE BEARING OF THE ARTICLE UPON THE POLITY OF THE CHURCH.

Thus far there is practical agreement among Lutherans with regard to this article, for it is so general, and so thoroughly based upon the Word of God, that, holding to the infallibility of the Word, we can not disagree. It is when we come to interpret, to develop, and to apply the truth that we find differences of opinion, resulting in divisions and strife, which sometimes amount to a denial of the truth of the article itself. We will state briefly, but as plainly as possible, what we consider the logical deductions to be made from this article.

1. It is the duty of every Christian to recognize the unity of the Church. The unity of the Church is not a theory but a fact; and no amount of specious pleading or far-fetched reasoning can remove or alter the fact. There will always be one Church. Where is it, and who has part in it? When we have discovered it, we are bound to recognize it. This recognition must be practical. We dare not in our theory of the Church admit that a man belongs to it and is partaker of the grace that is offered to it, and yet in association with him regard and use him as one "uncircumcised in heart." It matters not who since the days of the apostles may have done this thing. If it could be shown that Luther himself was intollerant, it would only be showing that Luther had fallen into the error that has engulfed so many thousands of others. It would not destroy the real character of the fundamental principles of Lutheranism, or make that any less valuable. Whatever may have been the statements of individuals, the spirit of the seventh article is tolerant. Those who asked for charitable consideration, and who defended themselves against a narrow view of the Church, were not engaged in setting up a standard by which to judge others. That was the product of later years.

The world will judge our recognition of the Christianity of others not so much by what we say about them as by the

feeling we manifest, and by the way we act toward them. Fellowship is one of the first blessings of the Church. "We have fellowship one with another" (1 John 1 : 7). But there is no real fellowship between the majority of American Lutherans and the great mass of other Christians. With whom are we to have fellowship? Evidently with the whole Church, what ever and wherever that may be. The test of discipleship is declared to be love (John 13 : 35). Love always seeks fellowship. If it be argued that Christ loved sinners, and yet that they had no fellowship with Him, the answer is that it was not He that refused the fellowship, but they. He wept over Jerusalem because the people would not come into fellowship with Him.

Into what extravagances and self-contradictions have men gone in their attempts to justify standing aloof from others who do not agree with them in every form and detail of doctrinal statement? In this Lutherans have not stood alone, but they have had a prominent part. We do not know of a Lutheran who would claim that Lutherans only are parts of the Church, but in the application of theology, and in conduct toward fellow Christians, they have come within an inch of denying salvation outside of the Lutheran Church. Permit me to quote from a paper to which the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and other States has given its sanction by publishing in the proceedings of its last convention, which was held in St. Louis. Mo., July 12–18, 1905: "Do we claim that the invisible Church is nowhere to be found excepting in the Lutheran fold? Do we assert that no true disciples of Christ are in those churches which corrupt the Word and the Sacraments? By no means. We know that the Word of God is effective everywhere, whether it be proclaimed in the Lutheran or in any other Church." * But listen to the same paper farther on: "Still the fact that true Christians, members of the invisible Church, are found in all the different Christian denominations must not lead us to think it were indifferent to what Church we belong and what Church we attend because

* *Proceedings of the Ninth Convention*, 37.

Christ's true followers are everywhere. Soul destroying errors are taught in these false Churches and they that hold to these errors and trust in the teachings of men, in place of trusting in Christ alone, are not members of the invisible Church, but are walking the way to eternal perdition in spite of their Church connection. * * * When therefore a Lutheran Christian moves to a place where there is no church of his confession, he should not think that it is better to attend some church than not to go to church at all. He should not say, I know that the church which we have here is not *my* church, nevertheless I can attend and connect myself therewith; for I need not pay any attention to and believe the errors of this church, but I shall remain a Lutheran at heart and keep the faith which I have been taught. How can you go to a church of which you know that it is false in the face of your Saviour's warning: 'Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves,' Matt. 7 : 15, and how do you know that the false prophet will not be successful in robbing you of the treasure of the pure doctrine?" (Ibid 39). In one sentence the paper recognizes those of other churches as parts of the true Church, and in another sentence it in effect consigns them to perdition. Nor is this an isolated instance. This inconsistant, abominable and un-Christian teaching is common in many quarters to-day. God has laid upon His Church the great work of building up righteousness in the earth, but instead of going unitedly to the work, permitting each to work "according to the grace given" unto him, we fall to disputing about who is doing the work, and while we argue about Paul and Apollos, Christ is forgotten. Let us recognize the unity of all Christian believers, as the article does, or else let us be as consistent as Rome, and deny that there is any unity, or any Church, or any salvation outside of our own household. But then we shall have to find a Pope to determine who belongs to us, and is entitled to the Lutheran name.

The only safe ground upon which to stand, and the only safe rule to follow is set forth in the article itself: "It is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrines of the gospel and the

administration of the sacraments." But what are the doctrines of the gospel, and when are the sacraments properly administered? These questions might properly have been raised under the doctrinal teachings of the article; but because they have such a direct bearing upon the polity of the Church, we have purposely deferred them until this time. Beginning with the simple, direct, liberal, Scriptural statement of the article, there are many who go from one deduction to another, until they arrive at the conclusion that agreement concerning the doctrines of the gospel means entire agreement in the whole system of Christian theology, and perfect identity of doctrinal statement. But the process of reasoning by which they reach such a conclusion from the starting point of the article, is worthy of being preserved in some museum, among a collection of philosophical curios. This is setting up a standard that has never been reached in any religious body in the history of the world. Rome, with the denial of private interpretation, does not have such agreement. The very statement of the article is a recognition of the fact that such agreement is impossible and unnecessary.

To answer the question, What is meant by the doctrines of the gospel, let the Formula of Concord speak: "Therefore when Christ, after His resurrection, commanded the apostles to preach the gospel in all the world (Mark 16 : 15), He compressed the sum of this doctrine into a few words, when He said (Luke 24 : 46, 47): 'Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations.' So, too, Paul (Acts 20 : 21) calls his entire doctrine the gospel, but he embraces the sum of this doctrine under two heads: 'Repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ.' And in this sense the general definition, i. e., the description of the word 'gospel,' when employed in a wide sense, and without the peculiar distinction between the law and the gospel, is correct, when it is said that the gospel is a preaching of repentance and remission

of sins." * How this explanation stands out in contrast with the utterances of those who count the gospel identical with theology! Whatever we may expect of pastors and teachers, for membership in the Church it is sufficient to know that we are "dead in trespasses and in sins," and to believe that we have salvation through Christ alone. This, as over against the doctrine of work righteousness, is what the article means by the doctrines of the gospel.

And of the proper administration of the sacraments there is no better explanation than the article as it reads in the German version, where the words used are, "according to the Gospel." All that is necessary is that the elements should be distributed with the words of institution, and that they should be received by persons believing those words. It matters not whether our understanding of the sacraments be small or great, so long as we believe the words of Christ. Where this is done there is the true Church, and there the Church is to be recognized. To do otherwise marks us as sectarians. How can we take upon ourselves the responsibillty of shutting the door upon those who, according to our own acknowledgement, have a faith sufficient to secure acceptance by Christ himself?

2. It is our duty to cultivate piety among the members of the Church. The Church visible is to be fashioned after the Church invisible, and, as far as possible, to be made indentical with it. Now if the invisible Church is holy, it follows that we are to seek and to build up holiness in the visible Church. We need have no fears that faith will suffer, or that we will depend for salvation less upon the merit of Christ because the members of the Church imitate the Christ life. Strongly as we must insist upon justification by faith alone, even so must we insist upon a faith that is apparent in life. "I will show thee my faith by my works" (James 2 : 18). The man who preaches the gospel from the pulpit, but in his daily life profanes the name of God, is intemperate in habit, becomes a frequenter of evil resorts, thus setting in motion influences that destroy rather than build up, has forgotten that the Church is

* *Book of Concord*, 590.

holy, has denied the faith, and is the real wolf in sheep's clothing. The man who sits in the pew, hearing and professing to believe the gospel, but whose life is filled with selfishness and sin, is attempting to mock God, and has taken his place among those whom Christ called "Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites."

Mere orthodoxy is not sufficient to secure salvation. "The kingdom of God is * * * righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost" (Rom. 14 : 17). "Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord" (Heb. 12 : 14). He who claims a place and a part in the invisible Church of Christ must have the mind of Christ; and that mind ought to be seen in every act and step of life whether it be in the Church, in the home, in business, in public station, in civic conduct, in society, or wherever it may be. We are never to lose sight of the fact that we are "the temple of God," and that "if any man defile the temple of God, him will God destroy" (1 Cor. 3 : 17). Holiness is more valuable than orthodoxy alone, for where holiness exists there is underlying it a living faith.

3. It is the duty of the Church to maintain public worship, and of the individual members to regularly attend the same. We must not forget that while the Church is essentially an invisible body, there is also an outward fellowship, and that the Church finds its truest expression in the assembly. Pastors are commissioned to "feed the Church," and where is this feeding to be done, if not principally in the public assembly? It is a marvelous distortion of the faith to believe that after confirmation it matters not whether we attend the Church or not, and that confirmation assures of membership in the Church, or that an Easter communion is sufficient to maintain in us spiritual life. Such opinion and conduct is a horrible travesty upon faith and the Church.

4. We must give the gospel first place in the ministrations of the Church. The Church is indeed characterized by the administration of the sacraments as well as by the teaching of the gospel, but the former is the outgrowth of the latter. Furthermore, it is the Word of God that gives validity and effi-

cacy to the sacraments. The Word, then, not only leads to the sacraments, but is the vital power in the sacraments. This clearly gives pre-eminence to the Word as a means of grace. Remembering this we can understand why such stress is laid upon the gospel by the sacred writers, while there are so few references to baptism and the Lord's Supper. By this it is not meant that it is a matter of indifference whether we observe the sacraments; these are necessary, but we are to preach the Word, and that itself will lead to the sacraments. With this corresponds Paul's understanding of his own mission, for he says to the Corinthians: "For Christ sent me, not to baptize, but to preach the gospel" (1 Cor. 1 : 17). The same stress is laid upon the gospel in his charge to Timothy: "Preach the Word. Be instant in season and out of season" (2 Tim. 4 : 2). It is not true, as is sometimes said, that we find the culmination of worship in the Sacrament of the Altar. The culmination of worship is reached when we hear the Word of God and keep it. Nothing is to be permitted to take precedence over the Word. It is not incidental; it is characteristic of worship. Nothing is to be permitted to obscure the Word. It must not be hidden in the matter of the sermon. We are not sent to preach science, or human philosophy, but the Word. We are not to preach the opinions of men with reference to the gospel, or deductions therefrom, but the gospel itself. Neither are we to hide the Word by involved interpretations of it. The gospel is simple; we dare not make it complex. It is a light; we dare not darken it. We must not hide the gospel by an exaggeration of its surrounding. It is possible by the setting of a jewel to hide the jewel itself. Conversation with men in reference to worship will reveal how frequently the mind is turned from the jewel to its setting—from the essential to the incidental. Over emphasis of ecclesiastical architecture, art and ritual may easily detract from the gospel itself. Dr. Jacobs has well said: "In all our preaching and teaching, let us begin at the center. The circumference is not to be despised or ignored; but they alone are right on the cir-

cumference who are, first, right at the center. Until the center be fixed, the circumference must be wrong. *

This emphasis upon the preaching of the gospel raises the question, What shall the Church demand of those who are to preach and teach? And then another question, Whom shall pastors and congregations admit to the fellowship of the pulpit?

To the first of these we answer that in order that the gospel may be purely preached the minister must have such intellectual equipment as will enable him to comprehend the gospel, and to interpret the Word, in which the gospel is found. And more than this, he must have the spirit of the gospel. Otherwise he will not be able to appreciate its doctrines, nor to preach them as Christ requires. But the question also relates to the dogmatic opinions of the pastor and teacher. We must have a standard here. Shall we hold to the seventh article, which says: "It is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrines of the gospel," or shall we revise that article and make it read: "It is necessary to agree concerning a full system of theology?" To make this change, as is not infrequently done in practice, is to violate both the letter and the spirit of the seventh article.

To the second question we say that whoever has qualifications specified, viz. the necessary intelligence to interpret the gospel, and the spirit that moves him to confess and to teach the gospel, is worthy to be admitted to the pulpit. The unity of the Church implies that we shall have due respect for ordination wherever any part of the Church has exercised it. Pulpit fellowship with those who confess the simple doctrines of the gospel can not be avoided, if we would carry out the admonition of Paul, "in honor preferring one another" (Rom. 12 : 10). Nor is it necessary to withhold pulpit fellowship, lest the gospel be not given its proper place, and be not preached in its purity. Concerning this, be it said to the glory of God and to the praise of the gospel, there is agreement among the vast majority of Protestants. Even the distinctions between the Reformed and Lutheran divisions of the Church

* *The permanent and the Changeable in Lutheranism*, 17.

of the Reformation have largely disappeared. Not that anything which was vital in Lutheranism has been discarded, but there has been such a turning of others from metaphysical speculation to the fundamental doctrine of justification by faith, that hearing the average sermon, one would find it so orthodox that he could detect nothing at variance with the Augsburg Confession. Moreover, the grace of God in ministers is usually strong enough to restrain them from preaching non-essential, particularistic doctrine in a pulpit where the responsibility belongs to another. So long as a man is willing and able to preach the gospel as it is set forth by Christ and the apostles, as it is contemplated in the seventh article, and interpreted in the other Lutheran symbols, so long does the unity of the Church and brotherly love require that the office of the ministry be recognized, whatever may be the denominational appellation. The test as to whether a man preaches the gospel or not, is not his formal assent to a group of confessions, or to any single confession, but the fruit that his preaching bears. "Ye shall know them by their fruits" (Matt. 7 : 16).

5. It is the duty of the Church to adapt its ordinances with regard to time, place and modes of worship to the people and circumstances among which the worship is to be conducted. The article does not contemplate the abolition of human rites, but the adjustment of them. The Scripture enjoins order in the Church, but not a particular method of securing order. The article harmonizes with the Scriptural principle. For the sake of order it is expedient to have certain forms for ministerial and congregational acts, but no particular liturgy is essential to the securing this end. It does not fall within the scope of this discussion to speak of particular orders of service, but it does follow, from the teaching of the article, that liturgy must be adapted to the time and place in which it is to be used, and to the people who are to use it. With the teaching of this article in this respect the confessions agree from first to last. The truth is very conscisely stated in the Formula of Concord: "We believe, teach and confess, that the Church of God of every place and every time has the power according to its circum-

stances, to change such ceremonies, in such manner as may be most useful and edifying to the Church of God." * I can not state this more clearly or forcibly than it has been stated by Dr. Jacobs: "Wherever the pure Word is preached and the sacraments administered according to their institution, there is true Christianity, there is pure Lutheranism. The form may be the simplest, as when the crowds gathered around the Saviour, and He taught them on the mountains or the plain; or, as when our missionaries address the heathen near their bazaars, or on the outskirts of some throng attending a festival. In the pioneer work of the Church, where musical aids are lacking, it is impossible to follow precisely the same order, as in the long established congregations, furnished with ample resources of training. The form should ever be adapted to the circumstances. Let the essence of the gospel, let the soul of Lutheranism only fill the heart of the pastor, and kindle within him a burning zeal to communicate it to others, and this spirit will find the expression best adapted to this end. Where the heart opens for the gospel, it is equally refreshing, whether it be conveyed in poetry or prose; whether it be sung or said; whether it be read or spoken; whether it be heard in a church or a dwelling, or a barn, or a shop, or a prison, or from a porch or in the open air; whether the pastor have on a robe or a coat, or be without either; whether his voice be shrill or deep, loud or soft. All that is necessary is that he preach the gospel, and that he be earnest in so doing."* The liturgy then is to be adapted to our day and generation. The rule to be followed is by no means the consensus of the sixteenth century, but the consecrated judgment of this century. Permit me once more to employ the language of Dr. Jacobs: "The time, is passed, too, for us to be ever looking towards Germany for instruction in matters of faith. Because Luther was a German, and Lutheranism was a great power in Germany for centuries, we are no more justified in bowing down before German scholarship than we would be in seeking for Christianity in Palestine. The Holy

* *Book of Concord*, 523.

† The Permanent and the Changeable in Lutheranism, 14 sq.

Scriptures are here as well as on the other side of the Atlantic, and there is just as much superficial and one-sided scholarship there as here. We do not believe in American Lutheranism, as a specific form of Lutheranism that ignores or modifies any of the doctrines or principles asserted when our Church received its distinctive name. But we most firmly maintain that peculiar problems meet us here that our fathers never faced in Europe. Each man has his particular mission in life, and his limitations. So has each age and division of the Lutheran Church in America. Muhlenburg had to provide for circumstances unforseen by Luther; and we are called to work on problems of which Muhlenberg never dreamed" (Ibid 16 sq).

The obligations, then, that the truth of this article imposes upon us are briefly these: We are to recognize the unity of all believers, both in word and action; we are to give ourselves ardently to the edification of believers in faith and holy living; we are to maintain the public worship with order and regularity; we are to give prominence to the gospel in all the activities of the Church; and we are to adapt the ordinances of the Church so as best to promote these ends. Thus will we perform the part that God has assigned to us in building up the kingdom of Christ in faith, tranquility and love.

ARTICLE VI.

THE MODERN PULPIT AND ITS MESSAGE TO THIS GENERATION.*

By John Luther Alden Sieber, M.A., B.D.

In presuming to speak upon such a momentous and far reaching subject as the modern pulpit and its message to this generation, I do not claim to be a wise man coming out of the East. There is nothing new to be said. The divine message of truth which it is the duty of the pulpit to proclaim, like the stars of heaven, is ever the same from age to age. But just as the stars may differ in magnitude and may be viewed from many different points of the earth's surface, so the word of truth may pour down a stronger ray and receive a new prominence amidst the changing scenes of our social and religious environment.

Living in an age which is marked by a transition in religious thought it is the duty of every one who finds himself within the pale of the Christian ministry to examine himself and see whether he be in the faith and to ascertain whether the pulpit is giving to this generation that which is bread or whether it is deceiving the age with stones and serpents.

The preaching of the gospel is the world's greatest need today. An awakened public conscience which has manifested itself so wonderfully lately in the disclosure of "graft and greed, of dishonorable fortunes, lustful divorces and other modern forms of corruption" is nothing more than the admission on the part of humanity that the world has been mistaken in its conclusion as to the highest good. It is the stretching out of hands of want towards that something which can give peace within and freedom from outward strife. It has been many years since there has been such a strong and universal feeling of need in the land. But while all agree that this country needs something today and needs it badly they do not all agree as to what that need is. Some tell us that

* Delivered before the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of New York and New Jersey in Newark, N. J.

the world's greatest need today is municipal reform, others temperance reform, still others tell us the worlds greatest need is to be found in a more thorough educational system and then there is that constantly increasing multitude who are fully persuaded that the world's greatest need today is to be found in socialism, more or less accurately defined. But as the prophet of old found God neither in the earthquake, nor in the fire, nor in the storm but in the still small voice. So the world's greatest need today is to be found not in the noisy reform movements of men but in the *love* of Christ found within the hearts of those who are born again of water and the spirit. The world's greatest need today as in every generation is more of God—the preaching of Christ and Him crucified.

Perhaps there is no organization in the world, with a great mission to perform, which presents its message in such an unsystematic and haphazard a way as the Christian Church. After the minister has finished his breakfast on Tuesday morning he is confronted with the fact that there are only a few days until the awful day of the Lord when he must again face his people, "What will I preach?" And then he goes hunting through the Bible for some stray thought which appeals to him but in which his people find little comfort and help. If he is after a crowd he will wait until late in the week and search the daily press, if perchance he can find some theme which will make a sensation, or perhaps there is some one in the pews whom he thinks needs a special lesson and so he prepares to give him at a place where all decorum prohibits him from defending himself, his meat in due season, or perhaps he seeks the direction of the Holy Spirit. This is by all means the wisest course. But it is always hard to distinguish this voice from the multitude of other voices that inhabit a man and get the message with clearness. Those who follow such a course soon find themselves playing upon the same key when they should be sounding the full peal of the great organ of redemption. And if they persist in playing a jews-harp when they should be playing the organ with full stops on then it is no wonder that the pews are empty. The Lutheran Church is

fortunate in having the pericope system which in many respects is excellent. It enables the minister to put some system and procedure into this preaching. By the use of this system the theology of our Church can be yearly administered to the congregation. And yet, while the pericope system sets forth the necessary words of salvation, there are many instructive and helpful parts of the word it does not touch at all. Its texts are at best proof texts, and proof texts are not always reliable inasmuch as a few verses torn from the context can be used to put forth truths never in the writers mind.

It is a growing contention of the students of the Bible that the most instructive and systematic way of presenting its truths is by taking the different books one at a time and presenting them in a series of sermons preached exegetically. This will compel a thorough study of the author and his message and the force of its principles as applied to our day will not easily be missed.

There is no question of religious or social welfare in the world today which is not fully treated in God's Word. This fact should surely be a source of comfort to the man struggling with the forces of the past which have come to him by heredity, with the peculiar social environment in which he finds himself in the present and with those religious emotions which tell of the divine image in which he was born and point him away to immortality. But, alas, the man in the pew does not always get the comforts and promises of the gospel for which he came. The preacher is busy developing a fine spun system of *his own thoughts* about God, or he is losing himself in empty words of oratory, and high sounding phrases, or becoming the man with the muck rake, he is showing up the devil when he ought to be proclaiming the Lord, or he is listlessly repeating a sermon on the Church year which he has used annually since he has been in the ministry. Is this the mission of the modern pulpit? Is this the only message it has to give to a people dying for the bread of life? Preachers often ask, why people don't go to Church. If they would ask why they go

at all they might feel more strongly their responsibility in being the mouth-piece of God and of His Kingdom.

And now let us see the wealth of material, the advantage, the firm footing and power which that minister has who takes the Word of God as revealed and by a careful exegesis applies the whole of it to modern times. In the first place he will have a great mine of material which will never fail him. He will never be at a loss for something to preach, but will rather earnestly desire the more opportunities for preaching might be given. His message will be an earnest reiteration of the old truths of the gospel, and he will not become the time server, filling up the years with vain repetitions. By following such a method he will be compelled to make a thorough study of the author and historicity of every book in the Bible. Such study, if rightly pursued, will give a sense of sureness and advantage. He will feel that the ground on which he stands is holy.

As an example of this method, let us look at two books of the Old Testament which I suppose, are for the most part passed over by the preacher of today. The books of Exodus and Ecclesiastes. "The book of Exodus might not inappropriately be called the story of an ancient labor movement. Little or nothing is said to Moses, or indeed to any one regarding his individual salvation; there is no hint or promise given to any one, of any personal immortality; the message of God throughout is addressed frankly to the needs of the organized life of those early Israelites."

"The word 'Exodus' means literally 'the way out.' It describes the methods by which a certain people made their way out—out of industrial slavery into industrial freedom—out of a condition which meant the defeat of what is best in life into a condition which made possible happy industry and beautiful home life, made possible the rise of the poet and the prophet, and really paved the way for the rearing of that splendid stock from which should spring the one who as the son of God has become the supreme figure in human history. The way out then, the freeing and training, the humanizing

and spiritualizing of a whole race of men, who at the beginning of the story were the slaves of Pharaoh—this is the splendid theme of the book of Exodus. Anyone can see instantly how rich such a book may be in suggestive symbolism for the whole movement towards social and religious betterment in our own time."

The first thing the preacher will notice in the treatment of this book is the oppression of a people. These thousands of men who among the tombs of Egypt served with rigor, wageless and half-fed, overworked and scourged, sick, dizzy and exhausted, find their fellow suffers in this land today. He will find in the call of Moses a modern call for an industrial deliverer. The voice of God which came to Pharaoh saying, "Let my people go that they might serve me," and that arrogant answer of the proud king, "Who is the Lord that I should harken unto his voice and let this people go?" are but the modern cry of the oppressed multitude and the haughty answer of the oppressing few. As it was with the people of Israel so in these modern times there must be a radical change in social environment; a training in industrial freedom and a new social order. Christ did not come to the people of Israel until these things were accomplished in the first commonwealth the world ever realized. The kingdom of Christ cannot be realized here on earth until the social wrongs of this day are made right.

And now turning to the book of Ecclesiastes, we find a treatment of the deep human experiences which come to every son of man. It represents a man in the midst of all that earth can give trying to find that which is best. He first makes the experiment of wisdom, but he finds that in possessing all knowledge there is not satisfaction. By the law of reaction he is driven to make the experiment of pleasure. "He finds that the choicest delights of the senses fail to satisfy the soul." He turns without himself and makes the experiment of wealth. But he soon finds that the motive of wealth is selfishness and so cannot satisfy. He next makes the experiment of moderation which keeps him on the path but does not enable him to reach

the goal. At last he makes the experiment of faith in which he reaches the conclusion to the whole sum of human experience and finds the chief end of man is to know God and enjoy Him for ever.

I have taken these obscure books simply to show you how rich in truth, how practical in application all God's word is to the preacher who follows such a method. If in the book of Ecclesiastes—concerning whose place in the canon there has been question we find such inspiring truth, what shall we say of the Gospels of Jesus; what shall we say of the book of Acts, which is a continuance of "that former treatise of all the things that Jesus *began* to do and to say." What shall we say of the letters of Paul! The Bible is one grand symphony which moves majestically along from the creation of life in Genesis to the new Jerusalem in which is the tree of life, and the river of life and where the reward for those who enter is the crown of life. It is the duty of the modern pulpit to sound every note in this wondrous message. If it does, the people will hear gladly. For they will hear not the word of man but the word of Christ, and as this word comes to them the Holy Spirit will lay upon them a hand of masterful authority and say to them in a voice which cannot be resisted, "Follow me."

ARTICLE VII.

EVOLUTION: AN ANALYSIS WITH DEDUCTIONS.

By Rev. W. A. Lambert, A.B.

For half a century or more, evolution has played a prominent part in human thought. Science, philosophy and theology have been not only influenced, but almost reconstructed from an evolutionistic stand-point. Yet nothing is more difficult than the discovery of an exact definition of evolution which can be accepted in all these fields. Spencer has formulated a definition which is quoted as typical, almost as final: "Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from a relatively indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a relatively definite coherent hetrogeneity; and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." But this is a description of the process of evolution in a limited sphere and upon the definite assumption of materialism. Before it can be applied to the evolution of thought or of civilization, it must be considerably modified. For a definition it contains entirely too much, giving a theory of evolution rather than a definition.

But look where we may, it is easier to find theories of evolution than a definition. Of these theories none is final: they also are subject to a process of evolution, which has not reached its end—and will reach its end most probably in the annihilation of the theory as such; or better, in the modification of the claims made for evolution as an all-sufficient hypothesis for the explanation of the universe in its entirety and in its details.

The theory of evolution seemed simple at first; it is growing daily more complex. From a steady progress upward it has come to denote a progress steadily tending upward, but often declining for periods, or standing apparently still. From a simple struggle for existence, it has come to recognize a host of elements, and grown exceedingly complex. And now, by

the discovery of the sudden mutation of species, it has been compelled to admit a factor of extreme uncertainty, for which the cause cannot be predetermined. This last factor forces upon us the conclusion that the process of evolution contains mysteries so far unsolved, perhaps forever unsolvable; and that evolution is thus an imperfect guide to the understanding of the universe.

In spite of the failure of any and all theories of evolution to make the universe intelligible, no one is prepared to give up the doctrine of evolution as such. Vaguely defined it has been variously estimated: as a brilliant scientific induction, as a well established philosophic principle, as an intuitive axiom. It has therefore been accepted as the basis for scientific investigation, and as such has been abundantly justified; as the regulative principle of philosophic speculation and as the key to critical and historical study. In the latter fields it has met and is meeting opposition—a farther analysis may reveal the reason.

Evolution may, in a modification of Spencer's definition, be said to be the theory that all that exists has developed from the previously existing by a natural process: or, that every phenomenon has its suffcient natural cause or causes. Spencer describes this natural process as "an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion," too narrowly, as was noticed above. He has thus avoided the term and the conception of cause, but at the same time reduced evolution to a pure speculation of which little practical use could be made. The practical value of the evolution theory to science has been the discovery, by its application, of natural causes. In history and in criticism the practical use of evolution has been again the tracing of natural causes. Or, if the term cause does not satisfy, then the value of evolution to scientist, critic and historian has been to make him look for sufficient pre-conditions, which made a phenomenon possible, or gave occasion for the occurrence of the phenomenon. The distinction may be of importance, yet it is not vital. The difference between sufficient cause and sufficient pre conditions is philosophical entirely,

and fundamentally unreal. For the sufficient pre-conditions must contain the cause, or the cause is supra-natural. But the evolutionist knows nothing of the supra-natural, and Spencer's definition makes evolution a natural process. If the cause, however, in each case is supra-natural, then there is a strange parallelism between nature and the supra natural, in which all sufficient pre conditions are made causal by an unknowable supra natural. Thus evolution would be dualism.

If evolution is the doctrine that every phenomenon has its sufficient natural cause or causes, then it is only a limitation of the general law of causality—and the limitation is arbitrary. Nothing occurs without a cause; that is a safe principle, whether gained by induction or deduction. We may go farther and say, it is a necessary law of thought. But that cause can inhere only in matter, or in nature as we see it outside ourselves, is not a necessary law of thought, is not an intuition, and can hardly be said to be a valid induction. It is rather a deduction from the premise, that there is no supra-natural, or even no supra-material. For science this is a valuable premise. Science is the study of nature and of natural causes. It deals with phenomena in their relation to other phenomena. The scientist, even if he is a spiritualist, dare not work upon any other assumption, than that every natural phenomenon has its natural causes. It is an arbitrary and conscious self-limitation which enables the scientist thus to abstract from the conception of the supra-natural. Hence the advantages to science from the theory of evolution—of the sufficiency of natural causes.

But a theory which is of unmeasured value to science, may be philosophically untenable or unprovable. Science is the study of natural phenomena reduced to natural causes. Hence, as Adolf Harnack has stated: "Science in the strict sense cannot allow the conception 'Revelation:' it is for science transcendal. On the other hand faith cannot permit itself to be robbed of revelation." But philosophy is a study of principles, which must take a wider view than science. It can admit no such arbitrary conscious self-limitation as that of the scientist. The conception "Revelation" must find its place

and its explanation in philosophy, although excluded from science. Ernst Mach illustrates the point thus: "The correctness of the position of 'determinism' or 'indeterminism' cannot be proved. Only a perfected or demonstrably impossible science could here decide. The question deals with the presuppositions which are brought to the observation of things, according to the degree of subjective importance we ascribe to the present success or failure of investigation. But during his investigations every thinker is of necessity theoretically determinist." Now these questions unanswerable by science are exactly those referred to philosoply, although during the process of investigation the scientist assumes them to be solved. The scientist does more: he assumes as solved an important question lying beyond science, in order that by applying his assumed solution he may help philosophy towards a real solution.

How far then has science helped philosophy to accept the view that only natural causes exist, or that all natural causes are material? We must remember the limitations of science; if it could prove that all history, astronomical, geological and human revealed absolutely nothing more than material causes, it would still pass on to philosophy the question of the source of causality. Science deals only with phenomena in time; philosophy must seek after the beginning of time. But, within its own limits, what has science proved as to the absolute absence of the supra-natural, which would make its doctrine of evolution acceptable to philosophy? Science has not proved its doctrine in its own field; much of its proof is fallacious, and much is purely speculative.

Scientific proof must be tested at critical points: The critical point of evolutionistic proof is the evolution of man. Here the data are lamentably scant. The geologic evidence is furnished by a few scattered skulls. The historic evidence as given by a history of civilization, says little or nothing in favor of evolution. The earliest men of whom we have evidence were civilized, as we are daily learning from the excavations. The primitive man of the evolutionist is still living; and all

the gradations from primitive man to the most civilized are co-existent. The gradation is a gradation of classification, so far as the evidence goes, not of evolution. But even the origin of man is not as simple as it can be made to appear. That the development from ape to man was gradual is no longer received as a true theory. That theory was thinkable; it permitted us to conceive of a generation changing unnoticeably. Difficulties enough remained, however. But now the sport-theory, or the mutation theory has pushed to the front—and leaves us with conditions almost unthinkable. Instead of having developed gradually, man was born suddenly—the miscarriage of an ape. He came into a world of struggle for existence as a freak of nature; wilder, fiercer, perhaps stronger than his fellows, but none the less a freak. Are freaks indulged in animal families? Are freaks born in pairs, capable of reproducing freaks? How were these freaks of nature protected until they had sufficiently multiplied to defend themselves, and to subdue their fellows? How did it happen that there was only one or one pair of such freaks, or that all such "miscarriages" resembled each other so much as to become one human race? But questions enough, to show that the theory of the evolution of man from the beast is not very simple, nor very clear.

Let us turn to another side of the question. Science has to do only with phenomena, and can therefore rest satisfied with the theory that everything which exists has its sufficient natural or material causes, and that no other causes exist. But philosophy must look farther, and I mistake much if it will not be struck by the fact that science must consider all existing phenomena as the end of an evolution-process. Still more striking is the fact that these evolution-processes are so largely invariable; so invariable that science would be most thoroughly startled if the offspring of an ape should be a man, or even in generations develop into a man. With the appearance of man, evolution has undergone a strange alteration; it is no longer physical, except in a very imperceptible degree, but has become mental and social. Of the surviving inherited primitive organs in man's physical nature none seem to have been lost in all

these thousands of years. Nor has the mental and moral character of man essentially changed since the dawn of civilization. Evolution has therefore undergone a radical change since man has been born on earth. But a principle which thus changes its application with time, while a convenient help to science, can hardly be received as a universal philosophic principle.

Even in science the principle of a continuous evolution by natural causes is not universally satisfactory. At critical points the determining cause cannot be found. The hypothesis is therefore useful in discovering natural causes, but not valid for excluding supra-natural causes, or for determining the character of the unknown elements in the pre-conditions.

So much for the causal side of evolution. Another side is hinted at in the statement above, that existing phenomena are ends of development, and that some stages of development, at least, are invariable. The existing species are permanent; evolution has therefore come to an end, as in man, or at least changed the form of its manifestation. Now that which rests in an end is not simple cause. Causality alone could continue indefinitely without reaching an end. Matter passing "from a relatively indefinite incoherent heterogeneity to a relatively definite coherent heterogeneity" has no limit set to its progress. The description is indeed limited, because it is a description of a scientifically limited field of observation. As it starts with the relatively indefinite it can end with the 'relatively definite,' and this 'relatively definite' can be taken to be the highest we know, i. e. man. But the philosophic principle must be extended beyond these limits and be a progress from the absolutely indefinite to the absolutely definite. Why 'a relatively definite coherent hetrogeneity' should be one end is no more evident than whence the 'relatively indefinite incoherent homogeneity' comes at the other.

Not only is the end absolute, as far as our evidence goes; we cannot imagine a higher step in the development. The most optimistic evolutionist can only counsel us to improve our conditions; he does not hold out for us the hope of a new race as much higher than man, as man is higher than the ape.

Nor can he make it apparent how such a race born among men could get a foothold on earth. The end evolution has reached in man is not relative, but, so far as man can see, absolute.

Still more: the whole process is not accidental. Evolution is not merely the continuous activity of natural causes; it is a continuous progress produced by the activity of natural causes. Besides causality there is included in evolution in its most general definition the idea of final cause. The universe has not only evolved: it has striven and pressed towards an evolved state. The causal idea is here prominent, but no less so the teleologic. Causality alone never produced cosmos.

Final cause again lies beyond the range of the scientist. The understanding of phenomena by their natural causes is his aim. Final cause is for him also transcendal. But without final cause evolution is only a limited form of causality, causality restricted to natural or material causes. With evolution minus final cause little could be explained; the natural or material or mechanical causes never fully exhaust the 'cause.' Perhaps for this reason the term cause has been unwelcome. The evolutionist attempts to solve the difficulty by placing cause and final cause undeveloped in the original chaos, and letting them develop together; then by explaining all as a natural evolution, he misses the teleology which he has allowed. As a scientist for the purposes of scientific investigation, he may be justified; as a philosopher there is no justification for him. Even as a scientist he is compelled to use teleogic terms, as when he speaks of the struggle for existence, adaptation, etc.

For the purpose of finding all the natural causes discoverable of a given phenomena, the scientist fixes the hypothesis, that natural causes alone will explain it; he even abstracts from those natural final causes which might be admitted without vitiating his hypothesis of purely natural causes. This abstract hypothesis is his theory of evolution. It has done great service in the discovery of facts; as a satisfactory explanation of existing phenomena, it is a failure; as a philosophical principle of universal application it is foolishness.

The connection of evolution with theology is interesting. Theology or Christian Theism as a branch of theology or of theological philosophy, has the same fundamental elements as evolution: the universality of cause and of final cause. But theology admits not only mechanical, material or natural cause, but grants the possibility of supra-natural cause. It does not like evolution give us an unexplained material chaos which of itself develops into a beautiful cosmos. It does not give us a man who is the end of a material evolution, the steps of which are not discoverable and the manner of which is unthinkable. It does not reduce thought to mechanics, nor man to a machine. At the same time it does not hide final cause in a chaos from which only cause appears, but grants a final cause in the first cause. Reducing cause and final cause to a unity without confounding them, it gives us the highest monism. Again in separating God, in whom cause and final cause are combined—the cause in His power, the final cause in His plan and purpose—from the world, it solves the problem to which neither science nor philosophy can reach—as to the beginning of natural cause, and the end and purpose of the cosmos. In teaching the imminence of God it explains those mysterious remnants of cause, those mysteries of transition apparently causeless, which the scientist cannot explain.

From the purely intellectual standpoint, theism explains far more facts and reduces fundamental principles to a more satisfactory unity than any other system of philosophy. Having this solution, it is strange indeed that theologians have been led to see in a scientific hypothesis raised to the dignity of a philosophic principle without proof or warrant, something higher, more satisfactory, more philosophical, or even more theologically safe than the principles of theology itself. Strange indeed that an abstract scientific hypothesis should have shaken theology, as well as history and philosophy, to its foundations; and that hypothesis, an arbitrary limitation of the law of causality!

ARTICLE VIII.

THE PROTESTANT AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CONCEPTION OF WHAT IS FUNDAMENTAL TO CHRISTIANITY.

By J. B. Remensnyder, D.D., LL.D.

The discussion respecting Christianity, which has been so active in recent times, has assumed a variety of phases. One view-point after another has been taken, from which to conduct the attack or defense. For a time Bauer and his school held the field with the mythical theory, which discredited the authenticity of the gospels. Then the contest changed to the sphere and nature of Inspiration. The Higher Criticism shifted the ground to the origin, composition, date, etc., of the Old and New Testaments.

All these related to the form. The latest aspects of the conflict touch the very substance of Christianity. Such volumes as Weiss' "Religion of the New Testament," C. Cuthbert Hall's "Universal Elements of the Christian Religion" and Fairbairn's "Lectures on the Religion of Jesus Christ," show that the question at issue now is no more one of secondary but of primary import. It is the very foundations about which the battle rages.

Harnack led this movement by his epochal work: "The Essence of Christianity." To this Loisy, from the Catholic standpoint, replied in his: "The Gospel and the Church."

Since then, the present form of the critical question is: "What is fundamental to Christianity? What constitutes its vital principle? What must be held to hold to it at all?" it becomes a matter of supreme interest to hear the answer which these two great theologians, one the foremost representative of Protestantism, the other of Catholicism, give.

In other words, *What do we learn from them to be the Protestant, as contrasted with the Roman Catholic conception of what is fundamental to the Christian Religion?*

Harnack's answer to the question: What is Christianity?

is; "Jesus Christ, and the gospel he preached." What is this gospel? for with Harnack that is more than Christ's personality. The gospel is the proclamation of the coming of the kingdom of God, not as outward or visible, but as an inner life. The characteristic of that kingdom is righteousness and love.

And specifically, what Jesus reveals to men is the knowledge of God as the *Father.* Faith in this loving Fatherhood distinguishes one as a Christian. This was Christ's original message. Harnack admits that it was upon belief in the resurrection as a veritable fact that Christianity took its rise. But he distinguishes between the Easter faith and the Easter message; that is, between the historic fact, and the faith built upon it. The latter is undoubted, the former questionable.

"Whatever may have happened at the grave, and in the matter of the appearances, one thing is certain, this grave was the birthplace of the indestructible belief that death is vanquished: that there is a life eternal. It is useless to cite Plato: it is useless to point to the Persian religion, and the ideas of the literature of later Judaism. All that would have perished and has perished: but the certainty of the resurrection and of a life eternal, which is bound up with the grave in Joseph's garden, has not perished, and on the conviction that Jesus lives we still build those hopes of citizenship in the eternal city, which make earthly life worth living and tolerable. 'He delivered them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage,' as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews confesses."*

Harnack has no sympathy with the thesis of Baur and the Tübingen School of divergence between Peter and Paul, and that the powerful original mind of the latter formulated a new gospel. But he holds that Paul's claim that he had the mind of Christ was true, and that he continued to teach in the true spirit of the Master. To Paul he ascribes such an exposition and development of Christ's teaching as constituted Christianity a *new religion* in distinction from Judaism—the gospel as con-

* The Essence of Christianity, p. 162.

trasted with the law. And Paul also sounded clearly that note of universality which was bound up in the gospel, but which Christ had only intimated. The gospel was not hereby changed, but was launched rightly upon its great career—faced toward its future course of conquest.

About the beginning of the third century, Harnack asserts that Christianity underwent a radical change. This was owing to two causes. First, Hellenism. The ingress of Grecian and Gnostic thoughts introduced speculative ideas into the Gospel. It became an intermixture of Christian faith and Pagan philosophy. It was cast in the forms of a metaphysical theology foreign to the simplicity of the Gospel. It became a complex doctrinal system. Second, it assumed the form of Catholicism. The invisible kingdom became an outward organization. The universal priesthood of believers was lost in the establishment of a priestly caste. The faith to be lived became a faith to be believed. Life was transmuted into doctrine. The religion of the soul became a recitation of prayers, formulas and external acts. Ritualism usurped the place of genuine heart renewal. Salvation was no longer conditioned by faith, but was purchased by good works. The Church instead of being a gentle shepherdess to lead to Christ, became an institution, modeled after the Roman empire, with all the paraphernalia of imperial force. It dominated the minds and enslaved the consciences of men, obscuring both the liberty and simplicity of the gospel. It was churchism instead of Christianity. Christ said: "My kingdom is not of this world," but Rome made it the earthiest of earthy kingdoms.

Then came the Reformation, what effect had this?

It protested against the whole hierarchical system as a perversion of Christianity and demanded its overthrow. It asserted absolute liberty of conscience from all ecclesiastical tyranny. It proclaimed the supreme authority of the Scriptures as over against Popes and Church councils. It restored the primitive simplicity of public worship. As to the question who was to decide as to the true meaning and teaching of the gospel, since there was no infallible church tribunal, Luther

thought that so clear and simple was the word of God upon all truths fundamental to salvation, that its interpretation could be safely left to the individual Christian judgment, illuminated by the Holy Spirit who was promised the disciples "to guide them into all truth."

The Reformation thus practically republished and restored the gospel in its primitive purity, as preached by Jesus, and unfolded by Paul. What then does Harnack, from all these researches, give as the answer to his question: What is Christianity? His reply is: "It is not a church. It is not an hierarchial system. It is not a body of doctrines to be received. It is not an artistic scheme of worship. It is not an acknowledgment of the personal glory or divinity of Christ. But it is the message of Christ proclaiming the coming of the spiritnal kingdom of God, which consists in the knowledge of the love of the Father, and of the immeasurable value of the soul; and through faith in, and obedience to this message, the universal prevalence of righteousness, brotherhood and love.

As prominent on the Catholic side as Harnack on the Protestant is the Abbe' Loisy. He is one of the most advanced thinkers of the liberal school in the Catholic church. He accepts some of the boldest maxims, and what some would consider some of the most destructive results of the Higher Criticism. On account of his fearless utterances in this respect, his work on "The Gospel and the Church," was placed on the "Index Purgatorius," on its appearance in 1903. Nevertheless Loisy is heart and soul a Catholic. He is intelligently and conscientiously convinced of the generic truth of the great principles for which the Catholic system stands, and in this volume proves himself one of its very ablest defenders. The specific aim of the work is to answer Harnack's chief volume: "What is Christianity?" And he subjects the great Protestant theologian to a most trenchant and powerful critique.

Loisy first challenges Harnack's definition of the *kingdom of God.* The evangelists tell us that "Christ came preaching the kingdom of God." Hence if we can find what he comprehended in this great theme, we will have an important key to

the answer of the question, "in what lies the essence of Christianity." To the definition we have seen Harnack give, viz., that this kingdom was spiritual and invisible, one "within you," essentially that of righteousness, Loisy replies that this is a wholly one-sided conception; that what Christ preached was not a merely inner or individual renewal, but a "*kingdom.*" He proclaimed indeed the necessity of repentance, of a moral renovation, of the remission of sins, but all dependent upon, and in view of the kingdom. This kingdom was at hand. The judgment of God was impending over the world. The last times were at the door. And Christ's mission was to announce the speedy establishment of this kingdom, which is not only to be ushered in by him, but also finds its completion in the future judgment, and in his Second Advent. "The idea of the celestial kingdom is then nothing but a great hope, and it is in this hope or nowhere that the true historian should set the essence of the gospel, as no other idea holds so large and permanent a place in the teaching of Jesus." *

Loisy therefore objects to Harnack's presentation of the vital note of Christ's teaching that it makes the kingdom of God purely personal and present, whereas it had the universal elements of a kingdom, which had for its aim indeed, the salvation of individuals, but through its regular constitutive agencies; and he charges that Harnack quite overlooks the fact that this kingdom was *on the way* as a kingdom, and hence was not only present but future, stretching from the day of its inauguration to the great future day of its full revelation in the coming of the Son of Man, clothed with the sceptre of its kingship in glory and power. The kingdom is actually the everlasting happiness. Its root is within; it lies like a precious seed in the soul of each believer; but in this state it is hidden, rudimentary, imperfect, and awaits its perfection in the future.

Loisy next questions the position of Harnack relative to the Person of Christ. He asserts that in Harnack's "What is Christianity," Jesus is only the revealer of the Father, that he

* The Gospel and the Church, p. 79.

merely assumed the title of Messiah because by the aid of that Jewish expectation He could gain general hearing, and that Jesus in the specific conception as "the Son of God does not belong to the Gospel." That idea was put into it by the early Christians. Harnack indeed considers Christ to have had a unique knowledge of the Father, and a special mission to make Him known as He never had been. In this sense He was a Son, but not in the sense of a Divine Person.

In answer to this Loisy adduces Peter's confession: "Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God," and Christ's approval of it, and also his affirmative reply to the adjuration of the High Priest, and the question of the priests: "Art thou, then, the Son of God?" And he says that Jesus affirmed Himself to be the Son of God just to the same extent that He assumed the title of the Messiah. Hence he considers Harnack's theory a wholly artificial and superficial explanation of the Divine Sonship of Jesus. There is absolutely no evidence of a distinction in His consciousness between Himself as the Messiah and as the Son of God. This latter title belongs to Jesus not because of His inner disposition and His religious experiences, but because of His providential function as the sole maker of the Kingdom of Heaven. "He is the Son, par excellence, not because He has learnt to know the goodness of the Father and revealed it, but because He alone is the vicar of God for the Kingdom of Heaven." * To hold that "he who holds Jesus for the Son of God adds something to the gospel," as Harnack declares, is a conception of the kingdom of God defined entirely without the Christ, and not to put forward a paradox, but simply to show an entire misconception of Christ's teaching. "It is his own religion, not that of the gospel, which Herr Harnack expounds and defends, when he announces that "God and the soul, the soul and its God, are the whole contents of the Gospel."

Loisy then considers Harnack's position on the *Church* which the great German had thus defined: "The society devised by Christ was something invisible and heavenly, because

* The Gospel and the Church, p. 106.

it concerned the inner life of man. Evangelical Christianity was as a soul without a body. Hence, once this inner sphere is left, there is no progress that does not bring losses and reverses. The Roman Church substituted itself for the Roman empire, which in reality survived in her. The Popes reign as did Trajan or Marcus Aurelius. Peter and Paul take the place of Romulus and Remus; Arch-bishops and bishops replace proconsuls; instead of legions come troops of priests and monks." * To this scathing arraignment Loisy replies that Christ not only proclaimed His divine message, but arranged in an orderly way for its propogation. He did not gather about him an infallible society, a sect of disorganized individual units, but established a veritable kingdom, a *Church*, whose organization was already sufficiently outlined in the New Testament. While He lived He was its visible head, and when He ascended He remained its invisible head. Its government He bequeathed to the apostles, with Peter at the head of the Apostolic College, and these ordained their successors in the clerical office, to whom were committed the keys of the kingdom for the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments. He invested it, too, with authority, for how, asks Loisy, can any kingdom exist without authority?

This was the germinal character of the organization. But it was a living kingdom, and as such had within itself the principle of growth and adaptedness to the ever changing circumstances, antagonisms and demands of history. The Church, he says, from this simple origin, by degrees became what it has become and what it had to be to save the gospel by saving itself. "Thus to reproach the Catholic Church for the development of her constitution is to reproach her for having chosen to live, when this life was indispensable for the preservation of the gospel itself. There is no institution on the earth whose status may not be questioned if the principle is established that nothing may exist except in its original form. Such a principle is contrary to the law of life, which is movement and a continual effort of adaptation to conditions always new and per-

* What is Christianity? p. 113.

petually changing." * This strong answer of Loisy appears the more forcible when at this point he stops to call attention to the inconsistency of in one breath condemning the Romish Church as a fixed, rigid Procrustean system, impervious to change, and then the next moment ascribing to it a unique faculty for adapting itself to the course of history, remaining always the ancient Church and yet always new.

But we may reply to Loisy that his point of view was not hidden to Luther and the Reformers. They did not hold that the organization of the Church should be restored to, and continued in the same inflexible New Testament form. But they contended that the hierarchy of the Middle Ages was not a legitimate development of the germinal form of the gospel period. That in fact it was a mal-formation, inconsistent with the Scriptural root. And in the Lutheran Church particularly the principle was asserted of the absolute freedom of Church organization to adapt itself to diverse national peculiarities and to changing historical environment, so that one age and country may have one polity, and another age and country a diverse polity, without impairing true Church unity.

Finally, Loisy pursues the same line of argumentation with respect to Christian dogma. He contends that Harnack's contention that the gospel underwent an essential change through the fusions and interpenetrations of Greek philosophic ideas is untenable. For even where such ideas entered, as in the conception of the Incarnation in the first chapter of John, the idea of the Word comes as much from the Bible as from Philo, and is then so connected with Christ as to receive an original significance and to be turned from cosmology to revelation.

Loisy holds in common with the historic Church the necessity of dogma, and that the Church has ever regarded dogma as the expression and rampart of the faith. Here Harnack agrees with him, but finds but one dogma in the gospel, viz, faith in the love of God the Father. Loisy sharply ridicules this meagre basis of doctrine to account for the world compelling power of Christianity and the vast fabric of its in-

* The Gospel and the Church, p. 166.

fluence. He holds that this wholly repudiates the writings and work of Paul in whom were found the lineaments of Christology, and who, penetrated with the mind of Christ, set the Church on the slope of historical development. And he declares the thesis of Harnack to be fatal to theology. The identity of the gospel does not consist in its exact coincidence with the embryonic forms of New Testament statement, and with the simple, wonderful faith of the sub-apostolic age. The identity of the gospel is no more secured by refusing to it a logical development under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, than the identity of a man is secured by making him return to his cradle.

Such is a brief outline of this battle royal between these theological giants, standing respectively for Protestantism and Romanism. We may ask, what have they decided, and what, between their opposing ideas, is left, of the "Essence of Christianity"? In some respects, the Catholic liberal appears to have the advantage over his Protestant antagonist in this great duel of ideas.

Dr. Dorner, in his history of Protestant Theology, affirms the twin pillars of Protestantism to be, Justification by Faith—the material principle—and the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures—the formal principle. Had Harnack taken his stand unwaveringly upon these, he would have stood forth as a truer exponent of his co-religionists, and he would have had a determinative rule enabling him to define more correctly the Essence of Christianity. But too lightly estimating these, he not only exposes himself to attack, but also divests Christianity of that which has ever been considered by historic christendom as vital to its distinctive character, constituting it the religion of redemption.

The Catholic Loisy, on the other hand, is saved from the negative tendencies of his critical views by his reverence for the authority of the Church. And his recognition of the official Sonship of Christ, and of an historic form and body of Christian doctrine, brings him in closer touch with orthodox Christianity.

But perhaps from no two volumes can the theological reader get a more illuminative and helpful view as to the present outlook of Christianity, than from these penetrating treatises of these eniment Christian thinkers of the Higher Critical School.

Above all, they show that the centre of the critical battle has veered from the form to the content of Christianity, and that the struggle now concerns the very heart and life of the religion of Jesus.

ARTICLE IX.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENERAL SYNOD LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA.

By Rev. C. E. Sparks.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE LUTHERANS IN AMERICA.

To the student of American History there are few subjects of more interest and profit than the consideration of the religious situation. In the religious situation a most prominent place is occupied by the General Synod Lutheran Church. A study of the development of this body will give an admirable understanding of the trend of religious thought in America and the effect of European affairs upon the ecclesiastical conditions of this continent. The General Synod having avoided the extremes of narrow exclusiveness on one hand and liberal rationalism on the other stands in a position to represent the best religious thought of this country. It has remained firm on all the fundamental principles of Christianity and stands for historic Lutheranism.

The General Synod was not organized until 1820, yet to understand its development it is necessary to take a brief survey of the events that precede and lead up to this important date. With this end in view let there first be noted the various Lutheran settlements that were made in America during the colonial period.

Shortly after the first settlements were made within the limits of the original thirteen colonies Lutherans began to find

their way to America. The same causes that brought other settlers to America brought the Lutherans. There were some Lutherans among those who came for purely commercial purposes. Others came to seek religious freedom. Some came to found colonies for the homeland. Still others came to find homes for themselves and families.

Lutheran settlements may be grouped into three principal centers, along the Hudson, along the Delaware, and in the Carolinas. It is from these three centers that come the first developments of organization and growth.

The first Lutheran settlement in America of which there is any record was among the Dutch settlers at New Amsterdam. There were many Lutherans in Holland and at least as early as 1624 there were Lutherans among the settlers at the mouth of the Hudson. In 1649 they were sufficiently numerous to organize a congregation. The Lutherans pushed up the Hudson along with the other Dutch settlers and in 1656 a congregation was organized at Albany. In 1708 another was organized at Newberg. Pushing up the valley of the Mohawk a congregation was established at Schoharie in 1712.

The settlements along the Delaware were first begun by the Swedes. In 1637 a settlement was effected at Wilmington and a congregation was immediately organized. From this other congregations gradually grew. Most of these were later absorbed by the Episcopalian Church after this territory came under the control of England. The next Lutheran settlement along the Delaware was effected by immigrants from Germany who settled at Germantown in 1685 and organized a congregation. The next was at German Valley, New Jersey, in 1707. These also, as the name would suggest, came from Germany. This was followed by a settlement and congregation at Tulpenhocken on the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania in the year 1723. This was effected by a portion of the Schoharie colony in New York.

The congregations of the Carolina group were more scattered than were those of the other two groups. The first settlement was at New Berne, North Carolina in 1710. These came from the Palatinate in Germany because of the persecu-

tion directed against the Lutherans in this state. In 1732 Swiss Lutherans settled at Purrysburg, South Carolina but no congregation was organized. The most important settlement in this group was at Ebenezer, Georgia. This settlement was made by persecuted Salsbergers, who came to Savannah in 1734 and almost immediately moved up the river to Ebenezer, and organized a congregation.

Besides these three groups there were a few scattered settlements that contained Lutherans. The most important of these was at Spottsylvania, Virginia, where a congregation was organized in 1717. There was also a settlement of Lutherans at Waldboro, Maine, but it never developed into a congregation.

The history of the early struggles of these Lutheran settlements is highly interesting and even romantic, but has little bearing on the development of the General Synod. It will then be passed over in order to come to events of more significance. The seed that finally developed into the General Synod was sown by Henry Melchoir, Muhlenberg, who came to America from Halle, Germany. Muhlenberg can be truly said to be the father of the Lutheran Church in America. Muhlenburg, if anything, was an organizer. Soon after his arrival in America his work began to bear fruit. He came first to Pennsylvania, by way of the Carolinas, but his influence was felt wherever there were Lutherans. At once he recognized the impossibility of doing anything without organization. Immediately he set about the task.

He arrived in 1742 and by 1748 he effected the organization of the first Lutheran synod in America, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. This was accomplished only after overcoming innumerable difficulties. Among these were individual jealousies both of congregations and pastors and the unfriendly attitude toward the movement of the authorities in Halle. For nearly forty years the Ministerium of Pennsylvania remained the only Lutheran synodical organization in America. Its beginning was indeed small, consisting at the first meeting at Philadelphia of six ministers and twenty-four lay delegates. However, it soon began to grow both in numbers and in influence.

It was not until after the Revolutionary War that a second synodical organization was effected. In 1786 the Ministerium of New York, which for some time had been contemplated, became, through the efforts of Dr. Kunze, a reality. Some of the same difficulties were experienced in this organization, as in the case of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. At least eight pastors with their congregations who should have been members refused to unite. For years the Ministerium of New York consisted of thirteen pastors.

The influence of the organizing spirit began to be felt in the South and in 1803 the North Carolina Synod was organized. This synod, however, did not contain all the southern pastors, as some of them belonged to the Ministerium of New York.

Fifteen years later, 1818, the Joint Synod of Ohio was organized. This is the oldest independent synod in America. Several times in its history it has allied itself with some general body but it has always returned to its independent position.

PERIOD I. THE GENERAL ORGANIZATION. 1820–1830.

The spirit of synodical organization had now become quite strong and the time was ripe for a general organization. That such an organization was sadly needed had become apparent to all the leading men of the Lutheran Church. It is not strange then that efforts were made to bring it about.

Let some of the distinct causes and needs that led to such an organization be first noted. There were four independent synods three of which were comparatively weak. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania alone possessed any amount of strength. In addition to the independent synods there were a large number of independent congregations. With such a condition existing progressive work along any line was well nigh impossible. The only Lutheran institution of learning was Hartwick Seminary, located in an out of the way place in New York. Lutheran ministers as well as laymen were being educated in the institutions of other denominations. Organized missionary work either home or foreign was next to impossible. All kinds of benevolent operations were difficult. Different practices and polity among the different synods led to innumerable controversies and entanglements. All of these

things led the men of best judgment to see the necessity of a closer bond of union between the different parts of the Lutheran Church in America. The three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, which was celebrated in 1817, aroused a renewed Lutheran patriotism which finally crystalized into definite action.

The first effort at union originated in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. In 1818 a resolution was passed that, "in its judgment, it would be well if the different Evangelical Lutheran synods in the United States were to stand, in some way or other, in true union with one another." The officers of the synod were then appointed to correspond with the then existing synods of New York and North Carolina on this subject. Both New York and North Carolina received the plan favorably although New York rejected the detailed plan for union which was proposed by Pennsylvania. The Joint Synod of Ohio, which was organized this same year, rejected the proposition because it feared that it would result in the overthrow of the German language and a loss of congregational independence. Pennsylvania and North Carolina, however, continued to press the plan which finally culminated in the Hagerstown convention.

The convention which brought about the organization of the General Synod met at Hagerstown, Maryland, October 22, 1820. In numbers the convention was small. In it were represented four synods, Pennsylvania, New York, North Carolina and Maryland. The Maryland Synod had just been organized this same year. There were eleven clerical and four lay delegates. Of these fifteen delegates Pennsylvania had eight, which of course had the controlling influence. This convention organized the General Synod and adopted a constitution. The first meeting of the General Synod occurred the next year, October 21–23, at Frederick, Maryland.

The Ministerium of New York although it had participated in the organization did not send delegates to the General Synod until 1837. Consequently at the first meeting at Frederick, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Maryland were the only synods represented. There were but ten delegates. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania now pursued a most extra-

ordinary course By its action at this time were sown the seeds of future controversies and divisions in the Lutheran Church. When the General Synod was started a large number of the congregations, especially those in the country districts, began to oppose the movement. They feared it would interfere with congregational independence. It was also feared that it would spoil the plan for a union theological seminary between the Lutherans and Reformed that had been projected. Many of those who had been the leaders in the movement for the organization of the General Synod now yielded to this sentiment and the Ministerium of Pennsylvania abandoned the organization which it had brought into existence. This action affected more than Pennsylvania. The Joint Synod of Ohio had elected delegates to the General Synod, which was to meet in 1823, but when they heard of the action of Pennsylvania they remained away. Of the four synods that had participated in the organization of the General Synod only the comparatively weak synods of North Carolina and Maryland remained. Pennsylvania which had been the leading spirit in the organization now left the movement to its fate. In this same year the West Pennsylvania Synod broke away from the Ministerium and joined the General Synod. From 1823 to 1831 the General Synod consisted of the small synods of North Carolina, Maryland, and West Pennsylvania.

With the organization of the Joint Synod of Ohio in 1818, a movement was started which was to have an important bearing on the development of the General Synod. Heretofore the organization of synods had been the bringing together of independent congregations. This, however, was a movement for the dividing of the larger synods. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania had grown until it covered a large amount of territory and was rather unwieldy for the purpose of administration. The Ohio Conference which became the joint Synod of Ohio, was the first to break away. Other Conferences began to think of separate synodical organization. The Virginia Conference, which became the Maryland Synod, followed the example of Ohio in 1820, and participated in the organization of the General Synod. This synod at first went by the name

of the Maryland and Virginia Synod. In the same year a portion of the North Carolina Synod broke away and organized the Tennessee Synod which remained independent until it became a part of the United Synod South. This was followed the next year, 1824, by the withdrawal of another part of the North Carolina Synod to form the South Carolina Synod. This Synod remained independent until 1835 when it joined the General Synod. In 1829 the Virginia Synod separated from the Maryland Synod. This movement for the division of the larger synods resulted in 1830 in the organization of the Hartwick Synod from a part of the Ministerium of New York and the following year it united with the General Synod.

During the first ten years of its existence the growth of the General Synod had been exceedingly slow. In fact its continuation seemed extremely doubtful in the eyes of many. Until the Hartwick Synod united with it in 1831 it consisted of the three synods of North Carolina, Maryland and West Pennsylvania. In 1834 out of the 60971 communicant members of Lutheran churches in the United States only 20249 were in the General Synod. This condition of affairs was the result of the inconsistent action of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The movement, however, had been started which was to bring about a different state of affairs during the next fifteen years. The spirit for the organization of new synods was strong and the movement well under way. The Hartwick Synod had set the example by uniting with the General Synod. This was soon followed by similar action on the part of other independent synods.

The year 1826 was an important one for the General Synod. It witnessed the founding of the Theological Seminary of the General Synod at Gettysburg, through the efforts of Dr. S. S. Schmucker. The Lutheran Church could now train its own ministers.

PERIOD II. GROWTH AND EXTENSION. 1830–1845.

With the addition of the Hartwick Synod the General Synod entered upon a new period of development characterized by both internal and external growth. It now became evident

that the General Synod was to be the point about which the Lutheran Church in America was to crystalize.

The internal growth was especially significant. The original synods had been gradually becoming stronger until now they were ready to begin aggressive work. Definite home mission work was begun which helped to extend the bounds of the original synods and facilitated the organization of new synods. In 1832 the needs of the Theological Seminary led to the founding of Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. All this gave new life to the internal growth of the General Synod.

Of scarcely less importance was the external growth. Independent synods began to consider the advisability of uniting with the General Synod. Some went no further than to consider the question but some did unite. The first to follow the example of the Hartwick Synod was the South Carolina Synod which united in 1835. In 1837 the spirit of union found such a foothold in the Ministerium of New York that it again cast its lot with the organization which it had helped to bring into existence.

The Frankean Synod which was organized in 1837 was the result of the spirit of organization of new synods combined with the spirit of revivalism and liberalism which now began to make its appearance. It remained independent until 1864 when its union with the General Synod resulted in the renewal of some bitter controversies.

In 1836 the East Ohio Synod, dissatisfied with the conservatism of the Joint Synod of Ohio, broke away from it and in 1840 united with the General Synod. This synod was followed at later periods by the Miami Synod, 1844, and the Wittenberg Synod in 1847. These movements were the result of energetic home missionary efforts to a large extent.

The same revolt against conservatism led to the organization of the East Pennsylvania and Allegheny Synods in 1842, which came into the General Synod and occupied practically the same territory as the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. In like manner the Southwest Virginia Synod broke away from the Maryland

Synod and became one of the district synods o. General Synod.

In 1845 portions of several synods west of the Allegheny mountains, especially portions of the West Pennsylvania and Ohio synods, organized the Pittsburg Synod. It did not unite with the General Synod until a later period.

This period was remarkable for the advance in education as well as numerical growth. Hartwick Seminary and especially the Seminary and College at Gettysburg had been growing in strength and efficiency. The year 1845 witnessed the founding of Wittenburg College at Springfield, Ohio. This institution did much to develop and aid in the growth of the district synods located within the bounds of this state.

The result of the fifteen years growth, between 1830 and and 1845, contained much to bring satisfaction to the members of the General Synod.

The experimental stage in which the General Synod found itself during the first ten years of its existence was passed. The General Synod was now the recognized head of the Lutheran Church in America in spite of the fact that several independent synods as yet refused to unite with it. It had grown from three weak district synods to the number of twelve. In 1840 the communicant membership of the Lutheran Church in America was 120,000 of which the larger portion was in the General Synod by 1845. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania had not yet returned to the General Synod, but aside from this body only the comparatively weak synods of Tennessee, Frankean, Pittsburg, and the Joint Synod of Ohio, remained out. The outlook for the General Synod was indeed most bright.

There had been, however, a current of controversy that by 1845 began to be quite apparent. During the next fifteen years these controversies gained in force until they resulted in serious divisions in the General Synod. This division was the most serious occurrence in the history of the General Synod and of the Lutheran Church in America. As has already been noted, the seeds of this division were sown in former years by the action of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Had Penn-

sylvania remained true to the child, of which it was the legitimate parent, the influences that gained headway could have been counteracted before they resulted so seriously.

PERIOD III. CONTROVERSIES. 1845–1860.

The controversies of this period were influenced largely by the trend of religious thought in Germany. The Lutheran Church in America looked to Germany as the leader in religious thought. The rise of German rationalism had two totally opposite effects in America. One was to foster latitudinarianism and the other was to drive a portion of the church to the extreme of conservatism. In the controversies that followed, those who held the middle ground, which was the true Lutheran position, were swept for the time being into one camp or the other.

The large immigration that now set in from Germany and the Scandinavian countries played a prominent part in these controversies as well as in the growth of the Lutheran Church. These immigrants being almost entirely Lutheran naturally brought both their church and their religious thought of their native land in America. This period is characterized by the organization of a large number of independent synods representing both nationalities and peculiarities of religious thought.

A party of German immigrants, who revolted against the growing rationalism of Germany, settled near Buffalo, New York. They organized the Buffalo Synod and at once became representatives of extreme conservatism.

In 1846 were organized among the Norwegians of America, what are known as the Hauge's and Eilsen's Synods. These were pietistic and somewhat revivalistic bodies and were influenced by the teachings of the great Norwegian reformer Hauge. Although these bodies were in no way connected with the General Synod yet their influence helped to widen the breach between the liberal and conservative elements.

In 1839 Walther and a party of Germans settled near St. Louis and became the nucleus of the Missouri Synod. This body swung to the last extreme of conservatism getting as far away from the true Lutheran position on that side as the liberals did on the other. Ever since its organization the Mis-

souri Synod has been one of the most prolific sources of controversy and division among the Lutherans of America. Consequently the introduction of this element did not help to quiet the controversy that was arising in the General Synod.

This period, although a period of controversy, was also a period of growth. As the frontier pushed westward and the bounds of synods increased, or the internal growth produced unwieldly numbers, new synods were organized. As has already been noted the Wittenberg Synod was organized in northwestern Ohio in 1847. The Olive Branch Synod, including Southern Indiana and a portion of Kentucky, was organized in 1848. The Northern Illinois Synod was organized in 1851. The Central Pennsylvania Synod, organized in 1853, was the result of internal growth in Pennsylvania. In the same year the Texas Synod applied for admission. The Northern Indiana Synod came in 1855. Then in 1857 the Ohio English Synod was formed from portions of the German bodies represented in Ohio.

For thirty years the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had been out of the General Synod but had been gradually growing more friendly to it. In 1850 it had given its support to Pennsylvania College, and in 1853, after considerable controversy among its own members it applied for admission to the General Synod. At the same time the Pittsburg Synod, which had been organized eight years before, also applied.

Although the growth of the General Synod had been remarkable the controversies were growing more and more intense and were about to break out with renewed vigor. Dr. S. S. Schmucker and Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, who had been two of the most popular and influential men in the General Synod, began to be more energetic in their advocacy of the extreme liberal tendency. For some time they had been practicing revival and other methods that were distasteful to the conservative element of the church. Finally they began to advocate a change in the doctrinal basis. In 1853 a document appeared which was called a definite platform and was circulated among the different district synods. It was the attempt to bring about the doctrinal change. Dr. Schmucker and Dr. Kurtz are gen-

erally believed to be the instigators of this document. Immediately the controversy reached almost white heat. The division between the liberals and conservatives became more clearly defined, each going to inconsistent extremes and each accusing those who tried to hold the true Lutheran middle position, of being on the other side. Dr. C. P. Krauth, Jr. and Dr. J. A. Brown were the leading champions for the conservative party and Dr. Schmucker and Dr. Kurtz for the liberals. Many other influential men were compelled to take one side or the other, although their true opinions were for the strictly Lutheran middle position. It is believed that Dr. Krauth really desired to hold the middle ground himself but in the heat of the controversy sided with the conservatives.

In 1859 the Melanchthon Synod applied for admission to the General Synod. This was a portion that had been broken off from the Maryland Synod and had come into existence through the influence of Dr. Kurtz. It was organized according to his liberal ideas. The admission of this synod tended to heighten the controversy.

With the breaking out of the Civil War, slavery, or rather the secession question, came into prominence. In the Lutheran Chureh slavery had always held a secondary place to the doctrinal issue. The war, however, naturally sundered the relations between the southern and northern synods.

As has been seen the fifteen years from 1845 to 1860 were years of controversies which had grown more and more intense so that when the War broke out the Lutheran Church as well as the nation was ready for division. But in spite of these controversies the General Synod had made great progress. North Carolina College had been organized in 1858. Newberry College was organized in the same year. A college had been started at Hillsboro, Illinois, and later, in 1852, removed to Springfield. A missionary Institute had been organized at Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, which afterwards developed into Susquehanna University. There were now connected with the General Synod twenty-five district synods which contained 164,000 of the 235,000 communicant members of the Lutheran Church in America. Could the unfortunate controversies

have been peacefully adjusted the Lutheran Church was in a position to become a strong and united body.

PERIOD IV. DIVISION. 1860–1870.

The controversies that had been raging during the last fifteen years began to bear fruit even before the Civil War actually broke out. In 1860 the Swedes, who had been connected with the Northern Illinois Synod, withdrew and organized the Augustana Synod. The war cut off the six southern synods, five of which never returned. The sixth, the Texas Synod, resumed its relation with the General Synod at the end of the war. The other five synods organized in 1863 the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Confederate States of America.

The shadow of the Civil War somewhat quieted the doctrinal controversies for a time. They flamed up again in 1864 when the Frankean Synod applied for admission having for its basis the position of the liberal element of the church. The admission of the Frankean Synod caused the delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to withdraw and report the action to their synod. This was in accordance with the condition on which they had entered the General Synod. Although the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had united with the General Synod in 1853 its connection had been rather precarious as there was a strong minority opposed to it. They held that the General Synod would trample upon the rights of the individual synods that composed it. They carried the doctrine of "states rights" into ecclesiastical affairs. Whether or not the delegates who withdrew from the General Synod intended their action to be a severance of the relations between the General Synod and the Ministerium of Pennsylvania is a disputed question. The General Synod interpreted their action to mean such. The Ministerium did not put such a construction upon it. This difference caused the final rupture in the General Synod. Had there been no question but the doctrinal ones they doubtless would have been adjusted without serious division. It was a question of whether the Lutheran Church in America should have a strong centralized form of Government or should be a loose confederacy of indlvidual synods.

The next meeting of the General Synod convened in 1866, at Fort Wayne, Indiana. The war was now over. The Texas Synod had returned. The Minnesota Synod had been admitted. The five synods, that had organized the General Synod of the Confederate States, were considering the advisability of returning to the General Synod. The influence of Dr. Schmucker and Dr. Kurtz was waning and those who held the middle ground were in control of the General Synod. It was now neither extremely conservative or extremely liberal. The way seemed open for the allaying of the unfortunate controversies that had been rending the Church. The action of the delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was the rock that brought disaster. The Ministerium had elected delegates to the meeting of the General Synod and they came demanding seats and a voice in the organization of the body. Dr. Sprecher, the president, ruled that since the Ministerium had withdrawn from the General Synod the delegates could not be seated until they had made formal application and had been received by a vote of the body. On an appeal from the ruling of the chair the president was sustained by the Synod. The delegates of the Ministerium then departed.

A few weeks later, at a meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the relations with the General Synod were dissolved by formal action. This was followed by similar action on the part of the Ministerium of New York, the Pittsburg, English Ohio, Illinois, Minnesota, and Texas Synods. A part of the Ministerium of New York remained and became the New York Synod. A large part of the Pittsburg Synod remained and retained the name. A portion of the Illinois Synod remained and later became the Central Illinois Synod. A great deal of confusion resulted from these re-adjustments of Synodical lines. The final result was a loss of almost half of the General Synod. The larger part of this loss was in the case of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. When the General Synod met in 1868 there remained seventeen synods, including the Susquehanna Synod, which was organized in 1867. There were 86,198 communicant members. The Kansas Synod was organized the same year showing that the vitality of the General

Synod was by no means destroyed. The Ministerium of Pennsylvauia had been in the General Synod but thirteen years, but in that time had been the source of much trouble.

The next move of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was to build up a rival organization and try to completely disintegrate the General Synod. Invitations were sent out "to all Evangelical Lutheran synods, ministers, and congregations in the United States and Canadas which confess the unaltered Augsburg Confession." In response to this call a convention was held in Reading, Pennsylvania, in December, 1866. Thirteen synods were represented. Nearly all the extreme conservative synods sent delegates, even the Missouri Synod. Five were synods or portions of synods that had withdrawn from the General Synod. They were Pennsylvania, New York, English Ohio, Pittsburg, and Minnesota. The other eight were extreme conservative synods that had never been connected with the General Synod and had little sympathy with it. The movement was plainly an effort to discredit the General Synod. The eight conservative synods were the Joint Synod of Ohio, its English District, Wisconsin, Michigan, German Iowa, Canada, Norwegian, and Missouri. The plan of organization, in opposition to the centralized system of the General Synod, was a loose confederacy. The organization was called the General Council which very well describes it for it was little more than a council of the delegates from the different synods that composed it. Throughout its whole existence the connection of the different synods with the General Council has been exceedingly loose and unstable. Even today the synods that make up the greater part of the strength of the organization care very little for the General Council and it would take but little to cause them to sever their connection with it. In fact recently steps have been taken inside, some of them toward this end.

At the first meeting of the General Council the Missouri Synod failed to send delegates and since that time has maintained an attitude of hostility toward the movement. Its place was, however, taken by the Swedish Augustana Synod. Later

one by one the following synods withdrew from the General Council: Wisconsin, German Iowa, Michigan, and Minnesota. Others have been readjusted and reorganized so that of the thirteen original synods that organized the General Council only five, Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio English District, Pittsburg, and Canada remain with it. The smaller synods of Chicago, English Northwest, Pacific, New York and New England, Nova Scotia, and German Manitoba have since been organized so that the General Council now consists of twelve synods. There is some tendency among these new and smaller synods to press the General Synod plan of Centralization. The General Council was urged by some as the movement that would bring about the complete union of the Lutherans in America. As such it has been a miserable failure.

The effect of the division upon the General Synod was at first somewhat of a shock but from this it quickly recovered. Although it had lost almost half its members, its colleges, boards, and other institutions had been left intact. With but little delay it proceeded with its work of expansion. As has already been noted the Susquehanna Synod was organized in 1867 and the Kansas Synod in 1868. The division had taught the General Synod some valuable lessons. It became evident that there was danger in swinging to either the extreme conservative or the extreme liberal position. Most of the extreme conservatives had left the General Synod and the extreme liberals were so discredited that their influence almost completely vanished. Although there are a few of each class left the General Synod is controlled by the great mass of its members who hold the true Lutheran middle position.

PERIOD V. ACTIVITY AND GROWTH. 1870.

By 1870 the General Synod had recovered from the shock of the division and entered upon a new period of its development. One of the first movements was the re-organization of the New York Synod, into the New York and New Jersey Synod, in 1872. In 1873 the Nebraska Synod was organized, showing the result of active home missionary work. The Ger-

man Wartburg Synod came in 1876. In 1891 the German Nebraska Synod was given a separate existence. In the same Year the Rocky Mountain and California Synods were also organized. In 1892 the Central Illinois Synod came in and in 1901 a portion of it became the Southern Illinois Synod.

This period had been one of remarkable growth and expansion for the General Synod. In spite of the obstacles with which it has had to contend it has accomplished much. The General Synod has always tried to make the Lutheran Church in America an American Lutheran Church especially in language. For this reason it has encountered the hostility of those branches which have been endeavoring to perpetuate a foreign language in America. It has also encountered the hostility of the extreme conservative element which has insisted on many things that are not only non-fundamental but even foreign to the faith and practice of the Lutheran Church. Some of the things insisted on by the extreme conservatives are excommunication of members of secret societies and refusal of fellowship with other Christian denominations. On these points the General Synod holds that membership in secret societies is not a question for ecclesiastical legislation and that fellowship with evangelical Christians is a duty. In spite of the opposition of these elements the General Synod has had a remarkable growth and in the bringing of new material into the Church it has far outstripped all other bodies of Lutherans. The Missouri Synod has had more actual increase in numbers but it has come almost entirely from immigration. Since 1868, following the division, the General Synod has grown from 89,148 to 241,018 members, an increase of more than 260 per cent. in thirty-eight years. This has come directly following a most serious controversy and division.

One of the reasons for this growth is the compact organization of the General Synod compared with the other Lutheran bodies. It is true that the General Synod does not have the compact organization of some other denominations such as the Methodists or Presbyterians. However, it is better prepared than most other Lutheran bodies to deal with the problems of

growth and extension. The well organized boards of Home Missions, Church Extension, and Education are carrying on a work that is making the Lutheran Church a power in America.

One of the efficient agencies in the growth of the General Synod is its corps of progressive educational institutions. None of them have developed into large universities but all are recognized for their high standard of efficiency in their departments. The oldest is Hartwick Seminary, founded in 1797. It now consists of an academy and a Theological Seminary. The next is Pennsylvania College and the Theological Seminary located at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The Seminary was founded in 1826 and the College in 1832. This is followed by Wittenberg College at Springfield, Ohio, in 1845. Then comes Carthage College, at Carthage, Illinois, founded in 1870. After this is Midland College and the Western Theological Seminary at Atchison, Kansas. The College was founded in 1887 and the Seminary in 1895. Then there is Susquehanna University at Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, founded in 1894. Besides these there are two female colleges, Maryland Female College at Lutherville, Maryland, and Irving Female College at Mechanics burg, Pennsylvania. In addition to these is the Deaconess Motherhouse at Baltimore, Maryland.

In its benevolent work the General Synod supports the following institutions: National Home for the Aged at Washington, D.C., and three orphans homes at Loysville, Pennsylvania, Springfield, Ohio, and Nachusa, Illinois.

This discussion would not be complete without taking a brief survey of the Lutheran Church in America as a whole. The larger part of the history of the Church centers about the General Synod, but there are some movements that are in no way connected with it. It is interesting to note the numerical growth of the whole Lutheran Church in America during the last century. It is as follows: 1820 35,000, 1830 55,000, 1840 120,000, 1850 143,543, 1860 235,000, 1870 387,746, 1880 694,426, 1890 1,099,868, 1900 1,575,778, 1906 1,868,635.

The Lutheran Church is growing more rapidly than any other denomination. In the year 1904 the Lutherans made a

gain of 5 per cent while the most prosperous of the other denominations gained but a little more than 3 per cent. It now ranks third among the denominations of Protestantism, following the Methodists and Baptists, and having passed the Presbyterians a few years ago.

There are in the United States twenty bodies of Lutherans, four of which are general bodies containing several synods. The other sixteen are independent synods. The oldest of the general bodies is the General Synod whose development we have just traced. The next is the General Council, which, as we have seen, was organized in 1866 as the result of the division in the General Synod. The General Synod South was also organized in 1866 but in 1886 it joined with other southern synods to form the United Synod South. The youngest of the general bodies is the Synodical Conference organized in 1872. The dominating factor in this organization is the Missouri Synod which has its headquarters at St. Louis.

The General Synod and the United Synod South are composed almost entirely of English speaking Lutherans and are the most progressive bodies. The General Council is about one-third each English, German, and Swedish. The Synodical Conference is composed almost entirely of Germans who have immigrated to this country. The Synodical Conference is the most numerous body followed by the General Council and General Synod. They have respectively 597,973, 399,943 and 241,018 members. The United Synod South has 44,308 members. The sixteen independent synods have 585,393 members. Of the independent synods the most important are the Joint Synod of Ohio, German Iowa, Norwegian Lutheran Church, and the Norwegian United Lutheran Church.

Now that some of the old controversies are being forgotten a decided sentiment is being developed for the reuniting of the different parts of the Lutheran Church. Doubtless it is ony a matter of time until the great body of Lutherans in this country will be laboring unitedly in a single organization. In this the General Synod will be the center about which it will be consummated.

ARTICLE X.

"DIE SCHRIFTLEHRE VON DER GNADENWAHL."

Von Geo. J. Fritschel, Ev. Pastor. Selbstverlag des Verf., Dubuque, Iowa, 8°. Pp. 191. Price $1.10.

By Professor John O. Evjen, Ph.D.

This book is one of the latest contributions to the discussion of the Missourian doctrine of Predestination. As is well known, a great part of the last century was spent in furnishing material for the saddest, longest, most archaic looking chapter of the history of American Lutheranism. Press and pulpit, street corners and beer-halls have been consecrated to, or desecrated by, heated talks or discourses on the doctrine of Predestination, as if this were the pivot of all rational and empirical religion. Indeed, zeal was revealed, and zeal is laudable. But zeal "not according to knowledge" is, in such a matter, sacrilege.

One would suppose that the twentieth century would not care to keep up the controversy. But strife is not ruled by the almanac. The new century has already scored the Inter-Synodical conferences at Watertown and Fort Wayne (1903 and 1905). Our author tells us that the controversy broke out anew in 1903, that he was drawn into it, and that the book before us was written to justify his doctrinal position —that is the position of the Iowa Lutherans.

Rev. Fritschel is an Iowan. The spirit of his synod is mirrored in his book, which is irenical rather that polemical. He combats the doctrine of the Missourians, who stake much of their health and wealth to show that they are the only true Lutherans, that all others are synergists, unionists, etc., cracked in orthodoxy or unbalanced in theology. The Iowans hold that the Missourians are Calvinistic in the doctrine of Election. This is what Fritschel tries to prove. He does not profess to have said the last word on the problem of Election, but he hopes that his work will not be in vain if he can make his point, that neither dogmatics nor creed is, at the present stage

of the controversy, to determine the meaning of the Scripture passages bearing on Election, but Scripture itself rightly exegeted. We give our hearty assent to this Exegesis, it is claimed by the author, must make copious use of grammar and lexicon and never lose sight of the context. But this is only the philological side of exegesis. If the historical side is left out of consideration—historical insight is the greatest gift that we have received from the nineteenth century—exegesis is bound to be dogmatic. Our author is inclined to dogmatize. The historical factor is weak. He therefore to some extent defeats his own purpose.

It is in an introduction of ten pages that the author (a) discusses the method of exegesis to be persued, (b) orientates his reader as to what bearing the History of Dogma has upon the doctrine of Election.

As to (a), we are rather surprised at the author's quoting *verbatim* and as normative some of the exegetical rules of Chemnitz. The advance of exegesis in the last three centuries certainly justifies the special notice of more important exegetes than Chemnitz. Perhaps an *argumentum ad hominem* is intended, for it is no secret that the average Missourian, when appealed to, takes *omne ignotum pro magnifico* if it hails from one of those ponderous "*Schinken*" which we have laid aside for more portable and up-to-date books. But our author's sincerity does not warrant this supposition. He really prefers a Chemnitz to a Zahn: as it were, the good old past to the problematic present. The truth of this will soon become apparent.

(b). The dogmatico-historical survey in the introduction is entirely too brief. The author cannot reckon, as he does, with the presupposition that the reader knows beforehand what is necessary for an intelligent appreciation of the history of Predestination thought. History of Dogma is the youngest branch of theology. Though it is not, contrary to Harnack, the most important of all the theological branches, it is nevertheless that branch which, for the time being, needs the most cultivation in Lutheran America, and which will most effectively break some of the theological petrefactions that are im-

peding the growth of Church life and Scripture theology. Hagenbach is no longer a star of the first magnitude, and if our author had not overlooked Loof's *Dogmengeschichte* (1893), a book of stupendous learning, and Seeberg's History of Dogma, recently translated into English, he would have given us, in the same amount of space, much more information and a greater variety of viewpoints. Here would have been the place to discuss the most important concept of God, the will as explained, by such leaders as Augustine (*nihil aliud quam voluntates*) Duns Scotus, and Luther. It is Seeberg who has succeeded in turning some powerful search lights on that concept, so often treated as a vast expansion shrouded in darkness and secrecy. He shows that these men looked upon the will as something more than a soul faculty. To them it was living force, energy, person. Should not this distinction be borne in mind and explicitly stated at the outset? Or is a new viewpoint or a fresh discovery an unwelcome guest?

We have another desideratum. A word might have been said as to the philosophical aspect of the question. Here and there in the author's book we read the words *a priori* and *a posteriori*, as if these would make all other philosophical concepts and their combinations superfluous. But the philosophical aspect of the problem ought to be touched upon. It could have been shown, or at least stated, that Philosophy has not yet solved the problem of Determinism. The camps are divided and are getting more and more to see that the problem cannot be solved. (Paulsen). And when philosophers ask, "Is man's will free?" we learn that freedom when applied to the human will is used in at least six different senses: 1, freedom from the law of causality; 2, freedom in the sense that outer constraint is absent; 3, freedom from inner constraint; freedom meaning ability, power, capability of the will, e. g., in Augsburg Confession XVIII the terms *vis* and *libertas* are identical in meaning; 5, freedom of choice; 6, the will as guided by ethical motives. (Höffding). The confessed inability of Philosophy to solve the problem, and the confusion liable to arise due to the different meanings attached to freedom ought to prepare also the theologian to meet and

ward off difficulties. Logomachy is to be avoided, and the difficulty of the task is not to be overlookeded.

Now, then, in view of what we are taught by History of Dogma and by Philosophy, what kind of will, what kind of freedom is to be discussed? With similar questions and their attendant answers, not alone will the exegesis be fuller and richer, but many imaginary difficulties will be removed. On the other hand, some questions are bound to arise which will teach us our limitations in handling transcendental problems. We shall learn that we must hold fast to two propositions, whether we can unite them or not. They are: *Der freie Mensch und der allwirksame Gott*, which is also the title of that most admirable lecture in Seeberg's "Grundwahrheiten" that famous work which Prof. Stellhorn, who has written the preface to the book we are reviewing, was so eager to demolish a year ago. The same propositions are ably treated in Sanday's Commentary on the Romans, which we will consider later.

It may be objected that Philosophy would be out of place in such a book, and that the Lutheran public of America is, on the whole, not philosophically inclined. One would at least judge so when he wades through some of the matter that has been threshed in the last generation on the *Gnadenwahl.* It may be safely said: Of all the large denominational bodies in America, there is none so chary about Philosophy, none so profuse in bitter polemics as the Lutheran. This to our shame. On the other hand, it is Lutheran Germany which leads the Philosophy of Europe. The Lutheran theologians of Germany, philosophically trained as they are, cannot be induced to discuss Election or Predestination as an issue. To them the Missourian *Gnadenwahl* question is a childish controversy. To them the Lutheran Church is, and always has been, a non-predestinarian Church. Our author tells us, and it is significant, that he could not get a publisher in Germany to publish his book, because the public manifested no interest in the topic discussed.

We now pass over to the more important portion of the work, treated under five heads.

Under the FIRST HEAD are considered some fundamental concepts continually recurring in the Scripture passages dealing with Election. Such concepts are save, know, decree, ordain, elect, counsel, decree, salvation and the like. The author defines eighteen terms in about twice as many pages, shows in what sense he thinks they are used in Scripture and to what extent distorted by the Missourians. The terms are printed in Greek (with Hebrew equivalents) and their use in the Septuagint is noted. But the definitions that are given contribute nothing new. The reader who possesses a Grimm-Wilke's Clavis or a Cremer and a Herzog-Hauck (cfr. Kirns art. *Heil* in this work with that of our author) will prefer to make his own compilation, since the author largely dispenses with independent research. To note an example, what wealth of suggestions and learning is not contained in the thesis "In Christ" written many years ago by Adolph Deissman! And why is so little of this thesis, now common property, mirrored in our author's remarks upon the use of this phrase.

As to our author's standpoint in philology it seems to be that which is manifested in Stellhorn's Wörterbuch z. griechischen N. T. (1905), which, in the words of Deissmann, is "an entirely elementary book resting on an entirely antiquated philological basis" (Theol. Rundschau 1906, VI., p. 225). The articles of this profound Greek scholar (esp. Hellenistisches Grieschisch, Herzog-Hauck VII). are especially adapted to show us the immensity of the philological problem as touching New Testament Greek. So we cannot expect from our author more than what is reasonable. He is an ardent lover of Greek, which his book as well as the dedication on the title-page shows. In fact, almost too ardent. Therefore he lays all possible emphasis on Philology as holding the key to Scriptural truth. In this respect he resembles Blass, to whose grammar he repeatedly refers, from which he, in one place, goes so far as to quote eleven rules in succession, the majority of them referring to syntax. Also here a perusal of Deissmann might have done good service and tended to neutralize the enthusiasm for Blass. Deissmann claims that the syntax is the weakest part in Blass' grammar, "he is not sufficiently in touch

with the exegetical literature, settles exegetical problems not seldom by a syntactical dictum, has too little regard for the vernacular of a later age, etc." No doubt *the* grammar of our generation will be Moulton's, now in press.

Our author readily acknowledges his deficient supply in auxiliary material, and he does not attempt to treat his subject exhaustively. But the plan and scope of the work calls for more than what is given. In our age when the work of one needs the "*Vorarbeiten*" of many, every author who believes in a scientific method of inquiry should make use of them. We are not monads, and our originality will not suffer if we open the windows to receive and reflect the light that contemporary writers throw upon the subjects under consideration. Nowhere is "organized labor" so necessary as in the theological outputs on the present day predestinarian controversy in Lutheran America.

The SECOND HEAD explains such portions of Scripture as are appealed to by the Missourians in support of their doctrine. This part was intended to be, and ought to be, the most important contribution in the whole work. In the main result, that the passages do not support Missouri, we agree with the author. But are we not justified in seeking in this very place for some evidence of modern research in exegesis? A number of theologians who lived centuries ago are quoted. This is no demerit. But did exegetical thinking along progressive, orthodox lines cease with the burial of these men? Is our age so poverty-stricken that we must confine ourselves to the work of our "fathers," and if a nineteenth century name be ushered in, it must needs be the name of one whose love for the theology of repristination is as undoubted as it is genuine? It is true that Fritschel mentions a Weiss when he speaks of a textual reading, a Weizsäcker in verifying a translation, a Blass in handling a difficult grammatical construction, a Cremer in defining a word. But all this concerns itself with the philological side alone. Modern German exegetes who neglect neither the philological nor the historical factor,—names that grace the title pages of the latest edition of Meyer's Commentary (Weiss excepted) or of Strack and Zöckler's, or of Zahn and his coworkers'—are neither

mentioned nor considered. The parable is treated as if men like Jülicher, Heinrici, and Bugge had never lived. Not a single glance is bestowed upon the commentators of Great Britain—a Lightfoot, who by the universal consent of all competent judges both in England and on the continent held so preëminent a place, or a Westcott. This is the more serious omission, since some of the ablest discussions of the epistles to the Romans and the Ephesians in their bearing on Divine Election have been delivered by British scholars. And, how valuable for our question are not the two twentieth century commetaries: The International Critical Commentary and The Expositor's Greek Testament. And how advantageous is not the consultation of even a more modest work like the Cambridge Bible for Schools.

The English works should not be set aside because they are "reformed," nor the German Contributions despised because they are "modern." All exegetical aid—modern, international, interconfessional—ought to be welcome.

We can overlook this "sin of omission." But we cannot overlook the author's method of exposition. It is often unmethodical and awkward. Why a Greek diagram here, why a German there? Why such diagrams at all? And why could not some of the facts crowded into the text have been reserved for the footnotes?

The method of exegesis applied to Eph. 1, 3-14 is peculiarly involved and trying. The neglect to consult modern authorities and to give history its due shows itself for instance in the author's statement that this epistle is written to the Ephesians. Paul worked in Ephesus three years, but Eph. 1 : 15 f; 3, 1-4; 4, 21f. cannot be reconciled with that fact. It was not written to the congregation in Ephesus. This is the opinion held by Zahn in his *Einleitung* I, 340, by Wohlenberg in Strack and Zöckler's Commentary (1895), by Haupt in Meyer's Commentary (1902), by T. K. Abbott in the International Critical Commentary (1903), and by Paul Ewald in the Zahn Commentary (1905). We will not enter into details. Suffice to say with Abbott that *exelexato* in v. 4 does not signify the fact of "selection," but the end for which the choice was made. This view

is also held and ably illustrated by Ewald. Ewald also holds, in opposition to Fritschel, that v. 6 does not imply an *ultimus finis*. When God does something to the praise of his glory, this means, he says, not that the praise of glory *shall* result (purpose) but that it normally *must* result (necessity). We likewise note the following passages.

2. Thess. 2 : 13 (God chose you from the beginning unto salvation). Our author refers "from the beginning" to eternity. Wohlenberg would not consider this passage as a pro or con in the problem of Divine Election. "From the beginning," he claims, has reference to some time in the Apostolic Age, (Zahn Com. XII, 153).

Math. 22, 1–14 (For many, are called but few chosen). The parable of the marriage of the king's son has been so ably treated by Zahn in his commentary on Matthew that the interpretation of Chemnitz, an allegorizing sermon, should politely step into the background. But our author's faith in Chemnitz is so great that he publishes the chief points in the sermon as the best commentary on this parable! The first point is: the parable signifies the marriage of the Son of God to human nature!

2 Tim. 1, 9 (called * * * us before times eternal) has according to Wohlenberg (Zahn Com. XIII.) no reference to eternity but to some early period of history (Gen. 3, 15). It has no bearing on the controversy.

Acts 13 : 48 must be explained by 13 : 46. Philology does not reach far enough. See Cambridge Bible for Schools.

Rom. 8 : 28 f and 9, lff. It is to be regretted that our author did not make use of Sanday and Headlam's Romans in this place. Not that we object to the results attained. But the best Commentary on Romans yet written in English, based so solidly "on the rock foundation of philology and history" would supplement our author's work most beautifully. Sanday and Headlam in giving a history of the interpretation of Rom. 9 : 6–29 (269–275) as a supplement to the explanations which they offer, state these significant words, "The difficulties of the ninth chapter of the Romans are so great that few will ever be satisfied that they have really understood it: at

any rate an acquaintance with the history of exegesis upon it will make us hesitate to be too dogmatic about our own conclusions." They conclude with this statement: "We cannot but state the two sides; we cannot solve the problem. But yet there is one conception in which the solution lies. It is in a complete realization of what we mean by asserting that God is Almighty. The two ideas of Free-will and Divine sovereignity cannot be reconciled in our own mind, but that does not prevent them from being reconcilable in God's mind. We are really measuring Him by our own intellectual standard if we think otherwise. And so our solution of the problem of Free-will, and the problems of history and of individual salvation, must finally lie in the full acceptance and realization of what is implied by the infinity and the omniscience of God" (350).

This is the conclusion that Theology as well as Philosophy reaches. The solution of the Iowa-Missouri controversy will lie in the same conclusion.

Under the THIRD HEAD (113–119) the author states the dogmatic results which his exegesis has lead to. Under the FOURTH HEAD (120–149) the Lutheran view of the Scriptural doctrine of Election is set forth. The FIFTH HEAD considers the practical application of this doctrine. The book closes with an "Anhang" of thirty pages, where a brief and instructive history of the predestination controversy in the American Lutheran Church is given. The views presented under these last three heads are practically the same as those set forth in the author's article in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for April 1906. Only they receive a fuller treatment in the book. We shall therefore wave further discussion. Yet we cannot lay aside the book before we have said a word about the "Anhang." Some letters received by the author, which he here publishes, show what difficulties he has to contend with and the spirit of some of his opponents. Dr. Stöckhard of the Missouri Synod preached in 1905 a sermon on Eph. 1 : 3–14. The sermon was criticized by the Ohio Synod as being Calvinistic. Missouri cried: lie and libel! The sermon was then submitted to some theological faculties of the Reformed faith. A Presbyterian professor in Dubuque, Iowa,

and Prof. Geo. W. Richards, of the Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa., make their decisions known by letter. They endorse the sermon as one in essential agreement with the Reformed doctrine of Election. Prof. Geo. W. Richards says the sermon is a "good exposition both of Paul's doctrine of Election and that of the Reformed Church, particularly as set forth in the Heidelberg Catechism."

We question the prudence of publishing such letters, and their contents should not be overestimated. The other letters published are rather humorous, though the writers evidently were in "dead" earnest. An anonymous letter informs Rev. Fritschel that he with the rest of the Iowans stands on "slippery" ground, that they may keep up their "high game" until Doomsday when it shall come to a "sudden stop." A second letter informs him that he has not mastered the simplest elements in the doctrine of Election, and points warningly to the anathema of Scripture. One writer wishes our author's book God's blessing, another expresses his joy at the appearance of it. The first two letters show that Missouri is still on the war path, and that the martial vocabulary is in no sense on the decline. The other two are waving the flag of truce. We can understand this, for our author assures us that Missouri holds two different doctrines on Election.

We close our review by commending the author's book to the reader. The chief fault of it, the neglect to utilize up-to-date investigations, will have to be registered with our church bodies who are exercising a Diogenic economy in paying the salary of the minister and in equipping the seminary libraries with current theological literature. Where shall the minister get means to accomplish his various tasks? There is one feature about the book which more than makes up for the deficiencies noted: a calm, irenic spirit manifested throughout the entire work. This, together with the author's plea for Scriptural doctrine and honest endeavor to state it, enhances the value of the fundamental statements which he has made. And they are essentially correct. The pastor's "*Akribie*" of which the book bears considerable evidence will, we trust, not diminish when he enters upon his new duties in a chair of theology at the Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa, to which he has recently been elected.

SACRED POETRY.

The Book of Psalms. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary, by Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., D. Litt. and Emilie Grace Briggs, B.D. Vol. I. Scribners.

Studies in the Book of Job. By Francis N. Peloubet, D.D. Scribner's.

"Poetry is nothing less than the most perfect speech of man, that in which he comes nearest to being able to utter the truth." This estimate of Matthew Arnold, himself one of the greatest critics of literature. has not been denied by scholars. In every age the poet has been regarded as the greatest man. Carlyle's statement is true: that "a true poet, a man in whose heart resides some effluence of wisdom, some tone of the Eternal Melodies, is the most precious gift that can be bestowed on a generation; we see in him a freer, purer development of whatever is noblest in ourselves." And Carlyle tells us again that "to sing the praise of God was and always will be the chief business of the singer." Several other quotations will suffice to show us the place assigned to poetry by competent judges. "If the poets give us nothing else they give us at least a feeling of greatheartedness and exhaltation, which, if it does not lay hold of the hem of God's mantle, at least

'the extremest skirt of glory sees
And hears celestial echoes with delight."

This estimate of Lowell he has further confirmed in the words he has put into the mouth of Columbus, who "believed the poets, it is they

Who utter wisdom from the central deep,
And listening to the inner flow of things
Speak to the age out of eternity."

Nor is it counted an extravagance to say that

"Poetry is itself a thing of God;
He made his prophets poets and the more
We feel of poesie do we become
Like God in love and power, undermakers."

Of course the power of poetry lies also in the application of these high ideas to life. Of all poetry confessedly that which comes closest to the standard of perfection is the Hebrew poetry. Aside from any religious theory of inspiration it stands apart and supreme belonging to the world, the universal mankind, more than any other. To bring the Hebrew poetry home to us, as poetry, has always been difficult and always will be difficult. In his critical commentary Dr. Briggs attempts to explain the Psalms to us. To scholars, however, and to preachers, but not to the ordinary man, not even the ordinary man of culture. Evidently Dr. Briggs has had in mind the critics of his class. He professes to have been for thirty years the lonely champion of Hebrew poetry. "For a long time I had to battle for it alone against unreason-

ing prejudice. I have lived to see the large proportion of American scholars adopt essentially the views which I represent." This is refreshing. One imagines James Gilmore, of Mongolia, listening to Dr. Briggs. Gilmore, who in his loneliness as a missionary, drew most of his strength and comfort from the Psalms. But Dr. Briggs is not writing for such as Gilmore. For Dr. Briggs is not a literary or devotional critic; he is a Rabbi, and this critical and exegetical commentary is distinctly and eminently rabbinical. The book is overloaded with such things as the Rabbis loved to load upon the Scriptures. The jots and tittles, the mint and anise and cummin of Hebrew grammar are sprinkled thick here. All the shavings and saw dust of the workshop are given to us, as well as the finished product. Scholarship, however, believes in using the scalpel and Dr. Briggs is one of the most expert dissectors and microscopists of our day.

While this method has its undeniable value, and while we owe an inestimable debt to the Higher Critics and the textual critics, one wishes that the Psalms might receive such treatment as that great-hearted Higher Critic, George Adam Smith has bestowed upon Isaiah and the Minor Prophets. The feeling for literature is more valuable than the feeling for grammar.

But even Dr. Briggs' Higher Criticism has utterly failed in one instance to give us the true conception of the 23rd Psalm. Had he been as familiar with Oriental pastoral customs as he is with HebrewGrammar he would never have accepted the table as a banqueting table. Had he read that little booklet "The Song of Our Syrian Guest," he would have known that the shepherd idea is retained throughout, except in the application of the last verse. For the table, in spite of the exact Hebrew word for the mat spread upon the ground, is the feeding-ground which the shepherd prepares for his sheep, poking his staff into adders' holes, searching the nooks and crannies of the rocks for wild beasts; and he would have known that shepherds, at close of day, annoint with oil the bruised and thorn pricked heads of the sheep, and give to the most tired and panting a gourd of water which overflows as the sheep thrusts his nose into it and so on.

Now, as Matthew Arnold points out in his essay on translating Homer, the most difficult thing in the world is that of translating poetry. Prose is hard; poetry is well-nigh impossible. Dr. Briggs recognizes this and confesses that his translation is literal. One regrets that he has not the art which would enable him to give us a poetical translation, for this literal translation is magnificent—there is no gainsaying it. It is splendid. Although the average reader cares nothing for the textual and grammatical notes, or even for the comments, these fine translations of the Psalms are supremely valuable. Only one comment could be made. Why should "Jahoveh" not be translated? The French Jews, translating their Scriptures into French,

give Eternal—why not translate "The Eternal is my shepherd?" Is not that better than "Jahoveh is my shepherd?"

Then again, the introductory analysis which precedes each Psalm is generally very helpful, and interprets it for us clearly. All in all, the scholar and critic will greet this work with delight, and the unsurpassed literal translations illumine the psalms as none other have done.

As for Dr. Peloubet's studies in the Book of Job, it is of a sort altogether different, designed not for the scholars and critics, but for the ordinary; everyday reader and student of the Bible. No preacher, no Sunday school teacher can possibly afford to be without this book. Job is poetry of the very highest order. The historian Froude predicts that the day will come when "it will be seen towering up alone far above all the poetry of the world." The book of Job, little understood, generally neglected, has been finding its right place of late years. Prof. Genung and Dr. Moulton have done much to bring it home to us. Dr. Peloubet, giving us a fine translation and a very valuable dramatic arrangement, adds very suggestive references to the best poems in our language. If one should carefully study this book and follow all the suggestions the result would be a very fair education in general poetic literature. These studies will serve to bring home to all of us the truths that exalt and comfort, that explain the ways of God to men. Dr. Peloubet writes in a charming style. He is thoroughly acquainted with all the critical questions concerning the Book of Job; best of all he feels deeply its spirit, and interprets it for us most sympathetically. His treatment whets our appetite for further studies, and will send the reader upon many a delightful quest. And the man or woman who is perplexed by the puzzle of right and wrong, dazed with the inexplicable heart-breaking sorrow of life, will gain from this little book a light, a peace, a trust that will brighten and smooth and strengthen the soul.

D. W. WOODS, JR.

A. C. ARMSTRONG & SON, NEW YORK.

The Epistles of St. Peter. By the Rev. J. H. Jowett, M.A. $1.25 net.

This is the III volume of the Practical Commentary on the New Testament edited by W. Robertson Nicoll, LL.D., D.D.

Like the Expositor's Bible this work is neither exegetical nor doctrinal, but stimulatingly practical. The author takes the reader into the heart of the Bible message by spiritual penetration and plain unfolding of religious duty and life.

In this student age of the Bible the practical lay reader desires the essence of Bible meaning, and is uninterested in debates respecting origins, historicity, and kindred themes.

The work is accompanied by no introduction, but proceeds at once in the form of homilies and simple annotations on chapter and verse to expound practically the writings of Peter.

M. COOVER.

ATLANTIC MONTHLY, BOSTON.

There is an admirable variety in the makeup of the September "Atlantic." Amongst such an array of attractive articles, it would be difficult to name the most important; but the leading place has been given to the presentation of "A Manufacturer's Point of View," by J. T. Lincoln. Hon. Chester Holcombe, well-known for his diplomatic services in China, discusses the actual status of the missionary movement in that country; Hollis Godfrey presents the modern solution of the sanitation problem in "City Water and City Waste;" and an anonymous college professor indulges in some engaging "Confessions" which depict the teacher's life in an unusually optimistic light. "The Autobiography of a Southerner,"—"the most significant document in the magazine literature of the day,"—reaches its third installment in this number.

For articles of literary criticism one turns confidently to the "Atlantic," and he surely will not be dissappointed this month. In "Three American Poets of To-day," Miss May Sinclair, author of "The Divine Fire," is seen in a new role; Miss Mary Moss has done a notable piece of analysis in "The Novels of Thomas Hardy;" and in "The Power of Bible Poetry," Prof. Gardner probes into the secret of that eternal appeal which the Hebrew masterpieces make to the human heart.

"The Soul of Paris," by V. Z. Reed, "Brag," by Wilber Larremore, and an intensely realistic glimpse of the philosophy of the New York Ghetto "Dere Ees No God," by Ernest Poole will lay hold on the attention of even the most casual of readers. As for fiction—such names as Eden Phillpotts, Arthur Colton, and Margaret McGiffert vouch for its quality. The "Contributors' Club," with its unusual assortment of fanciful and suggestive sketches brings to a close this notable issue.

CONTENTS TO VOL. XXXVI.

Art. The Sense of the Universal in, (439).
Article VII of the Augsburg Confession. The Church. (525).
AugsburgConfession,ArticleXVIII, Free Will. (305).
Babylonia, Glimpses of its Civilization and Culture. (60).
Ball, Rev. J. W., A. M., Art. by, (506).
Bauslin, Prof. David H., D.D,, Art. by, (382).
Carney, Rev. W. B., A.M., Art by, (423).
Christian Belief Interpreted by Christian Experience, (487).
Christianity, The Protestant and the Roman Catholic Conception of what is Fundamental to, (557).
Church, The. Article VII of the Augsburg Confession, (525).
Clutz, Rev. Jacob A., D.D., Art. by, (360).
Concord. The Scandinavians and the Book of, (248).
Conference at Ft. Wayne), Aug. 8-10, 1905), Intersynodical, Fourth, A Review of, (93).
Confirmation, (101).
Congregation, The, (1).
Conversion, The Error of Missouri Concerning Predestination and, (214).
Coover, Prof. M., D.D., Art. by, (120), (305).
Criticism in a Lutheran Divinity School, New Testament, (24).
Current Theological Thought,(120)
Death, The Origin, Nature, and Conquest of, (336).
Delk, E. H., D.D., Art. by, (487).
Development of the General Synod Lutheran Church in America, The, (566).
Education, Christian, An Interrogation of, (42).
Error of Missouri Concerning Predestination and Conversion, The, (214).
Evjen, Prof. John O., Ph.D., Art. by, (248), (585).
Evolution: An Analysis with Deductions, (549).
Experience, Christian, Christian Belief Interpreted by, (487).
Faith, Christian, The, A Summary of, (264).
Faulkner, Prof. J. A., Art. by, (155).
Fox, Prof. L. A., D.D., Art. by, (336).
Free Will. Augsburg Confession Article XVIII, (305).
Fritschel, Rev. Geo. J., A.M., Art. by, (214).
Gemeinschafts Movement of Germany, Modern, The, (516).
Generation, this, The Modern Pulpit and its Message to, (543).
Generic Idea of the Sermon, The, (112).
Gnadenwahl, der, Die Schriftlehre von, (585).
God, Thinking the Thoughts of, (506).
Greenewalt, Rev. S. E., A.M., Art. by, (18).
Grimm, Prof. Carl Josef Ph.D., Art. by, (60), (234), (404).
Hafer, Rev. L. B., Art. by, (525).
Hankey, Rev. Upton A., A.M., Art. by, (101).
Hefelbower, Prof. S. Gring, D.D., Art. by, (127).
Interrogation of Christian Education, An, (42).
Job, A Literary Study of, (423).
Kuegele, Rev. F., Art. by, (198).
Lambert, Rev. W. A., A.B., Art. by, (549).
Language Question in the Lutheran Church of America, The, (83).

Law in Salvation, the, Significance of, (179).
Literary Study of Job, A, (423).
Lord's Supper in the New Testament, The, (455).
Lutheran Church in America, General Synod, Development of the, (566).
Luther, Wesley's Attitude Toward, (155).
Luther, A Roman Catholic View of, (234), (404).
Model Pastor, The, (382).
Model Preacher, The, (360).
Modern Gemeinschafts Movement of Germany, The, (516).
Modern Pulpit and its Message to this Generation, The, (543).
New Testament Criticism in a Lutheran Divinity School, (24).
Origin, Nature, and Conquest of Death, The, (336).
Pastor, Model, The, (382).
Preacher, Model, The, (360).
Predestination and Conversion, The Error of Missouri Concerning, (214).
Predestination, What is the Lutheran Doctrine on, (198).
Professor, Theological, The Responsibility and Duty of, (18).
Protestant and the Roman Catholic Conception of What is Fundamental to Christianity, The, (557).
Remensnyder, J. B., D.D., LL.D., Art. by, (557).
Responsibility and Duty of a Theological Professor, The, (18)
Review of the Fourth Intersynodical Conference at Ft. Wayne, (Aug. 8-10, 1905), A, (93).
Review of Recent Literature, (134), (294), (447).
Richard, Prof. J. W., D.D., LL.D. Art. by, (112), 264).
Roman Catholic Conception of What is Fundamental to Christianity, The Protestant and, (557).
Roman Catholic View of Luther, A. (234), (404).
Scandinavians and the Book of Concord, The, (248).
Schmidt, Prof. F. A., D.D. Art. by, (93).
Schmidt, Rev. Richard, Art. by, (516).
Schriftlehre von der Gnadenwahl, Die, (585).
Sense of the Universal in Art, The, (439).
Sermon, the, The Generic Idea of, (112).
Sieber, J. L. A., M.A , B.D. Art. by, (543).
Sieberg, Prof. R., D.D. Art. by, (455).
Significance of the Law in Salvation, The, (179).
Singmaster, Prof. J. A., D.D. Art. by, (414).
Sparks, Rev, C. E. Art. by, (566).
Spieckermann, Rev. A. Art. by, (83).
Sprecher, Dr. Samuel, Philosopher, College President, and Man of God, (281).
Stange, Prof. Carl, D.D. Art. by, (179).
Stork, Theo. B., A.M. Art. by, (439).
Summary of the Christian Faith, A, (264).
Sunday School Teacher, The, (414).
Thinking the Thoughts of God, (506).
Tressler, Prof. V. G. A., Ph.D., D.D. Art. by, (24).
Van Ormer, Rev. A. B. Bunn, A.M. Art. by, (42).
Wenner, Geo. U., D.D. Art. by, (1).
Wesley's Attitude Toward Luther, (155).
What is the Lutheran Doctrine on Predestination, (198).
Wynn, Prof. W. H., Ph.D., D.D. Art. by, (281).

TERMS—$2.50 a year, if paid in advance or within the year; otherwise, $3.

THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

CONDUCTED BY

M. VALENTINE, D.D., LL.D. PHILIP M. BIKLÉ, PH.D.
JAS. W. RICHARD, D.D., LL.D. THOMAS C. BILLHEIMER, D.D.

WITH THE SPECIAL CO-OPERATION OF

PRES. S. A. ORT, D.D., LL.D. PROF. F. D. ALTMAN, D.D.
PROF. ALFRED HILLER, D.D.

VOL. XXXVI.—NO. 1.

JANUARY, 1906.

GETTYSBURG:
WILLIAM B. HAMMOND, 142 CARLISLE STREET.
1906.

CONTENTS.

ARTICLES PAGE

I. The Congregation. 1
By George U. Wenner, D.D.

II. The Responsibility and Duty of a Theological Professor. 18
By Rev. S. E. Greenawalt, A.M.

III. New Testament Criticism in a Lutheran Divinity School. 24
By Prof. V. G. A. Tressler, Ph.D., D.D.

IV. An Interrogation of Christian Education. 42
By Rev. A. B. Bunn Van Ormer, A.M.

V. Babylonia, Glimpses of its Civilization and Culture. 60
By Prof. Karl Josef Grimm, Ph.D.

VI. The Language Question in the Lutheran Church of America. 83
By Rev. A. Spieckermann.

VII. A Review of the Fourth Intersynodical Conference at Ft. Wayne, (Aug. 8–10, 1905). 93
By Prof. F. A. Schmidt, D.D.

VIII. Confirmation. 101
By Rev. Upton A. Hankey, A.M.

IX. The Generic Idea of the Sermon. . 112
By Prof. J. W. Richard, D.D., LL.D.

X. Current Theological Thought. . . 120
I. ENGLISH AND AMERICAN,
By Prof. M. Coover, D.D.
II. GERMAN,
By Prof. S. Gring Hefelbower, D.D.

XI. Review of Recent Literature. . . 134

The High Rock—Text-Book of the History of Doctrines—God's Choice of Men, a Study of Scripture—The Spirit of Christmas—The Christian Doctrine of Salvation—The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel—The Bible, Its Origin and Nature—Vision of Task—Christianity and Socialism—The Last Message of Jesus Christ or the Apocalypse in a New Light—Soul Winning—The Divine Opportunity—Katechismus—Predigten über das erste und zweite Hauptstück, etc.—The Prophets and Promise—Complete Index to the Expositor's Bible—Revelation Twenty—Amerikanischer Kalender für Deutsche Lutheraner—Atlantic Monthly—Luther's Church Postil.

50 YEARS' EXPERIENCE

PATENTS

TRADE MARKS
DESIGNS
COPYRIGHTS &c.

Anyone sending a sketch and description may quickly ascertain our opinion free whether an invention is probably patentable. Communications strictly confidential. Handbook on Patents sent free. Oldest agency for securing patents.

Patents taken through Munn & Co. receive *special notice*, without charge, in the

Scientific American.

A handsomely illustrated weekly. Largest circulation of any scientific journal. Terms, $3 a year; four months, $1. Sold by all newsdealers.

MUNN & Co. 361 Broadway, **New York**

Branch Office, 625 F St., Washington, D. C.

Theology of Luther

IN ITS

Historical Development and Inner Harmony.

BY DR. JULIUS KÖSTLIN.

TRANSLATED BY

REV. CHARLES E. HAY, A. M.

COMPLETE IN TWO VOLUMES.

12mo. Cloth, 1110 pages, $4.50.

At the meeting of the General Synod held at Mansfield, Ohio, the following was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That we call the special attention of the ministers and people of our Church to the issue of a translation of Köstlin's Theology of Luther by the Lutheran Publication House; that we commend the issue of this work as of immense importance to our Church; that we express as the sense of this body that this work should be in the hands of all our ministers, theological students, and many of our laymen, both for the value of the work and as an encouragement to the future issue of works of this character."

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

No. 1424 Arch Street,

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

P. S. 2981 a.